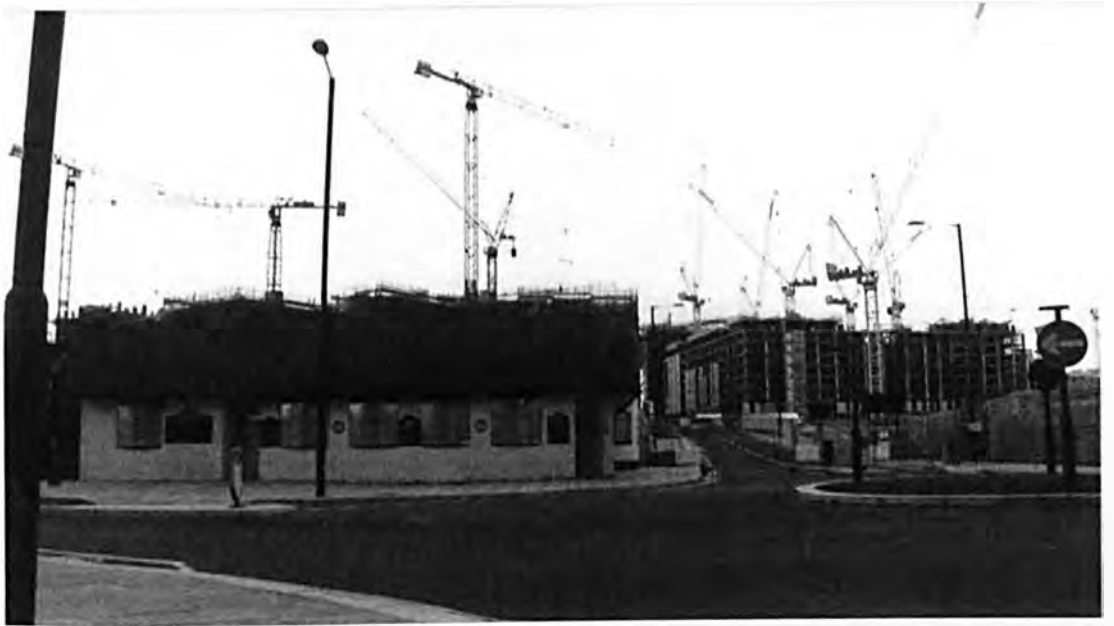


THE ENDZ GAME – THE EFFECTS OF THE LONDON 2012 OLYMPIC GAMES ON
THE COMMUNITIES OF THE HOST BOROUGH



Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at Kingston University
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
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A snowman sits in the cold in the shadow of the London Olympic Stadium

Acknowledgments

For your sharing, all at Queen's Market. For your guidance, encouragement and belief, Mick Kennedy, Nelson Douglas, Abbe Fletcher, Fiona Curran, Roy Perkins. For your opportunity and time, Kingston University's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. For your support, my family, Dave Powles, Roter Su.

Abstract

Not since the 1966 World Cup has Britain experienced such an explicit collision of the most mega of sporting-events with the most ordinary of people, with these two phenomena coming into direct contact through the London 2012 Olympic Games. The award of the Games to London led me to begin a six year case study that focused on the relationship between the dominant forces and the people when power, space, finances, reputations and democracy itself are at stake during a Host Cities Olympiad. Whilst Government bodies have published quantitative reports on the economic effects of the Games on the Host Boroughs, and fellow researchers have tackled social issues arising from the Games, from social housing to local employment, this study attempts to report the overall 'experience' of specific members of the local communities affected by the Olympic Games. This collation of experience resulted in a series of short, experimental and feature films, which are discussed within this written thesis, which critically analyses the production of the films in the context of the most relevant existing theoretical frameworks.. The project is a critique of ordinary people's experience of this mega-event,, and the lessons drawn from this collection of experiences could go some way towards aiding both the International Olympic Committee and event planners in the UK in ensuring future mega-events result in real democratic progress.

Although I have attempted to refrain from romanticising the working classes or demonising the middle and upper classes within this research, I myself come from and am part of the working classes, having been born and bred by and amongst the people and within the spaces inhabited by the working class. Therefore, my research centres around the working class communities of the Host Boroughs of London's East End, and the effects the London 2012 Games have had - and are continuing to have - on us.

This really would be a Games for the whole of London and the nation and would leave a lasting legacy both in the capital and across the UK. A London Games would massively speed up the regeneration of East London, boosting the local economy and wider capital and bringing many thousands of new jobs to an area that holds the key to managing London's future growth.

Ken Livingstone

Everything must change in order for everything to remain the same. (translated)

Lampedusa – *'The Leopard'*

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1. Publishing and Broadcast of My Research so Far

‘Queens’ – A Short Documentary

December 2011 – December 2012: *Twelve broadcasts on Sky’s ‘The Community Channel’.*

June 2012; *Screened at the Genesis Cinema in Whitechapel as part of the East End Film Festival 2012.*

July 2012; *Invited by International Community Film Website YourWorldView.com to upload to their homepage.*

August 2012; *Invited to screen at the Cambridge Strawberry Shorts Film Festival 2012.*

August 2012; *Invited to screen at the Walthamstow Short Film Clubs Monthly Screening. Runner-up in the Audience Award.*

‘A Killey’ – A Short Drama

June 2012; *Selected to be screened at the Rio Cinema in Dalston as part of the East End Film Festival 2012.*

June 2012; *Winner of the East End Film Festival 2012’s ‘Audience Award’.*

‘We Ain’t Stupid’ – The ‘in progress’ final documentary film;

June 2013; *Screened at Stratford Picturehouse as part of the East End Film Festival 2013, with a Question and Answer Session afterwards.*

‘They Fly So High’ – A Short Documentary

Uploaded to YouTube in June 2012, Currently over 44,000 views Online.

‘Athens’ -A Short Documentary

May 2015; *Currently in talks about broadcasting on the London Based Greek Television Station ‘Hellenic Tv’.*

2. Outline of my Feature, Short and In Progress Films



The boarded up former 'Whealers' Pub in Stratford sits in the shadow of the growing Olympic Park. Panayis, 2010

'We Ain't Stupid' Feature Length Documentary

'We Ain't Stupid' is my recently completed documentary film. The film covers six years of the build up to the Olympic Games, the Games themselves and their aftermath. In accordance with Bill Nichols' six modes of documentary, this is a participatory/observational film comprising mainly of interviews with the traders and customers of Queen's Market in Upton Park, which is two miles from the Olympic Park. The market recently came under threat from developers who wish to construct an Asda supermarket which will remove the vast majority of the current traders, echoing the commercial impact of the entire Olympic process on East London: with both the market and the park shifting from multiple systems of operation and action within to one of national control, corporate for the former and state for the latter. It also considers whether there has been a shift from public to private space both in the Olympic park and the market, and how space is defined as such. It is set mainly in the market, but also follows certain characters out of the market and into their daily lives. One such customer is Kenan, who runs a music studio and radio station in Leytonstone, where he and fellow artists express themselves through the recording and broadcasting of the tracks they have produced. As well as observing their creativity at work, there is a feeling for the relationships they hold with each other, their opinions and participation with the Games and the redevelopment, and ultimately the loss of their music studio due to rising rents. Another customer of Queen's

market, Aaron, an athlete for Newham and Essex beagles, competes and ultimately fails to be included in Team GB for the Olympic Games. Through the film Aaron comes of age as he battles to combine his training, his work, his newborn child and his inability to find a home for his new family. Dan is the third customer we follow into his daily life outside of Queens. He is an artist living on the perimeter of the Olympic Park, whose home is under threat from the proposed building of a bridge into the park. After some success in keeping his home for much longer than expected, he is eventually removed just before the Games as the council and LOCOG begin constructing the bridge. By the end of the film the market traders are successful in their appeal to keep the market as it is, but no one is convinced of how long it will be before the developers come back again. The varying sections of the film are bridged by montages of the surrounding area, including time-lapse footage of the park building up, the closing of local public houses, a snow section and the landscapes of East London.



Mick Munn's lifeless body floats upstream past the Olympic Stadium in 'A Killey'. Panayis, 2011

'A Killey' - Short Drama

A Killey: The acceptance of the Subaltern of fate, of the trends of history, of the strength of the will of the powers that be and of the tactics of the people expressed through their spatial practices, to retain some power and self-governance.

A Killey is an adaption of Ernest Hemingways 'The Killers', a short story appearing in 1927 and being set in the Prohibition of 1920's Illinois. The main theme within the story is that of acceptance of fate of one's death. In 'A Killey', Mick, an East London Bus Driver, receives a phone call from a friend just as the friend is brutally murdered. The Killers, Ads

and Matt, then turn their attention to Mick as a witness of the killing. Rather than run away from the two killers, Mick eats his favourite steak dinner, puts on his best suit and goes to his local pub for a pint, where he is sure Ads and Matt will be searching for him. They are indeed there, and there is an uneasy time while Mick drinks his pint and smokes his cigarette before calmly walking to the killer's parked car. They all travel down to the canal side which runs through London's Olympic Park, and Mick snaps, has his say on his own destiny, grabs the gun off Matt and shoots himself in the head. Matt and Ads bundle Mick's body into a nearby boat and push him out into the canal. The credits roll as Mick's lifeless body floats upstream past the Olympic Stadium.



Another boarded up pub in Cable Street. Panayis, 2010

'River Runs Dry' - Short Experimental Piece

'River Runs Dry' is a short film that highlights the changing nature of space within East London from one of public use to private use, where public arenas are on the decline versus the increased creation of private venues and spaces.

'River Runs Dry' juxtaposes images of East London Pubs closed, boarded up, in decay and for sale, against images of the under construction Olympic Park's structures and mechanical machinery in work building the stadia, arenas and Athletes' Village.

'Athens' – Short Documentary

This documentary investigates the post 2004 Olympic fallout on Athens and Athenians, focusing on the impact the Olympics had, and continues to have, economically socially and politically, through employment, housing, tourism, political views and links to the current Greek economic crisis, underpinned by hope for the future by ordinary Greeks.

This film is comprised of interviews mainly with traders at Athens Central Market, which similar to Queen's Market sells mainly food goods. Secondary interviews are carried out with an elder Athenian taxi driver who doubles up as a tour guide and who worked everyday throughout the 2004 Olympic Games, and a young student who is friends with one of my student friends from Kingston University. Although there are contrasting opinions within the people interviewed, there is a shared impression of corruption during the Games by all levels of organisers, from politicians and construction companies to the media and tour operators. An example of this is stadium building projects running wildly over budget, stadia left empty since the Games, the disrepair of the Athletes' Village, a lack of any noticeable 'local' tourism and the lasting legacy of debt and austerity. Accompanying the interviews is imagery of the vibrant city of Athens public places: the stadia and Athletes' Village, ancient sites within the stadium and the evening social gatherings of ordinary Greeks, which contribute to the feeling of hope, expressed in the interviews.

'Hot Wings' - In Progress Feature Length Drama

Hot Wings: The global bread and circus nature of the Olympic Games, which harvests the heart and soul of the people of East London, used as pawns in the bidding process and then sold off to the highest bidder. The tactics of the people to resist this through self-exclusion, non-involvement in corporate schemes, ignoring physical land barriers, expression through alternate mediums, wit, violence and ultimately removing themselves from the entire process, guided by habitus, against the backdrop of the area's Gentrification.

Hot Wings is a feature length drama film that is currently under construction; a finished script and a collection of recorded scenes so far. The film begins at Christmas 2011, telling the story of a young DJ, Kenan Kiani, who is exiled from East London to Canvey Island by his father for unwittingly becoming involved in a people smuggling case after being set up by local gangster Bobby Welsh. In Canvey, Ken meets up with his dad's eldest friend Mick, a boatman.. Fast forward seven months to July 2012, and as the Olympics are about to start, Ken's father becomes ill and the Angel Gabriel visits Ken in exile to tell him to return to London to see his dying father. Ken returns to his father who is in a coma, whilst gangster Bobby has stepped up from people smuggling and now runs a racket, alongside a surgeon, stealing people's organs and selling them off on the black market. When Ken's father dies, Bobby tricks Ken's mother into selling him the heart and he organises for it to be transplanted into a Chinese tourist who is on his waiting list. When Ken gets word on what has happened, he and the Angel Gabriel set out to steal the heart back, culminating in a showdown in the operating theatre between Ken and Bobby. Ken manages to overcome

Bobby, steal the heart and escape capture through the crowds leaving the Olympic Park after the 100m final (referencing the opening scene of Nicolas Refn's *'Drive'*, where Ryan Gosling's character hides within the crowds outside of a basketball game after a getaway). He leaves East London in his camper van and is supposed to meet Gabriel on the edge of London but Gabriel is unable to make the meeting point. Ken drives back down to Canvey, collects his Dad's friend Mick and they sail off in his boat to bury the heart at sea. Bobby, staggering back to his club after the fight with Ken, is rounded upon by an old enemy, and is shot dead in the doorway of his club, as the heart of Ken's father sinks to the bottom of the sea.

3. Introduction

Research questions and the form of my Research

I started my PhD in September 2009; researching the effects of the London 2012 Olympic Games on the communities of the Host Boroughs (socially, economically and politically) in line with the Olympic proposals of construction, participation, regeneration and legacy, amongst others, as outlined in 2003 by the British Olympic Association (BOA):

"The BOA's evidence sets out a great number of areas that would benefit from staging an Olympic Games: a feel good factor across the nation as a whole...the reduction of youth crime... social inclusion; regeneration in the form of new housing.... employment."

(Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2003:13)

The potential for these benefits put forward by the BOA were indeed shared by the Committee who stated 'We would disagree with very little that we heard or read in regard to the potential for benefits from hosting the Olympic and Paralympic Games' (Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2003:14)

My main research question is whether or not the indigenous communities (the term 'indigenous' I will expand on in the section on the definition of 'working class') of the Host Boroughs were indeed part of a democratic process that oversaw the strategy of realising these benefits, if they were consulted and heeded with regards to the direct decisions made on the planning and implementation of the London 2012 Games. I will then question whether this inclusion or lack thereof created a legacy that served these communities, or others, or indeed was never fully realised at all.

From the outset of my project, I considered whether to approach the methodology as a mainly qualitative or quantitative process. There are differences and benefits to both types of research, and I had to decide what type would be most useful to my project goals, and also most achievable:

‘The method needs to be selected so as to address the question, while fitting with the resources and expertise of the researchers.’

(Hancock et al, 2009:9)

Analysing my research question, and the time, finances and supporting crew available to me, the qualitative method suited my goals and resources, and I decided that whilst there would be some statistical gathering, this would form a small part of the research, with the main gathering being of experience, behaviour, opinion and account. Therefore my mode of research is in the main qualitative as opposed to quantitative. This approach was most appropriate to the subject matter I was considering, a social and cultural look at how certain groups of people have experienced ongoing local events, why they act the way they do and how culture and practice has evolved in the way they have. This kind of information cannot be expressed numerically; it can only be expressed by description and analysis and put into the broader contexts of previous qualitative films as well as research on both similar and contrasting groups. This kind of research, as is bound up in experience, is more likely to be the type that ‘studies behaviour in natural settings or uses people’s accounts as data’ (Hancock et al, 2009:6). The flexibility of methodology within qualitative processes and the opening of new streams of research were particularly important to my project and my findings, through both films I have produced within my PhD and this written thesis.

I have produced over one hundred hours of digital and analogue footage, edited into short and feature length documentaries and drama films, as well as critical essays on the theoretical subject matter of my PhD and the process and methodology of my research, culminating in this thesis. Throughout this piece, I will unpack a number of arguments informing my research, juxtapose them within existing theoretical frameworks, combine and contrast research on relevant subjects to highlight how my work is both original in its conception as subject matter and in its execution through my methodology. Firstly, I will define terms that are relevant to my work; terms such as ‘working class’; terms which have varying definitions depending on their usage within differing arenas and historical timeframes, whilst also briefly outlining the history of East London and the Olympic movement. Secondly, I will link mega-events to social progress by exploring the history of the evolving relationship between the two; citing where the relationship began, in what

territories it is most prevalent, and questioning the authenticity of this relationship.

Following on, I will highlight the traditional connection between the working class and sport as theorized by Bourdieu to underpin the relationship of the Olympiad to the predominantly working class communities of the London Host Boroughs.

To provide a framework, and indeed to 'define' Queen's Market, the space used in conducting this research, I will draw on Lefebvre's extensive work on the three dimensional depiction of space as social reality, and through what he calls the Proletarian's knowledge of his existence and activities acquired through incessant contact with the real I will highlight my findings through what the people expressed about their experience of the Games.

I will expand on these findings specifically using de Certeau's theory of 'tactics' to understand the communities' modes of resistance against the owners of the Olympic production - the Olympic movement, the Government and Newham Council – who, between them, owned the land and the Olympic branding, made decisions on construction and employing the subsequent workforce, negotiated the sponsorship deals and broadcast rights, and time-tabled the events. In developing de Certeau's work I will delve into actual, specific acts of resistance, and patterns of tactics, with examples that occurred through my research; not just what resistance is, but what it means, and by whom it is explicitly displayed. These specific acts, and the highlighting of patterns of 'tactics', add value to the theoretical concepts illustrated by de Certeau, reducing the concept to a practical and tangible level. In this section I will discuss research I conducted in Athens regarding the fallout of the 2004 Olympic Games, and draw comparisons with my findings in London and the 'tactics' of resistance employed there.

I will develop this thesis by arguing the originality of my research findings, whilst already covering the unearthing of new facts through the revelation of new experience and also by looking from the opposite angle when considering Spivak's work on subaltern speaking, ('Can the Subaltern Speak?') which I believe addresses the problem of communication between the Subaltern and the non-Subaltern more accurately when considered as 'Can the Non-Subaltern Hear?' Lastly in this section I will concentrate on methodology, including Deleuze and Guattari's idea of Rhizomatics, which is the transference of subject matter between modes of story, dramatization of theoretical research for film genre, and breaking the existing film genres and methodology of producing subject matter, a process which is constantly shifting due to the increased access and lower costs of film production. I will complement this way of working by examining my work as a non-director ('non' in the traditional sense) working with non-actors and the benefits it brought in line with Michael Kennedy's research on non-actors, and also techniques I used, notably

the montage, to express the themes and sub-themes of my research. I will also place my film within Nichols' established modes of documentary theory, and explore the director/contributor relationship. I will argue how this methodology is original, through the creation of differing forms of research media outputs to present a single project, and also through the combination of Rhizomatic working whilst working solely within a non-director non-actor relationship. Looking forwards, I will reflect on the research in light of the future and potential research projects continuing in the same vein; where and how this research might continue to develop and how transferable it is to different times and spaces. Finally, I will draw conclusions on both the findings and the way the research was undertaken, and the experience of the PhD as a whole.

4. Defining my Terms and their History

East London and the Working Classes

East London and its people have a colourful, painful and dramatic past that is entwined with the continual arrivals of political refugees and economic migrants. Throughout these diasporic shifts, the area has retained public perception as broadly working class. Although the notion of *a working class* has become increasingly problematized in the post-industrial era the 2007 British Social Attitudes Survey concluded that 57% of Britain's population saw themselves as working class. Although Gramsci's idea of the subaltern, developed by Spivak, included many marginalised groups such as ethnic minorities, women and the disabled, I use the term to specifically refer to East London's working class;

"those subordinated by hegemony and excluded from any meaningful role in a regime of power."

(www.postcolonialweb.org/poldiscourse/subaltern.html)

Traditionally class has been monitored by classification of social group (A-B professional classes, D-E working and unemployed) more recently indications related to poverty have been utilized to identify the least affluent people in a society or geographical area. The London borough of Newham, where the major part of this study will take place, is the "second most deprived local authority in the country" (www.newham.gov.uk) and has one of the highest rates of child poverty in the UK (June 2009 www.endchildpoverty.org.uk).

Due to the historical movements of population through East London it is valid to view the area as a vivid focal point from which to examine perceptions of socio-economic change within London and the UK. Indeed a direct focus on urban regeneration played a pivotal role in Ken Livingstone's bid for the Olympic Games, 'in particular that bringing the Olympics to East London will realize positive social-economic benefits, a positive 'legacy' in IOC terms that will endure beyond the event itself.' (Poynter, G 2007 pg. 13)

Although this research project considers the effects of the Olympic Games on the Host Boroughs of East London, due to the historical, social, and political make up of these areas and communities, 'class' is both apparent and a main focus of my work and research. It is impossible to consider this research without considering the make-up of the areas where the research was conducted. Historically a working class area (indeed an area where the majority of inhabitants are working class), this term is in fact open to interpretation, indeed to the degree where its very existence is questioned either in the modern day or throughout history. However, I found such similarities between the people who are present in my research, that they can, and I believe should, be grouped together, not by me, but by themselves, more precisely and relevantly 'classed together'. The most common definitions of working class are:

Noun: the social group consisting of people who are employed for wages, especially in manual or industrial work: *the housing needs of the working classes*

Adjective: relating to or characteristic of the working class: *a working-class community*

Hoggart carried out extensive research on his own working-class communities amongst others, and his findings form an important intellectual framework when considering class, as does Thompson's writing, which I consider further on in this section. Hoggart is relevant to me both in a sense of the basic methodology of my work and also in its subject matter. Hoggart was not only an academic from a working-class background, but he also put working-class subjects central to his work, as am I, in this research project. Hoggart also represented many conversations with working class people in his work, and contextualised these within the landscape and settings of the surrounding spaces, something that I have touched on in this written work but which formed a large part of the practical research undertaken. Having said that, Hoggart's work, written over a half century ago, has somewhat dated in view of the social and political changes that have since taken place, but I believe his views can still be relevant if I adapt them to more contemporary specific examples, something I attempt in this piece. Although using Hoggart's work and ideas as a framework for helping to establish the working class within my work, it is not a

comprehensive set of concepts, as no work can provide such a comprehensive framework, and aside from time and location differences between his work and mine (which bring about political and social shifts as I have mentioned), there are also differences in aspects of working-class culture examined by Hoggart and myself. For example, and this is by no means the exclusive difference, Hoggart has a lack of any real examination of immigrant members of the English working class, probably due to the areas of his research (Leeds, Hull, Manchester and Sheffield) as opposed to more migrant rich areas such as London and Liverpool. Although my work does not consider immigrant members of the working class as a separate entity, they are considered within my work as part and parcel of the working class, and are commented upon as such. In conclusion, Hoggart's research field differs somewhat from mine, but drawing on Hoggart's ideas allows me to form a historical establishment of generalisations of the working class through his thorough research, from where I can specify, compare, contrast and develop my own findings in a more contemporary arena.

One cannot simply reduce the working class, economically to a mathematical formula of wage, which as Hoggart notes is inaccurate as 'one cannot firmly distinguish workers from others by the amount of money earned, since there are enormous variations in wages amongst working class people' (Hoggart, R 1957:9). The strongest meaning of the term working class, which is apparent in my documentary films, is its descriptive term, that of a community, which shares generally, but definitely not exclusively, consistent modes of existence:

"And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born--or enter involuntarily. Class-consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value• systems, ideas, and institutional forms."

(E.P Thompson, 1964: 9-10)

There is definitely an expression of being amongst themselves in my research. There is historically an ever present 'us and them' evident in the way they speak and act, which reinforces their working class identity. Prevailing is the more obvious 'them', as 'most groups gain some of their strength from their exclusiveness, from a sense of people outside who are not 'Us'' (Hoggart, R 1957:57);

'I have emphasised the strength of home and neighbourhood, and have suggested that this strength arises partly from a feeling that the world outside is strange and often unhelpful, that it has most of the counters stacked on its side, that to meet it on its own terms is difficult. One may call this, making use of a word commonly used by the working classes, the world of 'Them'.

(Hoggart, R 1957:57)

The 'them', historically, has been a world of corporate bosses, private bosses, public officials, the police and the local bench amongst other outside entities (Hoggart, R 1957:57), and whilst it is over 50 years since Hoggart made these statements, I believe the crux of his observations are still relevant today, whilst specifically in the case of my research being the Olympic Delivery authority, LOCOG, the Government and the local Councils of Newham and Hackney, and the non working class. Hoggart goes on to detail descriptions of 'Them' by 'Us', as 'the higher ups', 'get yer in the end', 'aren't really to be trusted', 'talk posh' and 'are all in the click together'. The resultant feeling of 'Us', is one of mistrust and mistreatment, 'that they are often at a disadvantage, that the law is in some things readier against them than against others' (Hoggart, R 1957:58).

Further interpretation of the term includes people of little power, financially, socially or politically, of limited comparative freedom, and of little or no accumulated wealth. With the direct relation between economic power and living costs, classes of people commonly live in the same spaces, which further develops these common acts of thought and belief, of acting and speaking, whilst 'us' and 'them' becomes not just political but physical, until the culture of the working classes is visually explicit.

There is a group mentality created by the awareness of the 'them' that reinforces the 'us', and 'in any discussion of working-class attitudes much is said about the group-sense, that feeling of being not so much an individual with 'a way to make' as one of a group' (Hoggart R, 1957:64). However, as noted previously, there are inconsistencies of thought even within people sharing modes of talking, acting and doing and the consciousness of class arises in similar ways in different times and places, but never 'in just the same way' (Thompson, E 1964:10). The definition of working class therefore cannot be absolute, but a number of contributing factors can help to define the notion of class. As Meacham notes, specific working class experiences do not necessarily reflect the wider picture - 'even when the surveys allow workers to speak for themselves, one must ask: to what extent is this testimony typical of a more general experience? (1977:7-8). By taking a larger survey, patterns of individual experience within the group can give us a more accurate, picture of the

group as a whole. This is explained by Meacham in his analysis of Thompson and Vigne's methodology when using archived interviews with the working class:

"acknowledging the dangers of trusting their respondents uncritically, yet arguing that the size and nature of their sample, the framework of their questionnaire, and their technique of administering it minimize the kind of gross distortions one would naturally hope to guard against"

(Meacham, S 1977:9)

I believe the size and nature of my research, the time spent and the trust built, helped to avoid gross distortions in the information being gathered, and gave a high level of accuracy when expressing experience. The problems when defining class, or theorizing it, are also elaborated by Meacham, who explains that class is 'actuality, real people in a real context'. The real people are not predictable or easily categorized, as such 'class, which draws its own life from the lives of men and women, is not always easily discerned' (Meacham, S 1977:11). It becomes more difficult when considering class background and class mobility when certain attributes alter throughout the generations or throughout an individual's own life, namely financial capital. Would the rise in economic power of an individual offset all the other class-making components?:

"One was working class, whatever one's job, because one grew up in a neighbourhood that was working class: 'I was born in the slums of London of working class parents and although I have attained a higher standard of living, I still maintain I am working class'"

(Meacham, S 1977:13)

Meacham's example, which makes use of the Hoggart work cited in this section, is true of others who are in the same position: the class of their parents and the social and cultural class conditions of their neighbourhood and upbringing outweigh their current occupation and economic situation when it comes to identifying themselves through class. It seems clear then that class can be identified through many different factors. People can be a combination of these factors and can also interchange combinations throughout their life. As each individual will hold different values for each factor, categorising people 'cleanly' is impossible, but taken together, these factors give us a model for discussing class.

Drawing on the depictions of class above, as well as 'A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste' by Pierre Bourdieu, I would argue that class can be assumed by five factors: 'class' background (the class of one's parents), a division of people by accumulated

and potential capital, nature of occupation, geographical location of work and home, and lastly, social practice and taste (Bourdieu's concept of taste I will consider in more detail later where it is relevant to specific research).

Indigenous working class community

In the description of my documentary film 'We Ain't Stupid' I referred to the 'indigenous' communities of East London. Any area, especially one with such a rich history of migrants and population churn, can throw up challenges as to what constitutes indigenous members of society as opposed to non-indigenous. For the purposes of my project, when I use this term I am referring to people who have lived in the East End and/or East London for a generation, and who broadly speaking, fall into the category of working class, whatever their ethnicity. Although the old East End was described by Engels as the 'largest working class city in the world', it is also true that 'the diversification of east London's population has, from the outset, had a class as well as ethnic dimension' (Dench, G et al 2006:22). This can cover white working class English inhabitants whose links to the area go back generations as well as economic immigrants whose families have been in East London for a substantial amount of time and have been 'brought up' there. From the Huguenots to the Jews and, most notably over the past 40 years, the Bangladeshis setting up home in the area, these people have all shared not only the physical landscape of home, work and play but have also had strikingly similar needs for housing, economic and social assistance, which has been a characteristic of this part of London since it was created. The physical rootedness in the area, plus the similarity of specific needs shared with others in the locality, is also evident in both the presence of extended family members nearby and also the use of these extended families as support networks:

"Bangladeshi families today have lives that evoke, in some ways those of the post war Bethnal Greeners... this is principally due to the importance in many, if not most, Bangladeshi families of the practical and emotional support given within extended families"

(Dench, G et al, 2006:3)

The similar social and cultural conditions of both the White and Bangladeshi communities, as well as many other ethnic communities in the area, creates a situation where different cultural backgrounds are superseded by a present commonality, with the whites being 'the historic working class of east London' alongside 'the Bangladeshi community that has grown up alongside it during the past 30 years' (Dench, G et al 2006:11). This growing up alongside, for me, creates a general indigenusness, which is

reinforced by the contrast with more recent arrivals into the area, notably the ‘inexorable extension of the middle class... finally extending in the 1980’s and 1990’s to the former hearts of working class community and culture’ (Dench, G et al 2006:19). I share the view that these newcomers, although sharing ‘nationality’ with the city and the British East Enders, have less of a stake of belonging due to their class, social and cultural clash with the history of the area;

“incoming middle class yuppies (or ‘young professionals’) who live in the East End but are not of it. They belong to a new cosmopolitan urban elite, import national class differences into what was formerly a working-class district and increase local diversity and social division. This class gap may be even more significant than the cultural divide between the Bangladeshi newcomers and the old white working-class residents in the area”

(Dench, G et al 2006:24)

These differences go some way to blurring their claim (whether they claim it or not) to being indigenous, so in my research I have not considered them as indigenous, therefore with less of a ‘right to the city’ (more on that later) as those communities I have outlined above.

From the outset of this project I have made clear my working class roots, and whilst Heidegger’s idea of rootedness is an ontological term rather than a socio-cultural one, it has helped me to try to position my class within my actual research as well as within the worlds and spaces I have been investigating:

‘All entities whose being ‘in’ one another can thus be described have the same kind of being – that of being - present-at-hand – as Things occurring within the world.’

(Heidegger, M 1962:79)

Being from the wider space, being an external trajectory of the market, and operating within the space of the market and the outside spaces frequented by those from within the market, strengthened an already existent being within me, creating what Heidegger describes as an ‘I am’; ‘Ich bin [I am] means in its turn “I reside” or “dwell alongside” the world, as that which is familiar to me in such and such a way’ (Heidegger, M 1962:80).

Moreover, working class is a term I am comfortable with using in my research, as I believe my methodology and interaction throughout my work puts me into a position to be confident in its usage, and correct usage:

‘But if we watch these men over an adequate period of social change, we observe patterns in their relationships, their ideas, and their institutions. Class is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition.’

(Thompson, E 1964:11)

I have observed shared patterns in relationships and ideas over a period of social change: the Olympic Games, the general election resulting in a two-party Government, and the attempted commercialization of Queen’s Market, over a timeframe of six years, and people have defined themselves through this. This time aspect of the research, when served alongside the being in of the world of the research space, played a crucial part that cannot be overestimated when considering the method of ‘awareness’ through consistent observation and discussion:

‘The awareness of Being is not some mysterious or mystical “insight” given only to philosophical elite; it is not a kind of psychological experience that requires a certain kind of gymnastic to prepare ourselves for the “happy moment of truth.” To be aware of the meaning of being is as common as to be aware of our left ankle: we are aware of it when we look at it or think about it, and we are unaware of it when we don’t’

(Gelven, M 1970:34)

I also travelled to Athens in 2011 to research the effects of the 2004 Olympic Games on the Athenians (as well as the historical aspect of the ancient Olympics), and to investigate the connection between the Games and the current economic crisis in Greece. Here I witnessed the same contributing factors of class in the streets, markets, cafes and bars in the birthplace of the Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games

The history of the Olympic Games movement itself is no less colourful. Originally conceived in Ancient Greece, around 776 BC, until its official closure in AD 393 (Spivey, N 2004:XXVII), the Games were a spectacle and circus shrouded in myth which helped maintain power over the people of the warring Greek cities, where Greeks gathered at Olympia were encouraged ‘not to consider their respective city-states as prizes to be seized by force of arms, and instead to direct their aggressive inclinations towards the territory of the barbarians’(Spivey, N 2004:196).

There were also strong religious overtones to the Games, with the building of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia in 460BC (Spivey N 2004:74), while a wild boar would be

sacrificed in front of the Temple after the competitors had taken an oath of honesty before the start of the Games. The myth and spectacle of the ancient Games were not exclusive to just Olympia, the almost immortal quality taken on by victors being retained by them on return to their home city-states with fame and privileges and being sculpted in statue and worshipped in poetry (Spivey N 2004:74).

Although there had been various athletics competitions in the 1800s, mainly in Britain, that had used the term 'Olympic' within their event title, the birth of the modern Olympic Games, held in Greece in 1896, has widely been attributed to Pierre de Coubertin, who from 1890 worked actively on re-establishing the Olympic Games (IOC, 2011:2). In 1883 he visited Britain to compare the English education and sports systems to that of France, and was influenced by what he had seen:

'After this trip, he began his life's work, namely reforming the education system through sport. Convinced of the importance of including sport in the balanced education of a person, he then devoted himself to spreading this idea using all means available: lectures, publications, setting up sports or educational societies, etc.'

(IOC, 2011:2).

Spreading these ideas led to his organising the founding of the International Olympic Committee, and from this organisation came the first modern Olympic Games. The political and religious influence that began in ancient Greece has consistently played a major role at the modern Olympic Games. Throughout the years the most significant political issues of successive epochs have manifested themselves during, and through, the Games: Hitler in the Berlin Games of 1936, the African/American Black Power movement at Mexico 1968, and the Black September crisis involving Palestinian terrorists at Munich 1972. All of these events have been crystallized and promulgated through moving image production. Hitler utilized the filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl in order to develop his image of the Nazi party. Documentary images of Tommy Smith and John Carlos' black glove protest flashed around the globe and form the basis of a number of documentary essays, such as 'Salute' by Matt Norman and 'Black Power Salute' by Geoff Small. Steven Spielberg dramatized the events of 1972 in his feature film Munich (2008).

The Games have produced some of the most iconic moments in the history of the last two centuries through the medium of the image, and particularly the moving image. The Olympic Games and the art of film have a shared chronology and a uniquely symbiotic relationship. They function together to create the illusion(s) of fair play, objectivity, and meritocracy and to perpetuate the greatest myth – that time, through heroic, physical

achievements, can be made to stand still. But as each Olympiad shows people running faster, jumping higher and throwing further, the progress on the track and in the field is not reflected in any genuine or meaningful change within the Games' surrounding communities.

As an East London film maker with my own roots traceable to Greece through my father's family,, it is particularly interesting to me to research the Olympic Games in London 2012 and analyse whether it will function in a similar socio-economic and political manner to the model used originally in Ancient Greece and developed by the modern Olympiad.

5. People and Sport

Working Class and Sport - Bourdieu's 'How Can One Be A Sports Fan? '

Bourdieu's work on sport within class positioning is useful when considering the two-way relationship between people of different classes and sports of differing nature. The mix of disciplines in his work is relevant to my project and recently his work has grown in popularity, currently being the second most quoted author in the world according to Thomson Reuters. Trained as an anthropologist Bourdieu's sociology of working class culture is heavily inflected by ethnography. He comments on many aspects of everyday life, notably the working class, the youth, the elite and the media. Whilst Bourdieu's theories, such as bodily hexes and habitus are drawn upon within my project, his approach to study is also relevant and useful to my own way of research. My research within this project draws on elements of his anthropological approach, spending relatively prolonged periods in the field studying the development of human behaviour over time. He also valued the role of practice within research, and how practice can inform theory, and his study 'How Can One Be A Sports Fan?' is consistent with methodology and subject matter when observing the changing parameters of sport and its fans. This section will cover the most popular British sports, but will concentrate on football. Although included in recent

Olympic Games including London 2012, football is not considered a key Olympic sport, probably mainly due to the professional and commercial aspects afforded to players within the world's most prominent leagues as opposed to the same professional and commercial opportunities for the other Olympic Sports, which up until the 1970s were considered to be amateur. However, the reason I have chosen football and its fans to contemplate is threefold. Firstly, football is the world's most popular sport, being watched by, participated in and researched upon more than any other. Secondly, football, since the beginning of the 20th century, has been a predominantly working-class sport through

competitors and spectators, which illustrates the specific class-sport connection I wish to make as in the instance of the Olympic Sports taking place in the traditional working-class areas of the Host Boroughs, and thirdly, as the London 2012 Games are the first Games where Great Britain has entered a football team, which is probably due to the popularity of the sport in the Host Country.

The working classes have traditionally had a strong historical connection to the participation, production and consumption of sport, founded through football, cricket and rugby, and developed through sports such as boxing, sprinting, and weightlifting. On participation, Bourdieu argues that the world a man inhabits, his physical, social, economic and moral world mould him into a being that can naturally take on tasks that draw on the experiences of that world. I will draw on his theories to discuss two human issues, their physical and their mental/emotional. Physically, Bourdieu refers to 'hexes', and explains the freedoms and restraints that bodily hexes place on the being when carrying out different tasks. Hexes describes the body as bound by its history, its memory as such and this comes from its natural and repetitive movement. thus 'workers engage in sports that depend upon, and place at risk, sheer bodily strength, which is grounded in the unity of dispositions' (During, S 1993 pg:427). A working class man is used to making a lot of his body through his economic responsibilities derived from particular employment. When working in factories, their jobs will include operating machines, loading and unloading, hitting, striking, pushing, lifting etc. Their bodies are therefore trained to act physically as a way of expressing themselves. Furthermore, these acts of the body resonate with ancient human activities of survival that are consistent with many of the track and field events, which Aaron - the athlete in 'We Ain't Stupid' aiming to compete at London 2012 - explained;

"What I do, I do decathlon, I love it, shot put, javelin, it all comes from caveman times, hunting animals, throwing rocks down, jumping, running away from animals..."

(Aaron. We Ain't Stupid, 2015)



Aaron and Eleni laugh and joke about how they met

These fundamental aspects of physical survival are more apparent in historically dominant working class spaces of work and consequence; acts of strength and physique are more suited to them, whereas acts of precision and detail and care are alien to them (See Kauppi, N 2000 CH: 1 and Bourdieu 1994 CH: 1). The close links between manual labour and athleticism are explored in Phil Cohen's book 'On the Wrong Side of the Track?':

"The notion of the manual worker as a human dynamo and of the athlete as a piece of physical engineering draw on the same bio-energetic model"

(Cohen, P 2013:188)

Whilst Aaron compares his sporting performances to the activities of the 'caveman', Cohen links the 'physically punishing disciplines of sport' with 'masculine ideals' (Cohen, P 2013:189). While Aaron's caveman analogy is geared more towards the physical than mental or emotional expression, with masculinity at its centre, I think it still chimes with Cohen's assessment. Aaron is a decathlete, what he describes as an all rounder, so he has trained his body to be at the same time quick, agile and strong, with perhaps more time spent in the gym than on the track. His muscle size and extreme training methods, as seen when he exercises at the gym where he also works, is also an expression of modern manhood where 'pumping iron in the gym rather than sweating it out in an iron foundry is what is now supposed to turn working-class boys into 'real men'. (Cohen, P 2013:190). But high-level sport in modern society is also played in the mind, physical greatness is no longer enough:

"Within the world of professional sport, the psychological dimensions of athletic performance have been given ever greater emphasis; the sports psychologist has

become as important as the physiotherapist”.

(Cohen, P 2013:193)

This is evidenced by Aaron explaining that as well as receiving acupuncture for an injury to his achilles, he is also about to start hypnotherapy treatment to try to help him overcome mental problems he experiences when competing in the pole vault. Along with these modern methods employed by Aaron, I must again go back to his more traditional ways of training, that of his relationship to his coach. Cohen explains the learning of sport as a ‘mimetic discipline’, which has ‘remained embedded in a strong form of masculine identity’, and in this case takes place through the mimicking of coaches who are ex-athletes, and where a relationship is formed which mirrors the traditional ‘master or mentor and apprentice, and [is] as such, highly congruent with traditional ways of learning to labour within the manual working class’ (Cohen, P 2013:190). Aaron’s coach, Zack, is a former athlete himself, and they also share time socially in the salon in Queens Market where Aaron has his hair done. There is a father/son element evident in their relationship, shown by Zack’s ‘tough love’ alongside his acceptance of Aaron’s vulnerability. In the interview, he shares the ‘agnostics of coming to terms with injury, loss of form and competitive defeat’ (Cohen, P 2013:190), which encapsulates the traditional working class master/apprentice relationship within labour.

Lastly, it is worth noting a particular area’s historical connection with the local community’s predominant class and cultural backgrounds when looking at the athletes it produces. Consider the social and historical context for Aaron’s sporting life:

“In the East End of London, a succession of immigrant communities have thrown up boxing champions over the past century... and many boxing promoters and trainers have been drawn from similar working-class and immigrant backgrounds”

(Cohen, P 2013:191)

Aaron, like his trainer Zack, are both from African immigrant backgrounds brought up in working class families in London’s East End, and whilst neither are boxers, similar attributes to a boxer are present in both (strength, size, speed, aggression and determination). I think the connections that Cohen makes regarding environment, class conditions and cultural background are evident in Aaron’s trajectory from East End boy to athletic man. Using Cohen’s chapter ‘In the Zone’ to understand the theories behind Aaron’s actions and language during my research, I believe Aaron could be described as a typical athlete of his environment. He embodies the traditional notions of physicality as an expression of masculinity; the apprentice/mentor relationship he has with his coach relates back to the

master/apprentice relationship of labour; and his environment and cultural background connect him to previous sportsmen from the same heritage. He also benefits from more recent developments in the world of sport - alternative treatments for injury and the psychological assistance in the training of one's mind and body to compete at the highest level. However, when it comes to Aaron's ideals, what is important to him as a sportsman differs from the Olympic ideals put forward by Coubertin for the modern Olympic Games. Coubertin believed that sport could create solidarity, and his vision was partly influenced by 'the classical education of the English public school, with its ethos of aristocratic amateurism, homo-social team spirit and "fair play"' (Cohen, P 2013:196). For Aaron:

"At the end of the day, it is all about winning.... If you just go there and be a nice guy you're not remembered. That's why they have the medal tallys. Usain Bolt goes there, breaks a world record, that's it. He'll be remembered forever"

(We Aint Stupid, 2015)

So whilst Aaron was a typical athlete of his environment, what he stood for was, in one way at least, the opposite of what the Olympic Games stood for. It's possible then, in this case at least, to see a discontinuity between what the organisers claim are the point of the competitions and what the athletes' motivation for competing are. This discontinuity between the sporting aspect of the Games is useful when considering any mismatch regarding the ancillary effects of the Games – regeneration and sporting and social legacy. These factory acts and working class bodily hexes transform perfectly into the components of a successful sportsman/woman, also highlighted in my film through football:

"a game of great physical robustness. Strength in shoulder to shoulder combat and in shielding the ball, power in the air and tenacity in the tackle and riding tackles, speed and stamina."

(Richards, B 1994 pg:41)

Continuing with participation, mentally the same conditions provide the same stimulus for specific sports. Traditionally on the factory floor, but more recently in the service industry, the working classes operate as a team. Not only are they used to working in a team but also they are knowledgeable of the success it can bring. They have no hang-ups about sacrificing and bailing out a work mate and this transcends to the sports field, particularly the fields of football and rugby, where 'modern association play... is essentially the combination shown by the team. The field at each kick changes like a kaleidoscope, each player shifting his place to help a friend or check an adversary' (Walvin, J 1975 pg: 73). These issues of teamwork and individualism are also apparent in working-class and middle-

class living conditions. The urban setting of close proximity and a high sense of community found in working-class areas further heighten the sense of teamwork and helping and being helped by others in an attempt to gain group success.

Symbols

People find it easier, more powerful and more socially inclusive to exert their identity through symbols rather than just through the self. Others can relate to the same symbol giving a common identity, as it 'allows the self to be seen in terms of the symbol it has collapsed into' (Stromberg, P 1986:52). Sport gives young working - class men a symbol that they can proudly become; 'clubs provide a key ritual and cultural mannequin onto which the clothes of identity, locality and regionalism are tailored and paraded' (Back, L et al 2001:41). Not only does football bring them identity, it also brings them a community feeling with other working-class men, who stand for and operate under the same symbol with togetherness. This was apparent within the West Ham United Championship play-off final day that I recorded at Queen's Market (becoming part of the documentary 'We Ain't Stupid'), asking four of the traders if they remembered their first match at Upton Park;

"1993, West Ham v Tranmere, Julian Dicks scored 2 penalties."

(Greg, We Ain't Stupid, 2015)

"I used to go Upton Park, when I was younger. I used to be with 'em all you know, shouting and hollering. I'm talking about errmm what? 45 years ago."

(Carol, We Ain't Stupid, 2015)

"1975 against Manchester United, over there, (Upton Park) and we won 5-2.

(Me) "And how old would you have been?" Gary: "Eight."

(Gary, We Ain't Stupid 2015)

"1976 and it was Liverpool. We drew 2-2; it was a midweek game."

(Neil, We Ain't Stupid 2015)

Remembering their first game, the opposition, the score and in some cases the scorer, and explaining to me with clear pride, their sense of brotherhood and assimilation with the club. Football gives them identity as well as being an avenue to exert and parade their identity. Russell Brand, comedian, political activist and lifelong West Ham Fan commented on this ritual identity in his recent book;

"My friend Gareth has just returned from the 2014 FA Cup Final; he is a fan of defeated finalists Hull City FC. In spite of the extra time defeat, he talks excitedly of

how fulfilling the experience was. What he is describing is how social codes and rituals can be used to create an identity that supersedes the concept of self with which we habitually connect.”

(Brand, R 2014:42)

This superseding takes our existence temporarily to another and higher plane, momentarily empowering the fan with a stronger sense of identity within the social whole personally and as part of a group. The game plays a central role in creating the rituals that allow this superseded identity to occur.



A Young Fan Blows Bubbles in Queens Market on the Playoff Final Day

Rituals

Sport has created offshoots of ancillary cultures around the main event, to which the working classes have adhered, as seen in the same section of the West Ham Playoff finals. The masculine inflected spheres of consumption contain traditional rituals. These can be travelling in groups, alcohol drinking, gossip, jokes, piss taking and wind-ups, football talk, talk of the night before i.e. girls etc., bumping into people you haven't seen for ages, having a sing, watching the football then more of the same (see Back, L et al 2001: 71, also Robson, G 2000: 78). Although these activities may not be 'intrinsically' working-class, when carried out in conjunction with the consumption of football, a traditionally working-class sport, it is the combination of these rituals and sport that creates heavy overtones of working class practice.

This section within the documentary 'We Ain't Stupid' showed an open top bus travelling with the club's supporters to Wembley. There were large groups drinking, singing

and flag waving in the streets, culminating in a large congregation of ticketless fans who watched the game in a pub nearby, just to be a part of the match day rituals. Although working-class participation within football rose out of working industrialised rituals, it became an entity unto itself that originated its own exclusive rituals to which working class men became attached. It is a desire that comes from football practices itself rather than directly from working practices. On the surface, these rituals could be described simply as entertaining. But they are so much more to these people. They are symbolic, they are practising of the self, and they are social.

These are all offshoot rituals of football (sport), but that is the culture created by the game. It is a very active, powerful, constant culture that attracts many. At the centre of the culture is the sport:

‘A day at football is special, getting up, travelling, anticipating, having a drink and finally the football itself. The whole shooting match really. The match lasts 90 minutes although the day can last 18 hours, but no football, no day out.’

(Ward, C 1994 pg: 52)

For many the sport is the spark of the associated culture with which they invest so heavily and rely upon and only cements the already strong connection of the working classes to the fundamentals of sport, enhanced by the production and consumption of the culture around sport.

Escapism and Glory

The working classes have traditionally lived a life of (metaphorical) incarceration. This is formed through the lack of power over their actions and their lives, forced by a lack of financial status, which made them the subjects of the elite classes. This incarceration was ‘played out in workhouse, factory, hospital, school and ship’ (Linebaugh 1993:23 in Robson G, 2000 pg:49). Sports events and the associated rituals were and within restrictions still are the main forms of freedom for working classes. A working-class man realises that any power he holds is temporary but once, maybe twice a week, experiencing pure power through numbers, sound, vision and extreme physicality through and around sport, gives him a fix of power that balances his psyche from tipping away from everything being a man stands for.

Through the class system, the workers are traditionally the producers of commodities, and rarely benefit substantially from the fruits of their produce either through financial reward or esteem. Acknowledgement, or in its severity – glory – is absent from the everyday lives of the ordinary man. Sport consumption can provide this opportunity for

momentary glory, while participation and consequential victory can gain the competitor life-long glory through success on the sports field:

'And at the end of the day it is all about winning, the more you win the more it shows, represents, greatness about that country... if you just go there and be a nice guy, polite to everyone else, but don't win, you're not remembered. So, you know, Usain Bolt goes there, breaks a world record, that's it, he's gonna be remembered forever.'

(Aaron 'We Ain't Stupid' 2015)

This glory lifts the worker out of the everyday; more importantly the opportunity for glory gives hope of transcendence to the out of the ordinary, as a participator but also as a consumer with allegiances to the glorified sportsman.



Aaron competing in the high jump, representing Newham and Essex Beagles



Carol wishing West Ham good luck on Playoff Final day

Working Class Alienation from Sport through commoditisation

Sport has recently been pushed further and further away from working class fans and 'genuine' fans, through the decrease in partisan relations between the fans themselves and the clubs they follow. Previously, fans were thought of as the main component of a club's success and continuity, but recently clubs have been distancing themselves from the working class or genuine fans. I will draw from Back, L et al, and their article '*The Changing Face of football: Racism Identity and Multi-Culture in the English Game*' to state what key principles comprise a 'genuine' sports fan;

'1. Developing an unbreakable affiliation to a single club; 2. The performance of authentic fandom through attending games; 3. assimilation of the masculinist/class inflected argot of consumption (involvement in spheres of football (sports) fandom: pre match drinking, familiarity with networks of rumour, gossip and football (sport) folklore.'

(Back et al, 2001, pg: 95.)

Commoditisation of football clubs has been a major factor in destroying the partisan aspect of football. Football clubs have followed big business by reinventing themselves as a commodity, or brand:

'Fans despise it, but we should view fans as "customers" as that's what clubs are doing in managing their relationships. [Scottish club Chairman]'

(Giulianotti R, 2005 pg:394).

Fans are simply the consumers of the brand. They are no longer partisan toward commercial sport and therefore genuine fans - in this case those who have historically and periodically attended matches - have been pushed away. The commoditisation of sport has taken away any sense of personal interaction, of being a key component to the production of the sports club and everything it stands for. Fans, supporters, the fabric of the sport, have been reduced to mere spectators, with "products and services on offer to fans so it's in comparison to what you'd expect walking into a shop, café, bar, whatever you will" (Giulianotti R, 2005 pg:394). When you walk into a café or bar, you simply consume, you do not produce.

Globalisation

As Sassen notes in 'A Sociology of Globalization', when considering what constitutes 'global', we should not look at the issue 'simply in terms of interdependence and global institutions' (Sassen, S 2007:4). Many globalised formations actually reside in the local or national, what she calls 'a localization of the global'. She describes the process, in most cases, as one which includes the transformation from local to national and eventually to global, whereby 'the national state is clearly a key actor and an institutional order at play in these articulations of the global' (Sassen, S 2007:14). This is interesting when considering sport, and particularly football. Football has been described as tribal, with clubs, both abroad and in Britain, having a clear sense of the local through the stadia, the fanbase and the majority of the staff working at the club. This localisation is enhanced by the rivalry between clubs, with fiercer rivalry and claim over the locale the closer the clubs are situated to each other geographically as opposed to how they rank in achievement (Arsenal and Spurs in North London, Liverpool and Everton on Merseyside, Newcastle and Sunderland on Tyneside and Forest and County in Nottingham). For these clubs, and therefore the sport they represent, to become global institutions, they underwent the 'work of rendering national just about all crucial features of society' (Sassen, S 2007:15). This process began in the formative years of the game with the founding of the Football Association, the Football League and national rules. It then picked up pace with the advent of international governing bodies and international competition before accelerating in the last 20 years or so, with the creation of the Premier League seeing a move from the national to the global through the vast increase in foreign players coming to English clubs coupled with the export of the game abroad through branding and broadcasting - notably, the Premier League brand being broadcast worldwide through satellite television.

Globalisation has had its impact on sport, and in this case has diluted the sense of locality fans gained from their allegiances to local clubs. This has occurred through two

avenues. Firstly, by the venture into foreign markets by many sports and their subsequent club members to increase their fan base and therefore their revenue streams. These clubs are no longer defined by locality as much as before. The genuine fans are no longer the priority, and therefore there is no longer an 'embodiment and legitimising of the needs and hopes of a distinctive public' (Korr, C 1990 pg: 157). Fans realise this, and the pride of being a specific fan of a specific club, from a specific area with specific make up, morals and history, is wiped away. Anyone from around the world can now attach themselves to a once exclusive club, and the 'authentic fandom' mentioned earlier is no longer held in such high regard. Genuine fans feel their years of support, their initiation, is now worthless:

"I spent around twenty years going down Highbury, all my wage packet went following Arsenal around the country. You saw the same geezers each week; you had a mutual respect for the commitment. Now that football's become fashionable, you're more likely to see the tourists on a day trip, the Yanks and Japs with their camcorders, the big corporate business... competition winners. The real fans don't like it... It's like it's being watered down... No authenticity these days."

(Craig, lifelong Arsenal fan, Author interview, April 2007).

Craig's view shows contempt for the new fans globalisation has brought. This may seem like parochialism, but by their very nature football clubs around the world are traditionally based around parochialism, their place within the local as opposed to the wider community as well as the overwhelming priority for singular success at the expense of all other football clubs. I doubt Craig's grievances are actually with 'Japs' and 'Yanks' at football per se, but more with outsiders in general, with the examples he used maybe more visually noticeable as outsiders to him. Craig has spent years becoming one of the boys at Arsenal, and these new 'fans' stroll straight in for a game here and there. This lack of 'authenticity', amongst other factors, is one of the reasons he no longer attends football matches.

The second issue that off shoots globalisation is the televising of football through Sky and pay-per-view etc. Now there is a bigger market for consuming football. As opposed to simply the fans in the stadia, television delivers the games around the world. This has dire consequences, as 'folk can wake up and crawl through to see the game on their couch. That will kill the clubs.' (Giulianotti, R 2007 pg:145). These days, and sadly even more so in the next few years, football will simply be a product to be consumed by the working classes, not produced by them. For the working-class fans who continue to go and who watch on television, they no longer have the same input, control and thus power as they used to, creating an estrangement from the game.



The Olympic stadium looms over the communities of Hackney Wick

Mega-Events and Communities

Maurice Roche's definition of mega-events is those events that are best understood as 'large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance.' (Roche, 2000: 1). For Kenneth Roberts (2004: 108) what defines certain sports events as 'mega' is that they are discontinuous, out of the ordinary, international and simply big in composition. Most importantly, mega-events are deemed to have 'significant consequences for the Host City, region or nation in which they occur'. (Horne et al 2006:2) In this case the significant consequence being 'Legacy', in sporting and in social, cultural and economic terms, which clearly defines the modern Olympics as a mega event. In many countries, and researched particularly in the UK and the USA, the main stimuli for using sport for economic regeneration has been the hosting of international sporting events. In response to urban decline, Glasgow, Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham have invested heavily in the sports infrastructure so that each has a portfolio of major sports facilities capable of holding major sports events. After a mega-event has finished, questions start to be raised about the popular belief that sport can have a positive impact on a local community and a regional economy. Sport has been seen as a generator of national and local economic and social development. Economically it has been viewed as an industry around which cities can devise urban regeneration strategies.

Despite changes of personnel and rules, considerable secrecy and lack of transparency continue to pervade the undemocratic organizations that run sports mega-events (Merkel, U 1993). Those that challenge this, or write about it critically, may become *persona non grata* to the mega-event organizers. Certainly there has been an increasing reliance on protecting the image of the Olympics, the Host City and the IOC in the past

fifteen years through the employment of public relations companies (*The Guardian Sport section*, 22 September 2005: 2).

Modern competitive sport and large-scale sport events were developed in line with the logic of capitalist modernity; sports mega-events and global sport culture are central to late modern capitalist societies. As media events, the summer Olympic Games and the FIFA association football World Cup provide cultural resources for reflecting upon identity, whilst more generally they provide resources for the construction of 'a meaningful social life in relation to a changing societal environment that has the potential to destabilize and threaten these things' (Roche, 2000: 225).

Significantly, mega-events are growing, most obviously through participation or production, and by consumption, and whilst at the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles 140 countries were represented, 6797 athletes competed, and 221 events took place in 23 sports; by the Athens 2004 Olympics, 201 countries were involved and 11,099 athletes took part in 301 events in the 28 Olympic sports (Malfas et al, 2004:210). The growth of mega-events and of participation in the event as well as hosting the event themselves is reducible to three distinct aspects which all combine to bring in a larger audience across the globe, both short term through coverage of the events themselves and long-term through cultural tourism to the host cities before during and after the mega-event. Firstly, improvements in communication, particularly satellite television and the Internet, have allowed broadcasters to reach larger audiences. Since the 1960s, U.S, European and Asian broadcasters have competed in their respective territories to buy the rights of transmission for the Olympic Games (Horne et al 2006:3)..

This increase in audience numbers culminates in mega- events becoming even more mega through increased consumption globally. Secondly, the explosion of media partners, i.e. commercial sponsors, since the 1980s, has formed a 'sports-media-business' alliance which combines sponsorship rights, exclusive broadcasting rights and merchandizing (Horne et al 2006:2) to further fuel and maximize audiences and revenue and build, from within, the 'mega-event'. Whilst the first two components may well help explain how mega-events have developed over the past few decades, the third reason is more geared towards why mega-events have grown in their attractiveness to host cities as holders of the Games themselves. Mega-events have come to be seen as 'valuable promotional opportunities for cities and regions' (Horne et al 2006:2), mainly led through the concept of legacy, 'whether social, cultural, environmental, political, economic or sporting' (Horne et al 2006:9), whilst a large proportion of literature on the subject concludes that 'economic benefits are the prime motive' for hosting the Games (Malfas et al 2004:218), to consider interests invested

in hosting the Games more specifically, then the positive impacts on employment (or rather unemployment), additional spending in the community hosting an event, visiting tourist/spectator numbers, the 'showcase effect' (Hiller, H 1989:119) of media coverage on an event locality, and some (usually unspecified) impact on the social condition of the host community, are the main claims made for hosting mega-events.

One of the specific legacies traditionally, and one that we have seen in East London through the construction of the Westfield Stratford City shopping mall which also includes pubs, restaurants, hotels, nightclubs and a casino, is the introduction of Urban Entertainment Destinations. Hannigan has identified Urban Entertainment Destinations 'as one of the most significant developments transforming cities throughout the urban world'. (Hannigan, J in Robertson, M 1998:3): Hannigan argues that 'the 'Fantasy City' of the late 20th and early 21st century has been formed by the convergence of three trends. Firstly, through the application of the four principles of efficiency, calculability, predictability and control (or McDonaldization as Ritzer, 1993, described it) there has been a rationalization of the operation of the entertainment industries. Secondly, theming, as exemplified by the Disney corporation (or Disneyization, see Bryman, 2004), produces new opportunities for commercial and property developers in urban areas. Thirdly, accompanying synergies between previously discrete activities such as shopping, dining out, entertainment and education, lead to 'de-differential - what some analysts regard as a feature of post modernization.' (Horne J, 2006:8)

This association of social development through mega-events, progress aligned with sport through the idea of legacy, has attracted many governments, councils and politicians to vie for the Games, in a bid to help develop their own areas and/or political careers. However, research into the effects of mega-events on legacy has shown actual results against projections are questionable:

'These trends, alongside the pursuit of enhanced, or even world class, status by politicians and businesses, raise questions for some analysts about the social distribution of the supposed benefits of urban development initiatives, including festivals, spectacles and mega-events. Which social groups actually benefit, which are excluded, and what scope is there for contestation of these developments, are three important questions that are often ignored.'

(Lowes, 2002:N/A)

In Horne's article, he points out that since the Olympics in 1976 'a major public and academic concern in considerations of sports mega-events has been the gap between the forecast and actual impacts on economy, society and culture', while maintaining that 'forecasts of the benefits are nearly always wrong.' (Horne et al 2006:9).

Before scrutinizing the legacy on the Host City of 2012's mega-event, it is worthwhile at this stage considering why these forecasts are nearly always wrong and in whose interests it is to exaggerate the benefits beforehand. Mega-events seduce many different figures to contribute to the outcomes of the Games in return for financial or prestigious award; including politicians, property developers, architects and town planners. Therefore, people are vying for funding to complete additional projects alongside the construction of stadia, including roads, bridges, canals, tunnels, housing, trains, airports, ports etc. To gain funding they need to forecast benefits of their proposed projects, and as they have no real grasp of what may happen in the future, and invested interest in getting permission for the project, costs have been underestimated and benefits over-exaggerated;

'Their research findings suggest that promoters of multi-billion dollar mega-projects, including sports stadia and other infrastructure, may often consistently, systematically and self-servingly mislead governments and the public in order to get projects approved.'

(Horne et al 2006:10)

Tourism wise, predicted visitor numbers to host cities during and after events are often over optimistic, with predictions of sports tourists to the 2002 FIFA World Cup at one million while in actuality standing at only 30,000 (Horne et al 2006:10). Alongside this there is a 'similar fantasy world of underestimated costs, overestimated revenues, underestimated environmental impacts and overvalued economic development effects' (Horne et al 2006:10) and that 'power play, instead of commitment to deliberative ideals, is often what characterizes megaproject development' (Flyvbjerg et al 2003:7).

This misleading is very worrying indeed especially to members of host cities whose very interests the promoters claim to promote and serve, and who more often than not are members of marginalized communities who are in need of the most support. It is both for the connection supplied by the organisers of mega- events between event and social progress, as well as the justification of the costs involved in staging them, that critical analysis before during and after perceived progress should be examined through both statistical evidence and the qualitative study of local experience, and seen in the context of previous mega-event/social progress periods and existing theoretical concepts of the relationship, which

brings me back to my research question. Indeed the question I will try to answer in subsequent chapters will be developed to try to understand if it is a real relationship in terms of existence physically between the two, or is it a relationship of public relations convenience, where social progress is tagged onto a mega-event for cost justification, PR exercise, the creation of fantasy cities, Gentrification; space and power reclamation from the lower classes who tend to inhabit the areas around mega-events prior and during the event but slowly are removed in the aftermath of the event to bring in people of more wealth and a differing skill set to drive forward the space. And has 'true' legacy been achieved?

The idea of a mega-event providing a true and lasting legacy was at the forefront of the London 2012 bid and was increasingly used as justification of the costs of hosting the Games which was frequently brought into question, particularly closer to the Games themselves. Although previously not a relationship to be taken seriously by sports people or sociologists, recognized by Bourdieu as 'disdained by sociologists, and despised by sports people' (Bourdieu, 1990:156), it is now accepted that 'sports mega-events and global sport culture are central to late modern capitalist societies' (Horne et al, 2006:1). This recent conglomerate of mega-event and legacy which is central to London's bid as well as this relationship being used as justification for the huge relative costs of holding a sports event brings the London 2012 Olympic Bid, rightly under scrutiny.



The entrance to Queen's Market

6. .Queen's Market as a 'Space' with Lefebvre

Three Dimensional Depiction of the Market's Space

To conduct research that maximised responses within the certain confines I worked under (time, space, cost, equipment etc.) I strove to choose a space that would not only give me regular local access to the field of research, but one I could understand and define, and I will draw on many of Lefebvre's theories on space to try to portray the space of Queen's Market. Firstly, I chose a space that had on the one hand a clear purpose, whilst on the other hand many aspects that transcended the obvious in regards to pursuing that purpose, a space that would exhibit explicitly and implicitly many aspects of social formation and meaning. Commodity exchange is historical, and spaces of exchange are, to varying degrees, spaces of supporting expression:

"Exchange as the historical origin of the commodity society is not limited to the (physical) exchange of objects. It also requires communication, confrontation, comparison, and, therefore, language and discourse, signs and the exchange of signs, thus a mental exchange, so that a material exchange takes place at all. The exchange relationship also contains an affective aspect, and exchange of feelings and passions that, at one and the same time, both unleashes and chains the encounter."

(Schmid, C 2008: 40)

This encompasses the market where the majority of my research took place, a space for commodity exchange but where in the exploration of exchange many sides of human interaction and behaviour came to the fore. The market was initially chosen on this premise, that the unleashing of the encounter was more severe than that of comparable commodity exchange based spaces such as supermarkets or department stores. This human interaction and behaviour of the market produces a space and 'space is neither a 'subject' or an 'object' but rather a social reality' (Lefebvre, H 1991[1974]: 116), that becomes a production of this space, and that '(Social) space is a (social) product' (Lefebvre, 1991[1974]: 29):

'(Social) space is a (social) product; in order to understand this fundamental thesis it is necessary, first of all, to break with the widespread understanding of space imagined an independent material reality existing 'in itself'. Against such a view, Lefebvre, using the concept of the production of space, posits a theory that understands as fundamentally bound up with social reality. It follows that space "in itself" can never serve as an epistemological starting position. Space does not exist "in itself"; it is produced.'

(Schmid, C 2008:28)

Hence, the market is not a space unto itself; it is neither simply the bricks nor mortar, the shops nor stalls, it is a product produced by the users, in this case the traders and

customers, and consumed by the same people. The users have produced the space rather than vice-versa; indeed there was trade on the site long before the current architecture.



A butcher in Queen's Market advertising his goods

Within the space, stalls have allocated pitches to exchange goods, but the form of the stall, the size and shape is determined by the stall holders, and is constantly changing with the change and scale of goods they sell, the images used to advertise goods are produced by the traders, the employer/employee combination is altered frequently with staff moving from stall to stall depending on the current needs of each business, and the customers construct their route to suit their needs in their order of buying commodities as opposed to the encouraged route through the market by the council officials and architects.

The social reality within this space, commented on by Schmid when considering Lefebvre, is three dimensional, and 'can be understood as the contradiction between social thought and social action, supplemented by the third factor of the creative, poetic act' (Schmid, C 2008:33), and Schmid continues to describe Lefebvre's three dimensional dialectic on space as material social practice, language and thought and the poetic act. Applying this model to the Market, I will take firstly the act or action. A visibly transparent space, all stalls are visible from all angles with no areas walled off to sight, it is a place where the act is explicit, the movement, the physical interaction, the organisation of commodities, the verbal act of advertising, the consumption of food and drink, all action was at once apparent. The more relaxed operating regulations at Queen's compared to more corporate places of exchange such as national supermarkets produced a more natural and organic space. This absence of strict regulations made access to the workers of the market and the presence of recording equipment relatively easy. Permission to carry out the

research there was given verbally by the Markets Manager, and he encouraged me to come and go as I pleased. And again, as opposed to supermarkets, there was no separation between 'front' and 'back' of house – there were no restricted zones such as warehousing and office space - creating an apparent space and apparent people which allowed me access to all areas.



Carol dressing up herself and her stall for Christmas



A trader at Queen's flies a flag for the Royal wedding

Thought, something that occurs within the confines of one's mind, is impossible to see, although can in some cases be deciphered through the actions. However, a representation of the thought within space can be gathered through interaction with the users of this space, in this case through informal interviews. As mentioned above, the space has been produced by the users in accordance with their own wants, therefore regulations on

their time and working practices are in stark contrast to those of workers within commercially equivalent spaces of goods exchange. Employees at national supermarket chains are very unlikely to be able to spend 20 minutes talking with me in during working hours on an adhoc basis with a camera and crew in attendance. Even at its peak business hours, traders never refused an interview, and could continue serving customers while talking to me (conveniently combining action within the thought aspect of the space, whilst avoiding an unwanted talking head film). Furthermore, the nature of the market is one where verbal interaction plays a huge part in their exchanging of goods, with both regular customers and new ones, so many of the traders were at ease talking to me in their workplace, it was part of the natural rhythm of the market. This genuine access to users of the space gave me a solid base to elicit their thoughts (or at least a representation of their thoughts) on their own actions and interactions with those around them, both within the space and in the wider community, including local and national politics. It was a haven for thought, for free speech and for expression.

Lastly, expression through 'Art' came from all users of the space. Within the market itself, display of goods, when similar goods were available on different stalls, played an important role in maximising sales. The variety of fruit, colourful and exotic, was carefully displayed to make the entire stall as visually appealing as possible, combining use and aesthetics to create art. All users tapped into this, and the beginning of the working day saw arrangement and re-arrangement, cross referencing with the displays of nearby stalls, complemented by hand-made images and signs to create a visual piece. Art through music and food was always ongoing in the background. Users of the space also created art outside of this space in their own private spaces. Dan is an artist who was living in Hackney Wick, painting and making sculptures both within his home and on the walls of the surrounding area. Kenan owned and managed a music studio, producing music with local artists who came to record there, whilst broadcasting their own music through Kenan's pirate radio station. Both these users of the space expressed their own and others' acts and thoughts through art.

The clear separate entities of Act, Thought and Art were explicit with the market, and the combinations and interactions between the three gave a clear depiction of the social reality of the space, which allowed numerous avenues of research whilst transcending to the screen through the documentary (practical) aspect of the research.



A barrow boy wheels in the market barrow to Queen's Market at 3am

Defining Queen's Market

Whilst it has been argued that traditionally, street market traders or costermongers are a subculture that exists as a status group separate to the class grouping of the working class, due to their self employment and their entrepreneurship, and although there were indeed traditional costermongers within Queens's Market, the vast majority of the traders who featured in my research were actually manual labourers who worked on the stalls/in the shops in return for wages. Out of the seven traders who were prominent in my research, only one, Neil, actually owned his business. Combined with the fact that the customers who used the market that featured in my research were neither costermongers or entrepreneurs, I will not differentiate between status groups (i.e. costermongers as opposed to manual labourers) and will treat the users of the space as one research group.

Lefebvre also defines space three dimensionally, 'the three moments of social space' (Lefebvre, H 1991:40) - firstly through 'perceived space' (spatial practice), where a society 'produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it' (Lefebvre 1991:38), secondly as a 'conceived space' (representations of space), which is 'the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers.' (Lefebvre, H 1991:38), and lastly 'lived space' (representational space or sometimes called spaces of representation) which is 'space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols' (Lefebvre, H 1991:39). Spatial practice consists of:

"articulation and connection of elements or activities. In concrete terms, one could think of networks of interaction and communication as they arise in everyday life (e.g. daily connection of residence and workplace) or in the production process

(production and exchange relations)”

(Schmid, C 2008:36).

Lefebvre claims the social practice formed from members of a given society within a particular space creates a cohesion and that ‘this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance’ (Lefebvre, H 1991[1974]:33). The market’s space (when I refer to the Market within this research I am referring to Queen’s Market as opposed to other markets (Stock, Currency etc.)) is full of interaction, connections, activities and communication; these are the practices that occur within the space, as mentioned previously; visible, apparent and explicit. These practices allow description, recording and to some extent analysis, which is evident in my research both practically and theoretically.

Secondly, the ‘conceived space’ (representations of space) ‘are tied to the relations of production and to the order which those relations impose’ (Lefebvre, H 1991[1974]: 33) and thus ‘give an image and thus also define a space’ (Schmid C 2008:36). It is a commonality within the use of the space that allows it to be defined, compared and contrasted to other spaces of similar use:

“The rents at the market are lower, and allow the traders to sell their commodities lower... It’s the beauty of being able to wander about from stall to stall and see what catches your eye. That’s the whole ambience of the market.”

(Roy, We Ain’t Stupid, 2015)

This comment by the manager of the market describes what differentiates the market from more commercial markets such as supermarkets, and how that defines the use of the space, developed further by the description of the way the users “like the buzz... It’s like a Raani Bazaar’ (Manish, We Ain’t Stupid, 2015). The definition begins with the architecture of a space, and is developed through naming, maps, images and verbalized references to the space, whilst ‘representations of space emerge at the level of discourse, of speech as such, and therefore compromise verbalised forms such as descriptions and definitions (Schmid, C 2008:36). The definition of this space in my research is ‘Market’, arising from its name, its brutalist architecture supporting the buying and selling of goods and the literature around the space confirming this. I believe it is also important to note that Lefebvre generally regards a conceived space as ‘a place for the practices of social and political power.’ In essence, it is these spaces that are designed to manipulate those who exist within them. This was interesting to me as the traders in the market complained many times about the unnecessary restrictions and rules placed on them, which hindered their trading as they saw unnecessarily

(cutting short trading hours, tight regulations on refuse sorting, when they could bring their trucks in to load/unload, rising rent prices etc). The representational space however, was the meaning created which in many ways went against the conceived spaces manipulation, the meaning of which I will discuss in the next chapter and the resistance employed to reinforce this meaning I will examine in subsequent chapters on de Certeau's idea of 'tactics' within the market.

This 'lived space' then, (representational spaces, or spaces of representation) is defined by Lefebvre as the (terminological) inversion of 'representations of space'. This concerns 'the symbolic dimensions of space' (Schmid, C 2008:37) through power, logos and symbols, and the signification of these, the spatial practices and representations of space 'become the vehicle conveying meaning' (Schmid, C 2008:37). It is this symbolic meaning that is expressed through the lived space (spaces of representation) and a '(spatial) symbolism develops that expresses and evokes social norms, values and experiences' (Schmid, C 2008:37). Queen's Market has retained its traditional working-class users of the space through its traders, customers and commodities, and is likened to the old East End more than the old East End is likened to itself:

"This is probably closer to the East End, like closer to how the East End used to be, than what the East End is now, if you know what I mean?"

(Fabric Trader, We Ain't Stupid, 2015)



Upton Park ; Pearly Queens in the Market

This point was made by a trader who was from the area and described himself and his connection to the area as 'an East End boy through and through... I used to sell papers outside West Ham when I was 14' (Fabric Trader, We Ain't Stupid, 2015). He did not

develop further but I believe he was referring to the change in peoples in some parts of the areas of Shoreditch, Whitechapel and Bethnal Green (through Gentrification) combined with Queen's Market not being affected by such changes in class users or succumbing to any forms of commercialisation. The traditional sense of the market is emphasized through both the years spent working the stalls by some of the traders and the family tradition of working within the market:

“Before I worked ere I went a school, and from school I’ve been ere and I’ve been working ere 32 years... My cousins are ere, my father’s ere, me nephews ere. It’s a shame really, it’s in our blood... we’ve been in this game for 10 generations.”

(Gary, We Ain’t Stupid: 2015)



Gary has worked at Queen's since he left school, now working alongside his father and his nephew



A father and son work side by side in one of Queen's many butchers

This was echoed by another trader who explained, “My family worked in this business... I’m now 51, I’ve worked ere full time since I was 11 years old” and describing his job through the traditional sense saying, “You know I’m an old barrow boy.” (Neil, *We Ain’t Stupid*, 2015), and by a third trader:

“Actually my mum worked on this stall, before me, the same stall, she worked ‘ere for 11 years. She didn’t feel well one day, asked me to come down and take her place, I been ere ever since... 17 years worth.”

(Carol, *We Ain’t Stupid*: 2015)

From these comments we can derive more than just the spatial practice; we can see history, tradition, social norms and values; a space of representation. In this way, the market provokes forms of traditional trade, indeed through the historical existence of traditional markets it symbolises ‘East London’s working-class traditional street market’.



Bairam does not let the snow stop him hollering through the market to bring people into his butchers

Yes, there are other markets in East London, and whilst some have remained a space used predominantly by the working classes, many (but not all) of the markets closer to the traditional 'East End', the areas east of the city, such as Whitechapel, Mile End and Bethnal Green, have seen a slight shift in the users of the markets there; most notably Spitalfield's Market and Brick Lane Market, towards more bespoke boutique and therefore more costly commodities. The market's meaning deriving from its lived space is opposing the manipulations delivered through its conceived space, namely its individuality within a community, i.e. a community of people who are working for themselves with little hierarchy and few bosses, who have no power influence exerted onto them from above but who all rely on each other to create a market space that supersedes the individual. Its meaning depicts organised chaos, where the minimum regulations are met but the rest of their practice is self-governed, where they consider the market a 'street market' as opposed to a council run market (which technically it is) and where they consider themselves as the heart of the market and the council, in the main, as an interference that does not know the best for the market, unlike the traders. They are proud of their hard work and their ability to combine it with many social aspects that blur the lines between business and pleasure, a community spirit between the traders and the customers and a pride in the sole trader still earning a living under threat from ever popular commercialised shopping (supermarkets, shopping malls etc). Aside from the financial interest for the traders of the market, as commerce is the underlying reasoning for being there, meaning is just as important to many of the traders and indeed the customer who use the space. To define Queen's Market three dimensionally, then, would be to say: It is a space of commodity exchange (perceived space). It is a council

run market (conceived space). It is a traditional, working class, and self governed East End market (lived space).



Flags fly in the Market during the 2010 World Cup

Expressing the 'Art' of Queen's Market with Lived and Possessed Space

Out of this symbolism and pride of the meaning of their space, with Neil proudly pronouncing 'You know I'm an old barrow boy, I'm proud to do it, I'm proud of what I do, I'm proud of my way of life (Neil, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015), a possession of space is created akin to Bachelard's theory 'espaces de possession' (possessed space). A beloved space in the eyes of the producers and users of such a space, it is defended against hostile sources' (Schmid 2008:38), with property developers St Modwens who were one of the driving forces behind Queen's Market's potential redevelopment, the hostile source to be repelled;

"St Modwens (the developers) didn't care about that. They were looking at it, like the other properties, gimme the money and I don't care"
(Manish *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

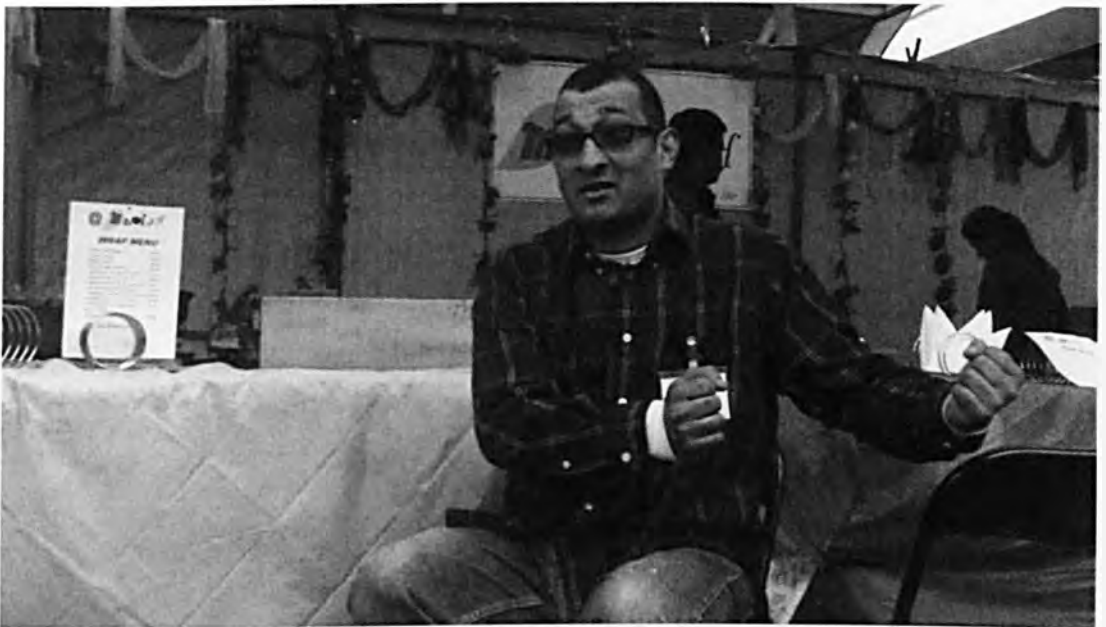
Manish described the hostile forces threatening the market, and also his protectiveness over his beloved space:

"When you're picking me up hopefully you've got a whole lot of traders behind me. We're all sticking together. If it's a trick and suddenly the bulldozers are out there, I'm sure they are not gonna pass that path."
(Manish, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

Manish clearly sees the market as his and the other users 'possessed space' that has to be defended against hostile forces, whilst Zack, a former trainer of athlete Aaron and a worker at the African Hair Salon in Queen's Market, resists the desire for change within the market in the form of turning the space over to the developers who neither understand the symbolism of the space nor the possession of the space:

"I find when you get big supermarkets it intimidates all the people who come to low kinda cheap kinda market. It's not all about money ere. Sometimes it's about a little bit of morals, a good little bit of taking care of the population and giving them what they've always been used to... sometimes some things must stay.'

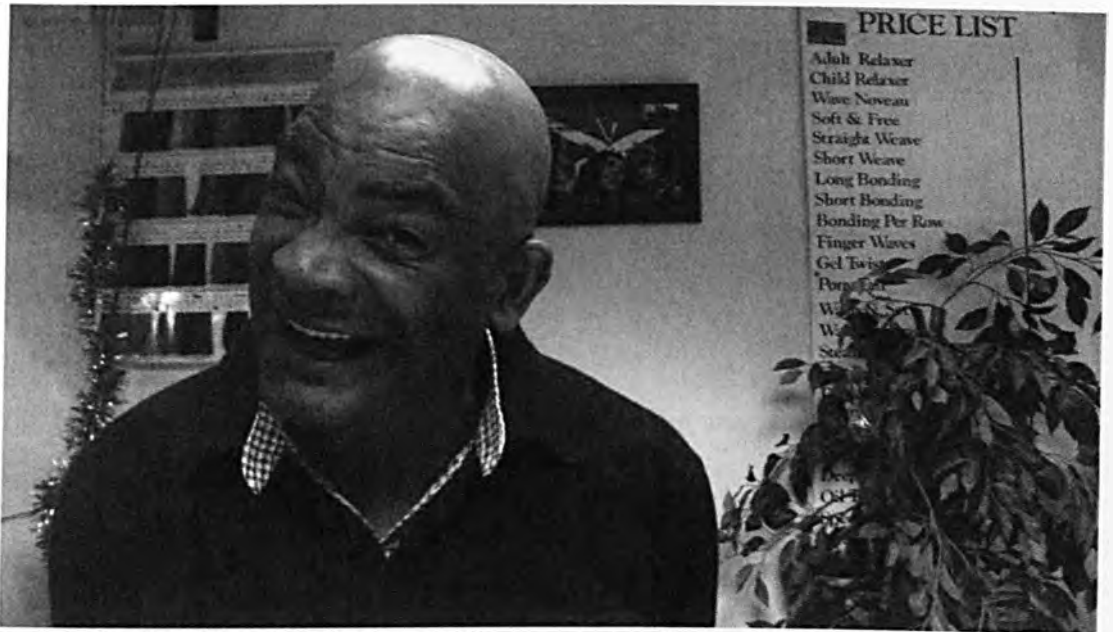
(Zack, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)



Manish tells me the proposed developers will not be able to lift him and the traders out of the market



Neil expresses his pride in being a 'Barrow Boy' and the way of life it brings



Zack, in the Hair Salon, believing some things must stay the same

Schmid contextualises the concept; 'lived space' as being understood historically from reference to the perceived and conceived space' (Schmid, C 2008: 38). It is the 'other', relating to but outside of the conceived and perceived:

"Correspondingly, Merleau-Ponty distinguishes a physical space constructed by perception, a geometrical space conceptually comprehended, and, finally, a lived space (*espace vécu*): the mythical space, the space of dreams, of schizophrenia, and of art."

(Schmid, C 2008: 38)

This idea of lived space as well as understanding 'possessed space' relates to one's experience and responsibility of the space around them; indeed 'a social space includes not

only a concrete materiality but a thought concept and a feeling – an “experience” (Schmid, C 2008: 41), and this experience is to be protected, whilst the subjective connections they exist in and upon and which, in the eyes of Lefebvre, fall within differing boundaries of research and representation, as ‘the lived, practical experience does not let itself be exhausted through theoretical analysis’ (Schmid, C 2008: 40); ultimately traditional methods of research are not suited to understanding or representing aspects of the lived space. And ‘there always remains a surplus, a remainder, an inexpressible and unanalysable but most valuable residue that can be expressed only through artistic means’ (Schmid, C 2008:40).



This trader rose to national fame with his 'One Pound Fish' song that originated from advertising his goods in Queen's Market

This valuable surplus of experience and the integration of mind, body and soul with space, is expressed through art onto the space, and to be ‘captured’ or researched, has to take the same artistic form. In my research, the representation of brutalist space through analogue and digital recording equipment, collects and re-represents this valuable form that exists outside theory. While theory can define its existence, it cannot capture the lived and possessed spaces, and while practical forms of research, in this case film, cannot go so far as to analyse it to minute details, it can capture (preserve) and represent. This marrying up of research and art encapsulated the PhD, from its inception as a practice based research project, to the nature of the spaces where the project was carried out, the way the research was undertaken and finally the way it was presented. Presentation, being the production of a feature length documentary film (with additional vignette films) alongside this thesis, where although certain aspects can be understood through the separate material, all aspects can only be understood through the consumption of all material. Indeed ‘the crucial

point of Lefebvre's approach should be taken into consideration: to go beyond philosophy and theory, and to arrive at practice and action.' (Schmid, C 2008: 43).



The Orbit in the Olympic Park towering over the East End

7. Knowledge of the Proletariat - What the People Said

Rights to the City and Democracy

As outlined in the earlier chapter on the role of mega-events on the urban physically, socially, politically and culturally, there is a relationship between the city and its people, and it is imperative to understand this relationship and what citizens could and should glean from this relationship. Lefebvre describes this relationship as a 'right to the city', a right that is 'challenging the modern construct of national citizenship' (Gilbert, Dikec, 2008:254). This transference from a national membership and right to the more local creates a more distinct arena of production, reproduction and inclusion:

'Hence the right to the city is a claim for the recognition of the urban as the (re)producer of social relations of power, and the right to participation in it.
(Gilbert, Dikec, 2008:254)

The social relations of power, and participation in community decision making, are most relevant within the city where one resides. The city does not simply represent territorial boundaries of space and formalities, but places of social substance that act as a 'political community that reflects the urban society and its social relations of production and power' (Gilbert, Dikec, 2008:255). In contrast to the factory in Marxist thinking, Lefebvre places this urban society at the centre of class revolution and struggle, and links the right to the city

to the rights of the working classes, even if the urban working classes are now more 'fragmented and divided, multiple in its aims and needs' (Harvey, D 2013:xiii).

To consider the rights to the Olympic Games of the citizens of the Host Boroughs, as a mega-event whose presence is wrapped up in the physical and political identity of the city, I will draw on Lefebvre's specific explanation of the rights to the city:

'It would affirm, on the one hand, the right of user to make known their ideas on the space and time of their activities in the urban area; it would also cover the right to the use of the centre, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck in ghettos.' (Lefebvre, H 1999:170)

These rights to the city; a right to privileged space, to the centre, to inclusion in decisions and acts socially and economically, brings me back to what I described as a democratic process, through this thesis on democratic access to the Olympic Games. These rights to the city can be applied to many factors within the mega-event production of the Olympic Games, such as employment within the Olympiad, the removal of homes and industry (and hence people) from Hackney Wick and the Carpenters Estate to make way for the park, the Gentrification of parts of the Host Boroughs, provision of social housing mainly centred on the athletes' village, access to the park during the Games (tickets for events) and after the Games (use of facilities), and the use of the main stadium after the Games (the relocation of West Ham United Football Club to the Olympic Stadium from Upton Park in 2016).

When considering these elements, I asked the characters in my research their belief or lack thereof in inclusivity within these actions, as argued by Eleonore Kofman, who said the right to the city:

'was about the right to appropriate space and participate in decision making, a situation in which exchange values had not usurped use values, and where the city could be added to other abstract rights of the citizens.'

(Kofman, E 1998:291)

Through urbanization, many of our world cities have vast wealth gaps between the affluent few and the struggling masses, where we have 'immense concentrations of wealth, privilege and consumerism in almost all of the cities in the world in the midst of what even the United Nations depicts as an exploding planet of slums' (Harvey, D 2013:4). It is a battle between the powerful and the dispossessed over who has most rights to the city, and as it stands, 'the actually existing right to the city, as it is now constituted, is far too

narrowly confined, in most cases in the hands of a small political and economical elite who are in a position to shape the city more and more after their own particular needs and hearts' desire' (Harvey, D 2013:24). The Olympic Games presented a great opportunity to examine the power balance of these rights in East London, with the large-scale redevelopment of this part of the city for the Games and its legacy providing evidence on not just the current use of the city, but more importantly, its future use and service:

"the right to the city has to be construed not as a right to that which already exists, but as a right to rebuild and recreate.... In a completely different image – one that eradicates poverty and social inequality"
(Harvey, D 2013:138)

So in the following sections, I will consider whether during the bid, the construction, the actual Games and the aftermath, the indigenous citizens of East London had any right to the city by assessing whether or not they had any right to appropriate space and participate in decision making to satisfy their own hearts and desires, or if in fact, the re-creation of this part of East London was formulated to satisfy the upper echelons of wealth, privilege and consumerism.



An advertising hoarding on Carpenter's Estate resonates with the feeling of the entire area

The Experience of 'Us'

The eventual research outputs focus on opinion and action. Firstly, the attitude of the people of Queen's Market towards the Olympic Games being held in East London, and secondly an investigation of the spatial practices evident in the market, informed by the

theories of tactics developed by Michel de Certeau – tactics which work both against and alongside the constructed order. To understand the market-users' attitude towards the London 2012 Olympic Games, I will look at Lefebvre's theory of the knowledge of the proletariat, namely that 'the self-understanding of the proletariat... is simultaneously the objective understanding of the nature of society' (Goonewardena K 2008: 119);

"because of his incessant (everyday) contact with the real... through work, the proletariat is endowed with... a sense of reality which other social groups lose in so far as they become detached from practical creative activity. The petty bourgeois, the bourgeois, the intellectuals and the specialists – they all degenerate, decay and wither... *the deprivation of the working class is rich in possibilities.*"

(Lefebvre, H 1991[1974]: 143)

This self-knowledge of the proletariat is evident within the users of Queen's Market, and one user, whose comments later became the title of my documentary film, highlights the fact of knowledge:

"They think we're stupid. But we ain't stupid"

(Neil, We Ain't Stupid, 2015)



Neil, "They think we're stupid. But We Ain't Stupid."

Neil here is referring to 'they' as politicians – and the wider they described as 'Them' in earlier sections – whilst the 'we' is in reference to the 'Us' also defined earlier, and as 'stupid' he is referring to the belief of 'Them' that 'Us' are unaware of how they actually operate, with the context being that he believes politicians are 'reaping off the benefits' whilst the working classes remain oblivious. The proletariat have empirical

knowledge, a common knowledge as opposed to just common sense, through practical activity within a capitalist, commoditised society. They are attached to the everyday, and while the truth or otherwise of their opinions are debatable, their knowledge on varying subjects regarding the local, national, and international spheres is unquestionable, and brought many views and opinions to the surface during my research.

Olympic Employment

One of the first things I noticed when speaking with and listening to the market-traders was the general sense of ill-feeling towards the Olympic Games being held in the area where they lived and worked. My original assumption was that this antipathy was largely due to the legacy issue, including short and long-term local employment, and the way it had been advertised as offering an improved future for East Londoners (as also quoted in the introduction to this thesis):

“A London Games would massively speed up the regeneration of East London, boosting the local economy and wider capital and bringing many thousands of new jobs to an area that holds the key to managing London's future growth.”

(Ken Livingstone) <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

The local response to this statement and this kind of sentiment, when it came to the employment angle ‘shoe-horned’ into the Olympic Bid, was;

“The majority of the work was supposed to go to local people. Go and have a look. No such thing.”

(Neils Bro, We Ain't Stupid, 2015)



Neils Bro questioning Olympic employment

The people I interacted with could see this future would not be possible and they expressed clear feelings of being deceived. Employment could have offered a direct and meaningful way for local people to be involved in the project, but instead it was seen as evidence of another serious structural problem. Two brothers who trade at Queen's Market both have sons who are in the construction industry. They live in Leytonstone, directly on the edge of the Olympic Park. They complained that many times their sons had applied for work and they were rejected each time:

"It was supposed to be local work for local lads. I'm not being funny, but all the work over at Stratford and Leytonstone...is foreign work."

(Neil, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

Although work was promised to local people, it is worth noting that some specialist work could only be done by specialist workers. The 'dig, design and demolish' phase, for example, was highly technical work involving tunnelling, and was carried out by a mobile workforce – primarily ex-miners from coal mining communities – who move from one major infrastructure project to another, and this 'nomadic aspect of construction has traditionally made it very difficult to give priority to employing local workforces' (Cohen, P 2013:179). Whether or not Neil was aware of this when forming his opinions on where the majority of the jobs were going, he had indeed sent his son, who had experience in construction, to the site 'umpteenth times' looking for employment, with no luck. Either way, there was a clear belief from him in a lack of any real local employment, and this lack of belief in delivering local employment expressed by the users of the Market created a sense of attempted deceit within the Olympic bid.

This contributed to the sense of ill will and negative feelings expressed initially towards the ODA and LDA, but very quickly extended to the whole Olympic project. Fundamentally their responses, of either conscious or subconscious levels, were based in relation to existing ideas surrounding mega-events. It could be argued that there was a representation of potential change that was never intended to be realised. What was interesting about the subjects I spoke to was that they seemed very aware of this. This leads me to believe that although they were one of the intended victims of deceit by the IOC, they were not actually deceived on the whole, and the main subjects of this actual deceit were the mass media. It is also worth contemplating then whether the government and local councils were victims or collaborators in deceit, and how about LOCOG? To me, the deceit would travel gradually down the chain, initially from the IOC to the Government Olympic bid body, of the degree of the tangible benefits of the Games to the Host Country, which is then relayed to the media and local councillors and increased through the introduction of

LOCOG. The deceived then are drawn from all levels of society - the upper and middle classes, working class people from outside London, the media and business - but not the majority of the working classes of the Host Boroughs.

Olympic Participation

As I argued in my introduction, the prevailing cultural, economic, and social patterns (*habitus*) are broadly expressed through the same modes of social relations that have persisted for generations in the East End. These modes seem to transcend ethnicity and are transmitted to any type of person that is exposed to them. It is a *habitus* of historical, material location. What I had not realized initially, is the clear awareness within the present day subaltern classes of the contemporary relevance of a common knowledge which recalls Lampedusa's statement that 'Everything must change in order for everything to remain the same', a comment I referenced at the beginning of this thesis.

This sentiment was passed from previous generations, or more precisely, their *habitus*. At its most explicit level, one trader predicted the future of the area, in terms uncannily consistent with Lampedusa's formulation. The trader claimed that there would be no extra jobs created after the Games. He explained that no money would trickle down to either him, or me (both of us being residents of the Leytonstone area which is right on the edge of the Olympic Park). He predicted that the area directly around Stratford (and the station that visitors would use to get to the Games) would be smartened up, but that nowhere else would be. He believed that the whole spectacle of rebuilding would be concentrated on the Olympic Park as a symbol of change, but that the rest of East London would remain exactly the same. Through my later research it looks as though this is correct; Stratford has been developed through improvements to the Underground and Rail Stations and the opening of Westfield Stratford City shopping centre, as well as the building of new housing in the immediate surrounding area, but there is clearly no tangible evidence of improvements to the remaining chunks of the Host Boroughs.

Throughout the duration of my practical research I realized that this awareness of both symbolic violence and the inevitability of *everything must change in order for everything to remain the same*, was complex. For example the very idea of change is hard to pinpoint. For Neil it would be jobs, for Gary it would be short-term economic gain, and for Zack it would be funding for future athletes. Change is subjective, and to 'measure' the subjects' idea of change I had to view their opinions as separate entities that altogether formed a dominant opinion, which I have tried to express here.

The fact that the traders were aware of these forces meant that these particular forces were perhaps not the only contributory factor when considering people's general negativity towards the Games. The negativity also seemed to come from their feeling of being left out from the process of the production of the Games. As so much was made of the East End's culture and history, i.e. its 'people', when London won the bid, they are can legitimately be seen as the owners of one of the strongest marketing tools of the Olympiad, that is being sold to, and then resold back to the people by, the International Olympic Committee. They are the producers of their culture and it is on the back of their produce; their culture, their multiculturalism, and their need for legacy (economic, social and sporting) that London has been sold as a suitable Host City for the present global era. As they played such a part in the marketing of the bid, and as they believe in their own rights to the city, they felt that benefits, whether employment or increased business through tourism directed towards local business, were rights they should be awarded.

This is evident in the relationships between the people of London, represented in my research mainly by the traders in Queen's Market, and the construction of the Olympic Park. The traders seem to feel that even though they contributed significantly to the winning of the Games, they are not part of the construction of the site, physically or culturally, or decisions made thereof, or of the Games themselves as a boost to their trade within their space:

"We lost out, 'cos the people was going to the venues, and spending their money in the venue, and not locally. Whilst the government let all the big stores stay open later, Sunday trading everything else, well it wasn't done for the local market.... Believe you me, the Mayor of Newham might have embraced the Olympics in front of the camera, but he done nothing down ere. They channelled everything into Westfield, and everything was "we've got a massive, massive lion ere, and the kittens have gotta just get on with it. They've got all this moral high ground that they're s'posed to live on, there's more moral at the bottom than there is at the top." (Neil, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

This lack of local trade, echoed in the research conducted in Athens, where they saw no increase of touristic trade during the Olympics, was not an isolated opinion within Queen's Market. Gary, from Queen's Market, visited Stratford during the Olympic Games:

"When you come out of Stratford station, the local shops, the local restaurants, they've been told this since the build-up two three years before, your business is gonna be this... you come out the station they section off so you can't even go into the local shops, can't even go into the local Stratford Centre (a shopping mall and

indoor market a mile from Queen's Market), and they herd you like cattle straight into the Olympic Village. Why? Cos the McDonald's and all the restaurants are inside cos they wanna get their money back what they've sponsored the Olympics for. Ain't got nothing to do with local business... 'Ah listen it will be alright, you're gonna have a month you're gonna earn a fortune, what you earn when the Olympics is on in a month you can have six months off.' What? See that month when the Olympics was on, we suffered.... Listen, they prey on the working class, they want them to buy a ticket, you know everyone loves a bit of sport, but when it boils down to what we get back from it, especially on your doorstep - hello?"

(Gary, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

"I mean "Oooh, they'll be plenty of people in, you know everyone will be taking money"... Where?"

(Carol, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)



Carol at her stall in Queen's Market

Olympic Tickets



Ticketless crowds gathered in a Stratford Park to watch the 100m Final



Kenan watching the Opening Ceremony on top of a wall in the Carpenters Estate

At its most basic level, involvement in the Olympic Games, access in its most pure form, is attendance of the events. Holding the Games within a chosen Host City, one would expect that priority would be given to inhabitants of the Host City. However, my research shows this was definitely not the case - a situation predicted three years earlier by Kenan in his music studio one night:

“How is it going to help me? Why would it affect my life? We probably won’t even get a ticket.”

(Kenan, *We Ain’t Stupid*, 2015)

Indeed, as the project continued throughout the Games themselves, Kenan (whose mother unsuccessfully applied for tickets), along with many other locals, watched the opening ceremony from Carpenters Road Estate, outside the perimeter walls of the park, a fact noted by my sister Eleni during the Games:

“I think a lot of people managed to get tickets through companies, like corporate tickets, but just general public or locals, no one I know managed to get any. I don’t really understand why it’s corporate anyway. I don’t really feel a part of it. I mean I feel like we’re involved because we are in the area, but it won’t actually feel like it’s here because we won’t actually be able to go there and see it. And we are probably gonna suffer a lot from it’.

(Eleni, *We Ain’t Stupid*, 2015)



Kenan and his dog Hooch in his music studio and radio station

This not feeling ‘a part of it’ could indeed be translated as feeling ‘apart from it’, not only by lack of tickets for local people but also by advice given to locals not to travel close to the Olympic Venues during the Games either by road or train due to envisaged congestion, and reports of locals actually leaving London during the Games (as well as locals renting out their properties during the Games). And Gary after the Games;

“Listen, I preferred Beijing 2008 cos its 10,000 miles away I can watch it on the telly indoors and I don’t feel no way. When I’m watching 2012 and it’s two miles down

the road and I can hear the noise from the stadium, I can't buy no tickets cos they're two grand and my business is suffering, restricted parking... listen, the Olympics is alright, it put London - East London - on the map around the world, but as for living ere, having it on your doorstep, don't have it."

(Gary, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

Whilst it seems Gary has bought into the ideal of the Olympics bringing prestige to an area in a global sense, it is clear he does not believe in any benefits in a local sense, and the experience was made worse for him by being so near yet so far from the Games. The working classes spoke openly about the Olympics being a PR stunt, about being misled by the idea of change, about the symbol bearing no relation to what it represents:

"Exactly, about social housing, local people, homeless people are gonna benefit, listen: they just put that in cos they have to, it's all politics, but 98% of it goes to a pound note."

(Gary, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

Gary believes political technique instils false ideals of helping disadvantaged people with social housing and the like, but that ultimately the Olympic project and its legacies are designed to maximise profits for the organisers and them only. A similar stance was taken by Carol, who when asked about legacy replied, "That is a load of crap, Mitch, a real load of crap." (*We Ain't Stupid*, 2015) My research indicates that the working classes of these specific areas feel themselves to be alienated from the Olympic project in spatial, temporal, economic, physical, social, and cultural terms. They do not feel part of it at all. The main construction site is cordoned off with barriers and barbed wire and heavy security. I found this out myself when my repeated attempts to film the progress of the building of the site were thwarted. I was denied the opportunity to film and I was forced to move on. The authorities clearly wanted to maintain control of and stage-manage any displays of progress in the Olympic Project through their own approved media and channels of communication. They were not prepared to permit an 'outsider' (albeit one who is resident in the Olympic zone) to catalogue the progress from his point of view. The only way anyone can view the development site in person is on official tours that dictate that everyone must travel one certain (approved) path. The only way you can view photographs of the development is through official photos on the website. On three occasions I emailed LOCOG (December 2009, February and March 2010) asking for access to the park to photograph the construction, and three times my request was simply ignored.

The traders are also aware that local businesses and residents are being forced from the edge of the Olympic Park. (Dan, the subject of one of my related research project case-studies, eventually lost his house via a compulsory purchase order to make way for a bridge linking Hackney Wick to the Park.) The distancing of local working-class people from the Olympic Project is, I believe, the principle cause of almost unanimous resentment. (Although I did speak to people who were pro London Olympics, they were excited by the prospect of the sport only, not any of the progress/regeneration connotations associated with the Games.) The removal of power from local people, under the guise of forming a legacy for a project which was designed 'in their name' and on the basis of their success in terms of cultural integration (and failures in economic terms that made the land affordable) has turned them away from the Olympics both physically, emotionally, and intellectually. I find their opinions hard to disagree with, and as I followed the Olympic arc from early 2005 until 2015, clearly for me there is substance to Gary's declaration that regarding all the ideas of legacy, regeneration and ultimately improvement, the politicians 'just put that in 'cos they have to'. Once the bid was won, emphasis slowly turned away from improving impoverished people's lives through sport and mega-events, and turned first to simply ensuring the required land was purchased by any means necessary, then that the facilities were ready on time, that they were safe and secure and importantly on budget, and then towards creating as much of a spectacle as possible for the opening ceremony. By then the IOC were concentrated on ensuring London could provide a safe and secure Games on time, and it is difficult to answer the question of how important the legacy issue was at this time. People had already bought into the Olympic ideals and it would have been easier for the Mayor's office, ODA, sponsors, LOCOG and local councils to cash in if that was their inclination. They could sell tickets to the most prestigious events at extortionate prices to the corporate sector; sell off land that was previously of little value but was now some of the most sought after land in the country, to the highest bidder; and move out the poor and fuel the housing price rises, and conveniently discard the people who played such a role in gaining support for the bid from the wider country.

Athens – The Olympic Fallout of 2004

Athens is a city that is in the midst of a financial crisis: the signatures of poverty are evident throughout the city centre and the inner city, where the working class live and work. The buildings are in decay and graffiti is sprayed across every corner - almost all of it political slogans referring to either the general political state of the country and the economy and perceived corruption of the government and police or directly referring to the lack of jobs, work, and opportunities. The city is run down: the infrastructure is struggling to cope;

and, when I visited in spring 2011, with the warm weather bringing the people to the streets, one could see the poverty in the people themselves: the jobless, the aimless standing on street corners staring into space, the drug addicts and drunks, prostitutes, pimps, and drug dealers operating openly, alongside homeless people sleeping in doorways, begging on the streets, washing from bottles of water and water fountains.

I visited Athens to conduct research into the effects of the Games on the city, mainly looking at its legacy in terms of the promoted or perceived legacy by the Athenians. Athens was the most natural choice for me; firstly as the original home of the Olympic Games, secondly as it had held the Olympic Games recently (summer 2004), thirdly, as through my father's heritage I have links to the city, and lastly as I is geographically the closest city to London that has held a Games in recent years. The legacy in Athens, as seen in the research documentary I produced while there, is struggling to convince Athenians that it was worth the holding of the Games:

"We didn't have an Olympics - we had a public waste of money for Greece to get into debt..."

(Market Trader, Athens Documentary, 2015)

The workers I spoke to were more concerned with 'the social and environmental burdens the Olympic Games brought (Potsiou and Zentelis, 2005)' (Boukas, N et al, 2014:2) as opposed to any beneficial qualities resulting from the Games. The main concerns were those of the unused stadia, as seen in the documentary, where one worker described the problem of finding use for the stadia after the Games had finished, in rhyme; "New basket, but where am I going to hang you? And when you're old, where am I going to throw you?" (Athens Documentary, 2015). Another interviewee in the same documentary, Stratis, explained, "The stadia now they don't do anything with them," echoed this. I saw for myself that while 'all these venues were of significant importance for the successful conduct of the event... their subsequent utilization is questionable (Gold, 2011)' (Boukas, N et al, 2014:9). Many of the stadia are unused and are falling into disrepair, as seen throughout the film.

Tourism

It was common for the people to whom I spoke to claim that no legacy had been realized, and "From the point of view of people coming and money circulating, and people being richer, that was all lies." (Market Trader, Athens Documentary, 2015). Although an increase in tourism was promised (in an already touristic city due to the ancient history of

Athens), there was no trickle-down effect regarding a tourism boost to small businesses, as explained in the Athens Documentary:

"I think the most of us, they haven't understand the problems that will follow after the Olympic Games, from my opinion. They thought that lots of tourists come, and they will still be coming in the after years, which that thing didn't happen. And the government said to us there will be an increase, so lots of people put lots of money, or took loans from banks, so they built small hotel or they invest in the market in their jobs. And lots of tourists came with groups, with major groups, that they have prepaid lots of stuff. When you have prepaid on a hotel or a bar or a restaurant, you obviously don't go to find something different, to go out and explore, and the smaller bars, cafes, didn't work with them, so the market wasn't a lot of increase, so at the end it didn't go well, so they lost lots of money.... Because tourists walk around, but they didn't go in their shops. And as I told you people took loans from the bank and now they have to pay their loans."

(Stratis Pi, Athens Documentary, 2015).

As highlighted by Stratis, tourists came in groups with official tourist companies who monopolised the markets and took them to pre-approved hotels, restaurants and bars, so smaller restaurants/hotels/bars saw no increase in tourism. Worse still, on the promise of increased local tourism, small businesses took loans from the banks to develop their properties to accommodate and cater for expected increased numbers which never materialised, consequently falling into debt. This echoed the sentiment mentioned previously by the traders in Queen's Market, which described the cordoning off of visitors arriving by train to lead them away from the epicentre of local businesses in the Stratford Centre, and into the confines of commercial business complexes of Westfield Stratford City shopping centre and the Olympic Park itself.

National Corruption and Deceit

I was interested to know why the workers in Athens believed there was unrealised legacy through the non-utilisation of stadia and a lack of small business tourism. The answer, as also suggested through external research into the matter, was the perception of bad planning on the part of the organisers and, at its extremity, outright corruption. The Article 'Olympic Legacy and Cultural Tourism: Exploring the Facets of Athens Olympic Heritage', produced by the European University- Cyprus, states that 'the potential afforded from the post-Olympic Athens remains unrealized due to lack of strategic planning/management' (Boukas, N et al, 2014:1), and continues:

"The lack of strategic planning for the post-Olympic use of the newly constructed facilities (Beriatos 2006; Zifou et al. 2004) has also led to an inability to develop a competitive post-Olympic tourism product. (Weed 2008)"
(Boukas, N et al, 2014:3)

This idea of a lack of strategic planning contrasts with the views of Athenian workers, who reflect upon a process where, "They appointed people in charge, heads of projects, who found the opportunity to steal heavily from everywhere... and now they are slowly siphoning money out of companies and other places." (Market Trader, Athens Documentary, 2015). I spent several days with a taxi driver in Athens who took me to the stadia, the Olympic Village and to high ground to shoot landscape shots of the city, and his view echoed the opinions of the workers in the Market when I asked him if he was working during the Games in Athens:

"I'm working the Olympic Games, me, 20 days very hard. 20 days I'm reservation with one family from Los Angeles.... Ah, my friend, the good money they bring the people close to the government, packets you know, money in packets. Excuse me, the new stadium... before the Olympic Games they fix it the roof, because the stadium is old one you know... you know how much pay? 150, 160 million euros, where you going this money? Lot of people taking commission my friend... these people, if bring 4000, 5000 per month salary, you can't buy this house with this money my friend, come on. Where they found the money? I don't know."
(Taxi Driver, Athens Documentary, 2015)

Whilst he embraced the work ethic during the Olympic Games, working hard to earn as much as possible, he was adamant that bribery and corruption were taking place in and around the government, local politicians, and construction companies, and had no faith in the transparency of the system. This lack of faith was apparent in the actions of one trader when asked if he went to the Games, citing corruption as a factor to distance himself from them, explaining, "I didn't go to the Olympics for certain reasons, and that is because they are schools of deceit." (Market Trader, Athens Documentary, 2015). He was pre-aware of the deceit associated with the Games, and his use of the word 'schools' shows he believes the Olympic movement is a pre-planned, organised, self-educating exclusive club of deceit and corruption. The results of this deceit were commented on by another trader who stated, "The money's gone abroad, it's not gonna come back, we are left with the debts and the balukia [wooden stake up the behind]." The vast majority of opinions amongst working Athenians amounted to a lack of faith not just in the Olympic Project and its ideals but also towards their own government:

"For me, I'm not believe these people. Forget it. I don't believe. Another thing talking, another thing fix it..... you know some people say sometime maybe next year we have election, which people to vote? Never vote people, I don't like."
(Taxi Driver, Athens Documentary, 2015)

These comments echo those by Gary and Carol in *We Ain't Stupid*, where they claim they do not vote as politicians say one thing but do another. This lack of faith in government resonated with working people in both London and Athens; it was an entwining of class as opposed to nationality.

8. Legacy

Legacy Defined

As the cost of holding the Olympic Games has risen steadily, Games since the 1970's 'appeared to prove that the event's rapid growth had outstripped the capacity of any one city to pay for it' (Poynter, G 2009:23). Therefore, cities undertook different approaches to implementing the Games to ensure revenue either covered or exceeded such rising costs. From the 1980's onwards, this was achieved by commercialising aspects of the Games and establishing 'the event as a primarily commercial affair through the development of sponsorship rights' (Poynter, G 2009:25-26). By the beginning of the 21st century, in an attempt to protect the Games from over-commercialisation, the IOC enforced regulations controlling which institutions could become official sponsors, and introduced the theme of 'legacy' to justify the costs (Poynter, G 2009:27). London's approach to legacy was the 'catalytic model', where the Games and the investment act as a catalyst for 'wider social, economic and cultural legacy' (Poynter, G 2009:31). This could include infrastructure, business opportunity, inward investment, housing, employment and leisure facilities. The Games as a catalyst for this legacy was outlined by Ken Livingstone in the run up the Games:

"The Games have already unlocked billions in new transport, investment... they have made the massive regeneration project centred on Stratford and going south to the Thames deliverable when it was not before. This offers unparalleled new opportunities to some of the most deprived communities in the country, bringing with it 40,000 new homes and 50,000 new jobs"
(Poynter, G 2009:35)

Livingstone clearly specifies the type of legacy as transport, regeneration for deprived communities, homes and employment, and is keen to stress the fact that these improvements were in no way possible if it was not for the Games being held in these areas:

“Cynics airily say that all this could have been done without the Olympics. It never would have been. The cardinal deception is the claim that the Olympic investment is for 16 days of sport, when it actually underpins the next 50 years of East London’s future”

(Poynter, G 2009:35).

The costs of the Games cannot be justified by just the event itself but by its legacy as a catalyst for the area’s transformation. The short and long term legacy of the Games is therefore in need of the most scrutiny to investigate whether or not the Games were deemed a success by the organisers and by the inhabitants of the host boroughs. In this section, I will look at both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of London’s 2012 Olympic legacy.

The legacies of mega-events are not singular nor immediate; hence the legacy needs to be judged by the multi-faceted outcomes over a period of time, while ‘the legacies of the Olympic Games extend well beyond sport, having the capacity to accelerate or initiate changes in material/social infrastructure and culture, hence transforming urban order.’ (Essex and Chalkley, 1998:187-206). Despite the huge amount of media coverage generated by the Olympic Games, relatively little of it has been devoted to the ‘legacy’ aspects, both predicted/promised and actually delivered. For this reason I spent a relatively large amount of time gathering insight through predictions and results, both statistically and socially of the legacies of the 2012 Host City. The definition of “legacy” by Gratton and Preuss, is the planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible structures created through a sport event that remain after the event (Gratton and Preuss 2004:87). This can include, among other aspects: facilities, communications, transport, and involvement in sport, housing, and the environment. As opposed to the economic and touristic impacts which are more easily analysed through facts and figures, the ‘intangible’ has received less critique, as it is more difficult to understand. It is worth noting at this stage whose long-term goals are to be considered within the post-event study, as varying sections of society from the working class to the government officials will have varying goals with regards to the future of the Host City. In my PhD, the goals and aspirations of the local communities within the Host City are the only wholly valid ones, inherited through their connections of time and space to the Host City: reductively speaking, it is where they live, and it cannot be true that people from outside the space and time of the Host City can have more grounded goals for these communities than they themselves.

Quantitative Legacy

Although the majority of my research was conducted through the opinions of the communities in the five Host Boroughs around the Olympic Park in the three years leading to the Games, and a smaller portion of my research considering the three years post Olympic, leading to a qualitative process and analysis, I also gathered statistical evidence from the ODA, LOCOG and Newham Council during and after the Games. As I aimed to answer my research question through recording the 'experience' of the Games, I will not go into extreme detail on the statistical evidence of the Games, therefore I have drawn from the most comprehensive report into the effects of the Games in the Host Boroughs, before and during the Games, from the paper titled 'Impact', published in November 2011, which was part of 'Games Monitor Series', an ongoing project which looked at the differences in the proposed benefits of the Games against the actual effects the Games were having by looking at data socially, culturally and economically.

This paper, along with the ODA and LDA's statistics, include many different aspects of effects of the Games, from employment of local people right down to archaeological finds on the site during the excavation period. As my research is concerned with the social and economic effects of the Games on the local communities, I have concentrated my statistical findings on relevance of impact to these local communities formed by the current social, economic, and political climates of these communities from the Host Boroughs. Therefore, for example, I have not included the unearthing of three skeletons from medieval times on the Olympic site, or the relocation of wildlife, as although it might have significance in the archaeological and environmental aspects of the area, in my opinion it has little significance or benefit to the current communities in real terms socially, politically or economically. With each statistic highlighted, I will divulge the reasoning behind its impact and effect.

The first noticeable trend from these statistics is the sheer amount of displacement, which was and still is taking place, deemed necessary for the implementation of the Games. The effects of this displacement will be looked at in a more sociological way in the later chapter on 'Gentrification'.

Housing Displacement

Possibly the first victims of Olympic displacement were over 400 University of East London students who were given eviction dates in June 2005, as the LDA wanted to flatten and then redevelop the site of the University housing to cater for part of the Olympic site

(Games Monitor, 2011:15). The LDA also evicted 15 traveller families from the Clays Lane travellers' site which was on the same road as the University Housing, with their eviction process dragging on for two years before they were finally forced to leave in 2007 (Games Monitor, 2011:16). Opposite the travellers' site was Clays Lane Peabody Estate, where the eventual removal of all 450 inhabitants of the Estate took the tally of forced displacement on this single road to close to 1000 people.

Housing shortages for low-income households has been an issue for the communities of East London for a long time, and new housing provided by the athletes' village was portrayed as easing this problem by means of the Olympic legacy. However, out of 2818 new homes built as part of the Olympic project (a fraction of The Mayor of London's 2012 pledge to build 42,000 new homes), only 1379 homes will be available as affordable housing for local people. In the four boroughs that surround the Olympic Park, there are a combined 91,000 families on the waiting list (Hackney 15,000; Newham 32,000; Tower Hamlets 23,000; Waltham Forest 21,000 National Housing Federation 2012). Affordable housing provides just over 1.5% of housing for people on these waiting lists. This also comes in the light of Newham Council's attempt to move 150 families from Newham to Stoke-on-Trent to ease the waiting list, with other local councils expected to follow suit.

Land

There was also the displacement of people from land they had been occupying in various guises over long periods of time. One particular removal of land that drew specific, local media coverage was LDA's acquisition of The Manor Gardens' Society Allotments. After years of discussions between the two parties, 'In the autumn of 2007 the allotments were forcibly... removed to Marsh Lane Fields in Leyton' (Games Monitor.org 2014). The eighty plots that had stood on the site since 1924 were taken from the plot holders, amid constant resistance, and eventually became part of the Olympic Park Landscape.

Wanstead Flats

In my documentary 'We Ain't Stupid' I reflect on the overturning of laws which barred building on Wanstead Flats, an open land comprising of football pitches, horse riding paths, wooded areas and ponds, by the Metropolitan Police to build a police base on the site during the Games:

'The Metropolitan Police are seeking to overturn a C19 Act of Parliament and build a temporary base for police and emergency services on the Wanstead Flats. Locals have mounted a vigorous campaign in defence of the Flats, which the Met said

initially they wanted to enclose for 90 days, now 120 days in 2011-2012.'

(Games Monitor, 2011, 13)

Despite the campaign against this plan, as the footage in my documentary shows, the building of the site went ahead. This restricted access to the land for the large amount of users of the space. In similar alteration of land for the Olympic Games, Drapers Field, a site of grass and artificial football and hockey pitches and an outdoor playground, was acquired by the LDA:

"Drapers Field in Leyton, a recreational area housing children's sports facilities, will be covered in tarmac for 'back of house' facilities to supply the Athletes' Village. Local school governor, Stephen Pierpoint, commented: "It's an amazing contradiction that in trying to promote sports they are preventing our pupils from playing sports."

(J. Cheyne, Games Monitor Blog, 2010)

Business

Continuing with the Impact Report by Games Monitor, it is claimed that the area of the Lower Lea Valley and specifically Hackney Wick saw the highest displacement of industry, with 209 businesses forced from the area with 6,058 jobs relocated, as well as 25 businesses closing completely and a further 10 unaccounted for, according to the website Planning Resource (Hancock et al, 2011:25). There were also problems with the compensation packages, and in 2011 the LDA was still facing outstanding claims of £27 million from 109 firms affected by the compulsory purchase of the Olympic Park site four years ago. (Hancock et al, 2011:26)

Employment

Employment created by the building of the Park was another central part of the regeneration plan, claiming to provide work for the vast amounts of unemployed people in the Host Boroughs. In summary, at the height of the construction of the Olympic Park and Village, 12,635 people were employed, 25% of who were resident in the Host Boroughs (Wheeler, H, 2014, numerous). The total figure of jobs is not too disappointing, but what is disappointing is the low percentage going to local workers, especially with the training centres established in East London from 2007 to train as many locals as possible to gain the skills to work in the Park. But in addition to that, this figure does not state how many of these people were resident in the Host Boroughs prior to gaining employment in the Park, i.e. local people, and how many moved to the areas after becoming employed at the Park to

be closer to work, i.e. non- local people. I consider that once non-local people who have moved to the area to be closer to work have been withdrawn from this figure, the percentage of actual local people who worked on the park will be much lower (although I have failed to find any official statistics on this). Although there were jobs given to local people, as opposed to 'no jobs for locals' as estimated by the traders at Queen's Market, the percentage of 25% of jobs going to locals is unquestionably low.

Facilities

My belief is that the facilities which are and will be open to the public to participate in sport and to watch local and international sports events is one of the most positive effects of the Olympic Games. There is a world-class Aquatics Centre, basketball arena, hockey pitches, and tennis courts, as well as BMX and cycle tracks, which I feel, will play a big part in encouraging local people to increase their participation in sports. Ultimately, these bring the proposed health benefits highlighted in the Olympic proposal. Members of my own and extended family regularly use the facilities, including my four-year-old niece having weekly swimming lessons at the Aquatic Centre. There will also be educational space available for local schools including outdoor classrooms (teaching spaces in the open air of the Park) and walks which will cover subjects of sport, architecture, and wildlife. This is an area that the ODA have succeeded in – delivering what they aimed to deliver. Having seen at first hand the abandonment of stadia after the Games in Athens, adapting large stadia for local use is neither easy nor cost effective and the ODA should receive recognition for this.

Although facilities are now being opened up, not all facilities are accessible for public use. The stadium has been leased to West Ham United, after huge wrangles and further public investment, and will also hold concerts and rugby and athletics tournaments (in contrast to the athletics bodies' prolonged resistance to the stadium being used as a venue for football after the Games, an unreasonable stance in my view). This will create a privately owned facility that will be open for paying customers on event days only, not a public facility such as a swimming pool where the public can turn up, pay and use as they wish. Football fans and music fans will pay for tickets to matches and concerts just as they would have previously at West Ham United's current ground at Upton Park or at music venues such as the O2 Arena. It is hard to qualify this as a public facility, and indeed, it could be argued that people are paying for the stadium twice; once for its construction and again for its access.

As I have looked at the statistics regarding the tangible legacy of the Olympic Games, I will now look at the intangible effects, most notably identity and cultural heritage, through the ongoing Gentrification of the Host City, alongside the creation of a fantasy city within the park itself.

The newly constructed Athletes' Village is a separate entity from East London, so much so that new postcodes and area names have had to be created for it, and it is not operating as part of or with the surrounding landscape (although it is not fully open yet). Hannigan describes these parallel cities, citing examples in Miami and Orlando, as fragments of an urban landscape in which Fantasy Cities emerged that were 'theme-centred, aggressively branded, in constant operation, modular in design, separate from existing neighbourhoods, and postmodern.' (Andranovich, Burbank, and Heying, 2001:115). A notable British example of this urban fragmentation is evident in the construction of Canary Wharf and the surrounding centre of world commerce next to the Isle of Dogs, the poverty stricken and socially neglected home to an underskilled population, less than three miles from the Olympic Park:

"East London has already witnessed a significant growth in the supply of these types of facilities over recent years through the development of the Docklands. Finally, the consumption-led service-growth model, implicit to Olympic bid strategies, has tended to generate an acceleration of an urban regeneration and development process that has exacerbated income and wealth differentials within cities, potentially creating increased social divisions and tensions rather than reducing them, especially where there is a mis-match between the occupations and skills of the local community and the needs of the new or expanding service industries. The application of a top-down model, with its associated 'trickle-down' economic effects, may be an efficient way of attracting the support of the business world, but it may also cause the fracturing of local communities between those who perceive themselves as potential beneficiaries and those for whom the upheaval will be seen as unlikely to realise tangible improvement in their own daily lives."

(Poynter, G 2005:22)

This example of the fantasy city of Canary Wharf on the Isle of Dogs is strikingly familiar to the scenes at the Olympic Park just thirty years later. The local communities are actually fractured as a consequence of the changes, and the trickle-down effect is more of a PR stunt to attract business investment than an economic reality.



A lightning bolt strikes a 'Hackney Hipster' - Hipsters being the term for the main type of Gentrifiers moving into the area

Gentrification – Stratford East and Hackney Wick

While Gentrification has arguably been sweeping East from the city of London for the past two decades, it is interesting to look at how much of this development around Hackney Wick and Stratford is just a natural movement eastwards and how much is being propelled by the Olympic effects. One of the triggers in Gentrification is rising property prices and rents (until the costs are out of reach for the current occupiers). David Harvey claims that rising rents, and moreover a monopoly on rents occurs when local events add above-average value to an area and its property:

“Monopoly rent arises because social actors can realize an enhanced income stream over an extended time by virtue of their exclusive control over some directly or indirectly tradeable item which is in some crucial aspects unique and non-replicable” (Harvey, D 2013:90).

The Olympic park is at once unique in Britain, has meaning and symbolism attached to it, and its supporting network of improved travel, environment, sporting and leisure facilities give it both tradeable and non tradeable qualities, which landlords in the surrounding areas can maximise. There was never any doubt that the local property prices would rise due to the effect of the Olympics on a traditionally impoverished corner of an already global city. This has been seen previously in Barcelona, where as part of the Games process, derelict lands were reclaimed, nightlife was reinvigorated, and the harbour and beach were opened up:

“All of this was helped on by the Olympic Games, which opened up huge opportunities to garner monopoly rents (Samaranch, President of the International Olympic Committee, just happened to have large real estate interests in Barcelona)” (Harvey, D 2013:104)

On a side note, the suggestion of corruption, above echoes beliefs held by characters in my research both in London and Athens, and also rumours around the Los Angeles and Atlanta Games, of corruption being present through the Olympic process, and most rife in the construction elements of the Games. Harvey goes on to note that since these developments, as monopoly rents have tightened their grip, the architectural a character of the city has been lost to commodification, and, noteworthy for this section, a city’s ‘gentrification removes long-term residential populations and destroys older urban fabric’ (Harvey, D 2013:105). The communities of both Barcelona and East London, who believe in their right to the city, would argue that their economic situation should rise alongside the worth of their landscape, through better education, training and opportunities. But if, as it seems, the area is indeed undergoing gentrification and the rise of monopoly rents, then the right to the area is no longer in the hands of those who lived there before the Games, and this is what I wish to look at in this section. Existing areas of habitation and employment for the homes and occupations of the native East London communities have not been addressed; they have not been regenerated. Only a third of new homes are defined as ‘affordable’, and even ‘affordable’ housing, at 80% of market value, is out of reach for many working class East Londoners.

The industry beginning to move into the area is media based which is not a typical occupation of the existing communities. Although it could be argued that local people could be trained for these jobs, I have seen no evidence of this and find the idea of natives making up a large quantity of this industry’s workforce in the future unlikely. So it has been designed for information-sector employees earning a higher than average income to live in houses that cost higher than average to rent or buy. The people who have always lived in Stratford and Hackney, for example, are excluded from this new area’s lifestyle by their own area’s social and economic history and limits.

In 1989, a very different assessment was offered by the Canadian sociologist Jon Caulfield, in an article entitled ‘Gentrification and Desire’ (Caulfield, 1989). In a deliberate riposte to the dominance of Marxist/structuralist interpretations of Gentrification, he argued that 1970s and 1980s Gentrification in Toronto was a collective middle-class rejection of the oppressive conformity of suburbia, modernist planning, and market principles — all part of what became known (and is now often romanticized) as the ‘reform era’ of Canadian urban

politics. Heavily influenced by Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, Jonathan Raban, and Marcel Rioux, Caulfield argued the following:

‘Old city places offer difference and freedom, privacy and fantasy, possibilities for carnival... These are not just matters of philosophical abstraction but in a carnival sense.....the force that Benjamin believed was among the most vital stimuli to resistance to domination. ‘A big city is an encyclopaedia of sexual possibility,’ a characterization to be grasped in its wider sense; the city is ‘the place of our meeting with the other.’’

(Caulfield, 1989: 625)

One of the issues that became apparent in the lead up to the Games and in the immediate aftermath was the gradual ongoing Gentrification of certain parts of the Host Boroughs, which I call the Host City, that will undoubtedly become one of the main focuses of the legacy, alongside sporting facilities and sport participation. The term ‘Gentrification’ is defined by Hackworth as ‘the production of space for progressively more affluent users’ (Hackworth, 2002:815), and the ‘gentry’ part of the word suggests a class transformation where the ‘more affluent users’ are middle class consumers and the less affluent users are the established working-class residents. (Slater, T 2006:745). After a period of dwindling investigation and research into the causes and effects of Gentrification, there has been a recent resurgence in the topic with a rise in the number of articles published (Slater T, 2006:737), and with London undergoing its fair share of Gentrification, nowhere more so than London’s East End, the Olympic Games and its legacies have drawn attention to the current altering of space not just inside the Olympic Village (which has followed other major cities who hosted mega-events in turning the space into a Fantasy City), but also outside the Olympic Park. Recent works on Gentrification include Caulfield’s assessment of Toronto (1994), Duany’s piece ‘Three Cheers for Gentrification’ (2001), Zukin and Kosta’s perspective on Lower Manhattan (2004), and Byrne’s illustration of Washington DC (2003). These works, although differing in form and tone, feature the common denominator of Gentrification being a positive process in the respect of urban renewal and regeneration. I will argue against this commonly held academic belief, highlighting the negative effects it has on the working-class communities subject to Gentrification and on wider society. I will examine the process itself in real terms, the causes and effects of Gentrification of the Host City and its people, whether Gentrification is a useful tool in solving the social problems of disinvested areas, whilst looking critically at the negative effects on working-class communities, a perspective that goes against the common research response which aims to find out the behaviour of the middle classes, ‘particularly why they are seeking to locate in

previously disinvested neighbourhoods' (Slater T, 2006:742). This often ignored effect of the process is important in highlighting the negative results, and to challenge the politicians and developers to act in the interests of all, and not just with the well-being of the few in mind. I believe critical analysis of Gentrification in East London is of even more importance now, as while the process is in full swing in the north of the Host City (north-east Newham, south-west Hackney), the cranes and bulldozers of the developers, backed by Newham council, have already begun arriving in the south of the Host City (south-west Newham) for its next large-scale 'redevelopment', and questions arising from the current process should be taken into consideration for the next.

Traditionally, Gentrification has occurred in post-industrial inner-city areas, where the middle classes, often in their twenties and with jobs in the media sector (hence occasionally being called the 'creative class' (Peck 2005:740)), buy up 'often historic individual housing units and renovating them... for their own use, and in the process driving up property values and driving out former, typically lower-income working-class residents' (Boddy and Lambert, 2002:20). Subsequently, new businesses will open in the place of existing neighbourhood stores to cater for the needs of the new residents, creating a shift in social, cultural, and economic value within the property and the people in the community; a class shift.

Gentrification has occurred throughout East London, with a 'remarkable reversal of fortunes in 21st-century London with inner-city areas such as Stratford, Bethnal Green and Canning Town' (Prynn J 2013, Evening Standard Newspaper), whilst two Hackney wards have seen the largest increase of price between 2001 and 2011: the King's Park ward and the Leabridge ward (not to be confused with the Lea Bridge ward of neighbouring Waltham Forest) house prices growing by 40% and 50% respectively, and that this may have 'been accelerated by the Olympic effect' (Prynn J 2013). Saville's UK (London Estate Agent) research on the difference within the 2001 and 2011 census considers that:

"As a result, the borough of Hackney, which has been at the forefront of this trend, has seen price growth in excess of similarly priced markets during the 2001 to 2011 period."

(Barnes Y et al, 2015)

While EquityReview.com believes 'A part of this change has been attributed to the London Summer Olympics which helped revive an inner-city location, the slums are gone and real estate around Olympic Park is skyrocketing in affordability' (Hardman, K, 2014,

web). It can be seen, then, that value of property has risen, but it is this combined with the usage of property and space that details the specifics of Gentrification in Stratford.

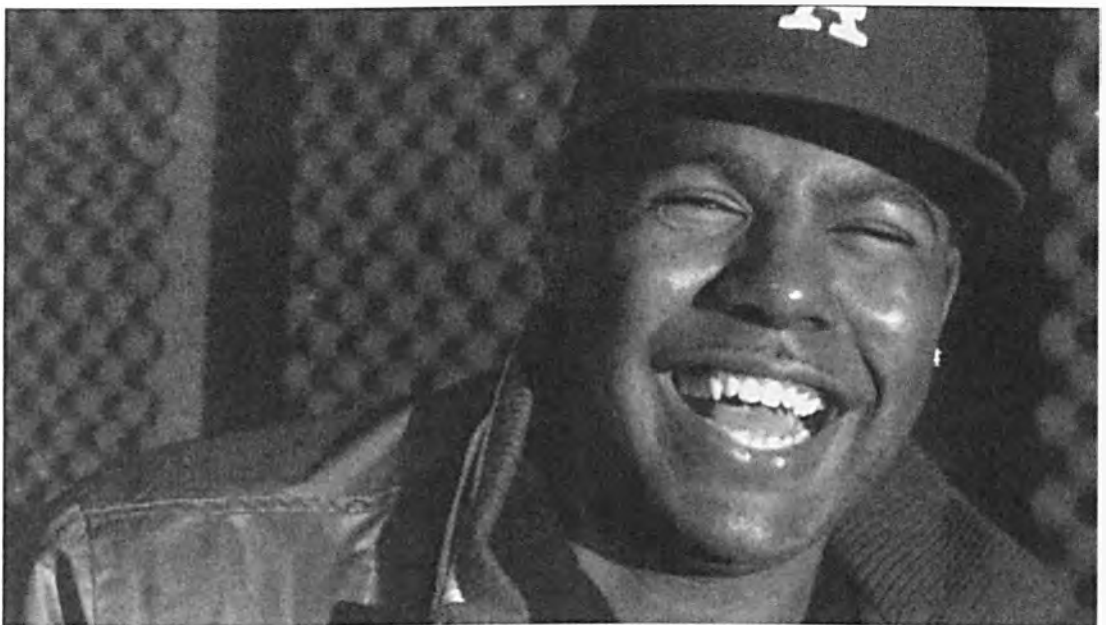
The usage of space in the areas mentioned in Hackney Wick and Stratford has seen considerable change, with a surge in new-build developments with housing that is not considered affordable, a removal of traditional industry and services which have been replaced by large-scale commercial shopping (Westfield Stratford City), creative companies, art galleries, and ancillary outlets of coffee shops (Hackney Pearl), and trendy bars. The Westfield shopping centre dominates in the East; the Broadway in the south is now lined with new-build developments, and eclectic coffee shops and art galleries are dotted around the western edge of the host boroughs. Although Stratford Centre, a long-standing shopping centre which represents the needs of the traditional communities is still open, the exterior brutalist architecture of the mall was covered in the year leading up to the Games by 'The Shoal' - a colourful sculpture commissioned by Newham Council probably to hide the 1970s architecture from the world's tourists and TV Cameras - and the redevelopment of Stratford Station has been designed to lead people north to Westfield through connecting tunnels and bridges as opposed to leading them south to Stratford Centre where pedestrians need to cross a busy three-lane road to access it and no alternative safer direct access has been provided. Stratford Centre is a one-floor mall with a market inside, as well as 'inn shops' (small shop units resembling market stalls) which are run by sole traders and small companies, and a handful of low-budget chain stores. As Neil described in *We Ain't Stupid*, local people do not want or need a Lakeside-type shopping mall: local people need good quality, and affordable produce, the type the market can provide. MG touched on the subject when I asked him whether local people can access Westfield, economically, and he replied:

"That's why Stratford mall is still gonna be there. Get me bruv? That's gonna be for the poorer folk get me? You go Waitrose for fucking Westfield. It's not that... Man needs a Lidl, Get me, man needs a Netto bruv, ya get me? Man can't live without a Londis."

(MG, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)



The Shoal covering the architecture of Stratford Centre during the torch relay



MG laughs as he claims, “Man can’t live without a Londis.”

Westfield has taken pride of place within Stratford for the sale and exchange of goods: the area is now being dominated by space produced by and for more affluent users, the underlying distinction of Gentrification.

This shift in usage has coincided with an influx of ‘more affluent users’ moving into the area. Perhaps the largest, single incident of Gentrification in the Host Borough is a most complex, long-term, and, indeed, failed bid, whilst possibly being the most devastating to the current occupiers: the attempt to demolish the Carpenters Estate and to sell the land to University College, London (UCL) to build a student campus and halls of residence, which I cover in detail in my case study.

The process of Gentrification in the Host City has occurred from two stimulants that have occurred through shared existence in space and time. Firstly, the creation of a fantasy city within the Olympic Park, that has provided both residential and commercial space that suits the needs of more affluent users, with only a small percentage of new builds being affordable housing (as referenced in the statistical chapter) and the commercial employment being mainly in the media sector. This fantasy city is combined with the spread of gentrified areas from the central eastern inner cities of Hoxton, Shoreditch, and Stoke Newington, growing further east through Hackney Central and Walthamstow Village, with gradual growth and spreading into neighbouring areas being a common feature of Gentrification;

‘Furthermore, as Davidson and Lees (2005:1186) have explained in a study of new-build developments of London, such developments ‘have acted like beachheads from which the tentacles of Gentrification have slowly stretched into the adjacent neighbourhoods.’

(Slater, T 2006:745)

The nearby Gentrification, and the momentum of it travelling east, coupled with the construction of the fantasy city on the outer limits of the eastern edge of the city, has provided prime space for the next neighbourhood Gentrification, which is occurring in Hackney Wick, parts of Bow, and Stratford Broadway. Returning to Duany, and his work, ‘Three Cheers for Gentrification’, he states;

‘Gentrification rebalances a concentration of poverty by providing the tax base, rub-off work ethic, and political effectiveness of a middle-class, and in the process improves the quality of life for all a community’s residents. It is the rising tide that lifts all boats.’

(Duany, A 2001:36).

Byrne held similar views on the benefits of the middle classes coming to live alongside the poor and ethnic minorities, namely benefitting low-income residents economically by ‘expanding more employment opportunities in providing locally the goods and services that more affluent residents can afford’ (Byrne, J 2003:419), and politically by establishing ‘politics for which affluent and poor citizens must deal with each other’s priorities in a democratic process’ (Byrne, J 2003:421). Echoing Duany, he reduces the benefits provided by the middle class to the ‘poor and ethnic minorities’ as work and politics related.

Claims that (aside from having a larger tax base, which is self-explanatory) the middle-classes have a better work ethic than those in poverty, whilst at the same time being more effective politically, is questionable to say the least. Although he does not go into specifics, I believe he is referring to how politically active the middle classes are in comparison to the working class, most likely through membership of political groups and voting numbers. As I refer to later through Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' I believe the working class in the main *choose* not to be politically active rather than lack the ability to be politically active. Referring to the work-ethic rubbing off, communities in poverty, as he calls the areas subject to Gentrification, have been shown to be caught in poverty for many factors outside of their work-ethic, including, but not exclusively: education, single-parent families, cultural distance from the mainstream culture (i.e. language, religion), differing skill set from current demands (closure of the docks, decreases in manufacturing etc.), and poor housing, facilities, healthcare, and diet. For Duany to suggest that the working classes are politically ineffective is inaccurate, as I witnessed through this research. The working classes are politically aware and active to an extent where they believe they can make a difference to their immediate space, such as managing to keep the market open under the threat of redevelopment practised by political means (setting up campaign groups, holding petitions, and directly questioning the motives of the council and the developers). But, generally speaking, the working class I spent years speaking with in my research believed they could not make a difference in the larger political arena, and chose not to involve themselves actively in politics. It is noticeable that the decline in working-class political activity generally has coincided with the gradual loss of political power and responsibility gained by the organization of working unions, coinciding with globalization of business and its practices and therefore its politics being more advantageous to the business owners - the middle and upper classes.

Therefore, for Duany to suggest that the arrival of the middle classes *en-masse* to disinvested areas will be the saviour of the working class or people in poverty is detrimental to the debate on the effects of Gentrification. The problems with his commentary stem from the misinterpretation of the reasons behind poverty, which he believes is a lack of hard work and a lack of political activity. Even so, assuming the debatable proposition that these are the factors that have led the people in the gentrified areas into poverty, will the arrival of the 'hip, bohemian, cool arty tribes who occupy the cafes, galleries and cycle paths' (Slater T 2006:738), invigorate and motivate the indigenous community to become more hardworking and more employable, to inspire them to be more politically active and start to vote? I think Duany and Byrne have identified an unrealistic solution to a misunderstood problem.

Their stance on the positives of Gentrification are part of the more widely held opinion of scholars, government officials and developers that the process is a beneficial one to communities as a whole, and is considered 'no longer about rent increases, landlord harassment and working class displacement, but rather street-level spectacles, trendy bars and cafes, iPods, social diversity and funky clothing outlets' and is increasingly seen as 'a sign of a healthy economic present and future for cities across the globe.' (Slater, T 2006:738).

However, through my research conducted, and concerned with the negative impact of Gentrification, the process is not without its victims and it is these victims whose stories are seldom told or analysed to understand further the entire implications of this modern phenomenon. The working-class communities who are forced to make way for the middle-class arrivals are not only outside of the supposed benefits that arrive with Gentrification, but the process has exacerbated their problems. To understand the negative effects, it is first necessary to look specifically at the common processes used to inflict removal. One in particular is the process of 'winkling' as described by Loretta Lees:

"Creeping (vacancy) control enabled the 'winkling' of tenants and the sale of buildings to developers and/or individuals who would then gentrify the property. 'Winkling' refers to the process of tenants being forced to leave their home by bribery and harassment."
(Lees 1994:208)

This highlights the landlords' knowledge of the potential for Gentrification of their properties and the surrounding area, and them pressurising their current tenants to leave so the door is open to Gentrification, yielding higher rents from the new occupiers and building momentum for the general use and change of the wider space. Lees goes on to provide an example of a landlord's actions against a tenant who reported them to a tribunal; the landlord 'turned off the electricity, locked her out, threw out her belongings, bolted the door, libelled her and threatened to shoot her.' (Lees 1994:208). This excessive harassment was evident to me during my time researching Dan's situation in Hackney Wick in the lead-up to the Olympic Games. He was what I would describe as an early gentrifier, in terms of him being more affluent than the current occupiers of the property he was in, as well as the wider population of Hackney Wick, whilst simultaneously altering the usage of space around him from post-industrial to a more creative space. However, he did not fulfil the potential of the property going forward; he was neither affluent enough for what the landlord believed he could charge in rent, and his creative production was not commercial enough for what the gentrifiers sought for the area. Over a period of four years, he was consistently harassed

through 'winkling' by both the landlord and council in conjunction with developers assimilated with the Olympic Games - LOCOG in particular. Firstly, he was asked to leave under the false guise of the building being knocked down to build a bridge to the Olympic Park. When he questioned the authenticity of the bridge proposal and it needing his building to be demolished, he was issued with eviction letters from both his landlord and the council. He received visits from both the council and the landlord in this time to try to enforce the eviction with threats of legal action, which he rebuffed. After a lengthy legal process, he received confirmation that the bridge could and would be built without the demolition of his building, and that there was no reason for him to need to leave. However, the landlord returned this time with demands of a two-fold rent increase for the property, which Dan refused. Eventually the landlord claimed his property was not registered as a living/working residence and as such Dan was living there illegally. After more deliberation, the landlord arrived unannounced with what Dan described as 'thugs', threatened Dan and his friends with violence, made them pack their belongings on the spot and leave the property:

"They came in force with the landlord and the fire officers, and they meant business. They were intimidating: they were all dressed in black with big Jewish hats on, looking like thugs and you know, they put on a big show of it. And they were like, get the fuck out, be out of here by Friday."

(Dan, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)

The perspective of this process is evident when less than a year later the bridge was built, and the building remains, now being used as a commercial art gallery. Dan was affluent, but not affluent enough. This concept of 'winkling' was seen on a much wider and authoritarian scale when Newham Council spent years 'winkling' the residents of the Carpenters Estate, through false claims of buildings being unfit for residence, all the way to outright bribery.

Negative Effects

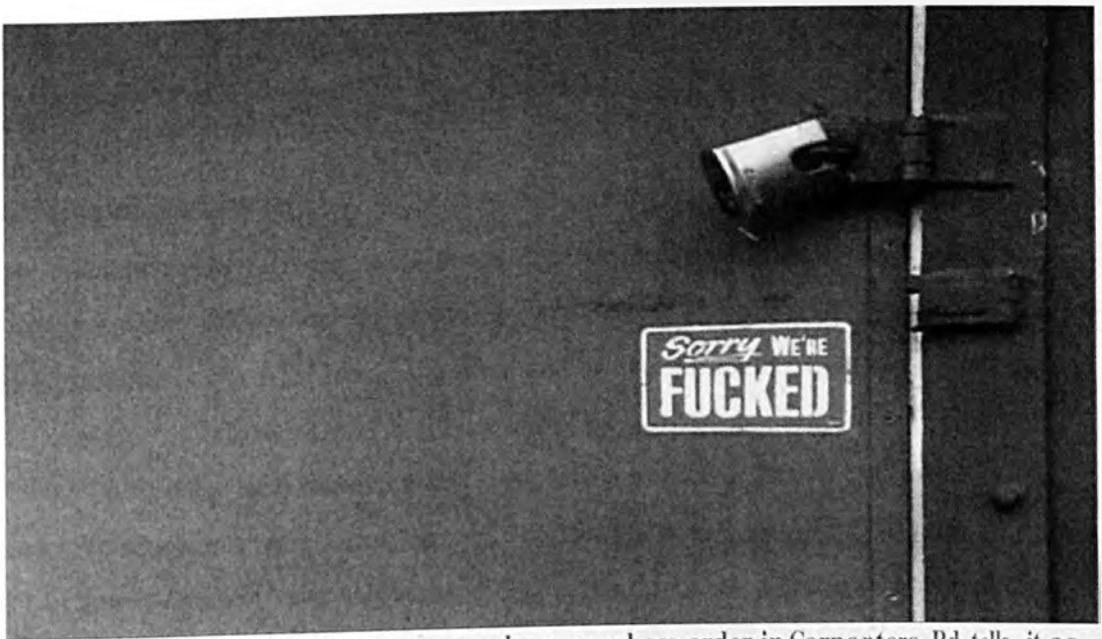
The most obvious and clear effect of Gentrification on the working class is that of displacement:

"Displacement from home and neighbourhood can be a shattering experience. At worst it leads to homelessness; at best it impairs a sense of community.... Yet a variety of public policies, particularly those concerned with Gentrification, seem to foster it."

(Marcuse, 1985a: 931).

As Gentrification concerns space, displacement from economic/social space (work) as well as homes is evident in the land clearance for the Olympics. Although some parts of the Lower Lea Valley housed derelict industrial units, the remaining industry, mainly scrap yards, print works, car mechanics and a weekly market at the old Hackney Greyhound stadium, went prior to the Olympics; the housing shifted after. The northern end of Carpenters Road, which was a mix of the so-called 'dirty industry', was the first victim of the Gentrification;

"How many businesses have they put out of business that have been in Stratford 50, 100 years and they come along and say to you all of a sudden "no you just gotta reallocate, you gotta go..." they don't matter though do they."
(Neil Brother, *We Ain't Stupid*, 2015)



A business recently closed due to a compulsory purchase order in Carpenters Rd tells it as it is

Gentrification is brutal and shows no respect for the traditional industrial employment in the area or its use of space. Once the basis of employment was cleared, the process moved on to the inhabitants living in the area, through the cost of current homes and types of new homes being built. Although difficult to quantify in East London the scale of displacement in studies in Canada show it is so large that it 'implies that tens of thousands of households have been involuntarily displaced through various forms of Gentrification over the past twenty five years in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Ottawa alone' (Ley, D 1996:70). This breaking up of communities, often having their roots in the area since the industrial revolution, communities that traditionally have not been upwardly mobile and have settled within, leads to a removal of the support networks that communities (especially working-class, impoverished or disinvested ones) have created and upheld. The support

networks of these communities thrive on location: the close proximity of one another physically, socially, and culturally which provides a common knowledge identifying mutually accepted problems and needs and therefore solutions and actions to address these; whilst at the same time having established relationships with people around them through family ties and established neighbours allowing a familiarity which provides comfort, trust, and support. The benefit of this close proximity allows interaction on a local level without the need to travel outside of their areas, beneficial to those in disinvested areas especially the older and younger generations - as seen by the popularity of the community centre in the Carpenters Estate which is a space that regularly holds community events particularly concentrating on the needs of the elderly, the unemployed, and single parents. The removal of this support network firstly takes away the tangible help previously available to the people that needed it, but, perhaps more devastatingly, creates alienation and indeed a spiritual alienation within the working class in what was once their own community.

The Moving Around of Social Problems

On a wider scale, Gentrification can be seen as a 'moving around of social problems rather than a net gain either through local taxes, improved physical environment or reduction in the demand for sprawling urban development.' (Atkinson 2002:21). The products of the disinvested areas are not provided with the tools and indeed the investment to spur progress, to increase employability and income and eventually way of life, but instead are simply 'moved', notably to areas with similar if not exact levels of disinvestment and lack of opportunity, but which in contrast have not yet succumbed to the gentrifiers - a case argued in a social cleansing article, where Newham Council has contacted a housing association in Stoke-on-Trent asking them to re-house 500 Newham families on housing benefit:

"We are very anxious about this letter which we believe signals the start of a movement which could see thousands of needy people dumped in Stoke with no proper plan for their support or their welfare."

(Brown, G 2012, on BBC Website)

This highlights the 'dumping' of citizens elsewhere, in situations where there is no plan for their welfare or support, creating worse situations for the residents leaving their gentrified areas, increasing the problem in reality rather than improving the situation in a way that some scholars argue Gentrification can, whilst at the same time putting more pressure on already disinvested areas:

“She said previous efforts to relocate needy people had put strain on local public services and led to ‘the collapse of already vulnerable neighbourhoods and the rise of divisive right-wing extremism.’”

(Brown, G 2012, on BBC Website)

These vulnerable neighbourhoods had already seen relocation into the area, and had not been able to cope with the influx of needy people, creating neighbourhood divides that impact on social and cultural relations. How then, can Gentrification ‘solve’ the problems of disinvestment and inequality? Surely the problem is simply moved, and possibly most worryingly, magnified elsewhere out of sight of gentrifiers, developers and local and national government.

Furthermore, we must look at ‘why’ and ‘how’ Gentrification is allowed to be implemented with little or no resistance in regards to the negative effects on the working class. Importantly, the opinions on Gentrification held by local politicians and covered by local and national media are the opinions pushed onto society as a whole and shape the generally held beliefs on the process. Traditionally speaking, these opinions have focused on the interests of the developers, property owners, and middle-class consumers (Horne, *et al.* 2006:8) being ‘synonymous with the well-being of the city’ (Gruneau 2002:ix-x). The interests of the working-class communities who inhabit the areas prior, during, and after Gentrification are therefore not of public interest in the eyes of the media and politicians, and the relevant critical analysis of the working classes are not apparent. Their cause is not commonly debated or surveyed with the care such an issue deserves, and it is this lack of transparency and representation which colludes to ‘hide’ the negative aspects of Gentrification from the public domain. This issue is compounded by traditional current policy research by academics, which, as Slater claims, are usually funded by policy-led institutions, creating a censorship of the negatives of certain policies. Highlighting the fact that cities ‘have become the incubators for many of the major political and ideological strategies through which the dominance of neo-liberalism is being maintained’ (Brenner and Theodore 2002:375-6), including Gentrification, it is to be considered that all policy taking place mainly within cities is significant for policy makers and those involved in policy, to protect their model, to share the positives through media and through research, and to cover up the negative aspects, made easier in this case by the sufferers of policy having less political representation than those who benefit from this policy:

“In the United States, it is ‘policy research’ that plays the lead role as a cover and shield against critical thought by acting in the manner of a ‘buffer’ isolating the

political field from any research that is independent and radical...”

(Wacquant 2004:99)

This idea of invoking research which questions policy, and/or censoring results that challenged policy, was apparent when my research film was not ‘approved’ by the council (as mentioned earlier they cancelled/missed multiple arranged meetings to talk over my project and by me being unable to obtain any communication with LOCOG or the ODA) and also by the finished project being chosen by a fellow academic to be screened at a Newham Council run event. Eventually the council, having viewed the film, deemed some subjects to be too sensitive, and invited me to re-edit the film, which would give a different outlook on their policies more favourable to them, and when I declined to re-edit my findings, the film was withdrawn from the event altogether.

Further to this channelling of research to appropriate positive findings by policy makers is the general coinciding of the recycling of language to meet their ends. The language has been disguised and reinvented;

“Gentrification disguised as ‘social mix’ serves as an excellent example of how the rhetoric and reality of Gentrification has been replaced by a different discursive, theoretical and policy language that consistently deflects criticisms and resistance.” (Slater, T 2006:751).

This promoted evolution of language and the way with which we use it acts as a barrier. In the Host City we are all too aware that ‘urban regeneration’ was a byword for Gentrification, although this term never was and never has been used by local politicians, policy-makers, or Olympic Bodies. In the aftermath of the Games, it is clear to see this process was instigated, developed, and ongoing, but the actualities of regeneration were never presented to the people with the process of Gentrification;

“Not only does ‘urban regeneration’ represent the next wave of Gentrification, planned and financed on an unprecedented scale, but the victory of this language in anaesthetizing our critical understanding of Gentrification in Europe represents a considerable ideological victory for neoliberal visions of the city.” (Smith 2002:446).

Through the vision of the city as presented by policy makers, media, and researchers, urban regeneration is successful in its entirety, and it is what the city needs and wants, whilst being a sign of progress and forward thinking by those responsible. It is a combination of different carefully aligned strategies, holding the interest of the middle and upper classes in

the highest esteem, suffocating research that exposes the plight of the displaced working classes while promoting the benefits gained by the gentrifiers (the more affluent users moving into the spaces), and the misuse/reuse of language to disguise certain policies as altogether different ones which has allowed this process to take place unchallenged, and the proof of the success of these strategies is the now accelerating pace at which the urban regeneration/Gentrification of Newham's Royal Docks is taking place.

In my research project the issues of Gentrification were highlighted within the visuals of the film, as well as from direct quotes from the characters in the film. But I also included these issues in subtext in the script and the trailer scenes for the drama film *Hot Wings*. Early in the film, Ken's character is sacked from his job amidst the changing consumer culture of the area, represented within the story by the shift in musical tastes of the area rendering his work as a DJ as being out of touch with the image the club owner wishes to promote. The tastes of the 'creative classes' often differ from those of the working-class inhabitants; the greasy spoon café becomes the coffee shop/art gallery; the local pub becomes a gin palace or a craft beer emporium; the charity shop becomes a vintage fashion store. This shift in popular culture is introduced early in the film then built upon when Ken returns to London six months later. Here he notices the change in the usage of space visually, which we see through his point of view. He witnesses the closure of pubs against the contrasting opening of coffee shops and riverside bars frequented by gentrifying groups, visible by their differing appearance (ethnicity combined with appearance through clothing, hairstyles, *etc.*). The instigation of this Gentrification is represented at the end of this sequence when Ken turns a corner to see the majesty of the Olympic Aquatics Centre looming over the local area; his disdain is evident by him spitting on the ground, shaking his head, and leaving. We lastly return to this theme when Ken is invited to DJ at The Drunken Monkey bar in Shoreditch mid-way through the film. Once inside, it is apparent that Ken and his music are out of place there. The method of music is again different to the traditional methods he was using. The acts of entertainment used by the consumers in the bar (e.g. the photo-booth with costume hats) are alien and uncomfortable to Ken; the drink served to him is one associated with a more prosperous consumer. The crowd look and feel different to him, and through the framing and editing of the scene Ken is irrelevant to them - just as the working-class inhabitants of the Host City are irrelevant to the gentrifiers, politicians, and developers. Ken's sense of unease is represented by the way he twitches when looking around, the blurring of sights and sounds within the bar, and, again, his eventual leaving of the space. The recurrent image of Ken leaving throughout the film, whether it is leaving the Host City twice within the film for an area (Essex) synonymous with working-class movement out of London or when he leaves a scene, represents the social displacement,

whether by 'winkling' or otherwise, of the working-class communities whose areas have become subject to Gentrification.

The Gentrification of the Host City followed a clear and succinct process that provided it with maximum impact in minimal time with little resistance. Mainstream society (in this instance I mean those outside of the Host City) was distracted by the spectacle of the Olympic Games, while firstly the last, few remaining old, traditional industries of the working-class were brutally but quietly removed, while the spectacle gained momentum, diverting attention toward the ethics and glory of the Games as opposed to the effects on local communities on the ground. Slowly but surely, new-build housing, largely unaffordable to local communities, began to develop in the Host City, along with the small-scale use of space for more affluent users (e.g. as coffee shops and art galleries). Local council housing was simultaneously cleared, with existing property and rent costs increasing rapidly, forcing many local people further into the suburbs and outer-lying areas, while more affluent users were replacing them. Just before the climax of the spectacle, the Westfield Stratford City shopping centre was opened, giving an 'Urban Entertainment District' to the area and the process was complete when the new creative-sector industry began moving into the Olympic Park a year after the Games. Old working-class housing and jobs had been taken away and replaced by housing, work, and leisure facilities for the middle/creative classes.

Although, traditionally East London has been an area that has always undergone change due to the significant migration into the area from overseas as well as from other parts of Britain, the changes the area has previously been subject to have been achieved gradually through integration into existing society and space, within the same working classes that already exist, as most migrants, if not all, have been economic migrants. The landscape has undergone change, as any urban environment does post-industrially, but maybe more so due to the bombing of East London during the Blitz. However, the Host City's changes have always occurred within the analogy of the 'palimpsest' - the writing block or parchment that can be erased and reused several times, leaving traces and redundancies that remain as a mark of the past or an inheritance (Crang 1996). This in turn is transformed into heritage superimposing a new urban layer over the previous one (Khirfan 2010). The analogy of the 'palimpsest' and the notion of superimposing altered architecture, public space, and communities on top of previous ones, holds the idea that the previous is still present, visible, and represented within the new - hence the half-faded lines of previous work on the palimpsest and the combining of images through superimposing. However, in specific areas mentioned within the Host City that have undergone the most extreme

Gentrification (including parts of Stratford and Hackney Wick alongside the Fantasy City of the Olympic Park), the past has been all but erased through the transformation of architecture, the use of space, and the users of space. For the first time the past has been erased, the palimpsest has been wiped clean and started again, and the cultural heritage and social identity of the people of certain parts of the Host City have been taken away, and this 'social cleansing' has gathered momentum towards the Royal Docks. Parts of East London's cultural heritage have been lost forever. ..

My research has led me to conclude that, although there have been significant infrastructure projects in the area of the upper and lower Lea Valley where the Olympic Park was built, there has been no regeneration for the people and spaces of inhabited East London. The area the Olympic site has been constructed on was mostly derelict, with dirty industry being the main usage of the small pockets of buildings there. The businesses were removed by compulsory purchase orders to other parts of London, and were not invited to return after construction was finished. This action - or land grab - previously occurred during the clearing of King's Cross slums to make way for new underground lines and in Arnold Circus in East London (BBC's 'The History of our Secret Streets', 11 July 2012), and is looking ever more likely to occur in southern Newham with the proposed developments to the Royal Docks. Taking this into consideration, as well as little affordable housing being built outside the Olympic Park, the Olympic movement has built a new area, including new industry and new homes, for new people, and which just happens to be in East London, and are claiming this as regeneration. With London having a uniquely strong focus on regeneration, its shortcomings are clearer than previous Games and are drawn into sharper focus.



'Spot the Cockney' - graffiti highlighting the displacement of East Enders from Hackney Wick

Gentrification – An East End Case Study

The subjects of my research were also aware that local businesses and residents were being forced from the edge of the Olympic Park. Dan, a labourer and artist who has lived in the area since 2005, eventually lost his home at the request of LOCOG and Hackney council after a lengthy battle over the need to demolish the building to construct a bridge in its place to gain access to the Olympic Park, and consequentially when that failed, a revoking of the premises licence to be part residential. Dan's story highlighted local people's lack of power over the area where they live when where they live becomes of interest to councils and governing bodies. This view does not intend to apply *power* in any authoritative sense - the subjects are under no illusions that they ever had authority - but refers to a broader *power* in terms of the freedom to walk their streets, to be seen and heard in those streets, to make a living in their areas, *etc*, which they once had but that has now been taken away. Because of the lack of regeneration in the area for decades, no real authority presence (either national or local government) was sensed there. The areas belonged to the people only to the extent that they were so completely ignored and neglected that they were forced to take some responsibility for their own material survival and the fabric of their environment. The Olympics have led to authorities appearing with promises to "regenerate your area", without any element of participation, consultation, or indeed consent. This physical re-entering into the public sphere by government, to areas it had withdrawn from, altering these areas to suit their needs, under the guise of suiting the needs of the people there, has led to a shift from public to private space. The entire area of the lower Lea Valley prior to the Olympics, whatever perceived problems it may have had or changes it might have needed as deemed

by government, was a public place. People had the freedom to live and work there within their means, to move, to come and go, to take their own path, and from this freedom and personal choice power was withdrawn. Unrestricted in movement, a key component of being, they governed themselves. The closing of the area and compulsory purchase orders changed this, developing the area from public space to private space. The residents and workers could no longer walk in the city the way they had previously; they could no longer 'be' in the city the way they had before; their freedom within this area, and ultimately their power, had been removed. In the aftermath of the opening of the Park, they are now consumers of the city, not producers. The city designates their path, designates their being, and people in the lower Lea Valley were aware of this from the moment the bid was won.



Dan outside his former home in Hackney Wick, the front door now caged

Dan, a resident of Hackney Wick, one of the areas withdrawn to private space, said to me:

“Yes it’s a shithole, but it’s our shithole. Now all of a sudden they want it, and we’re gonna be shoved aside.”

(Dan, *We Ain’t Stupid*, 2015)

Recently (2014) a graffiti message in Hackney Wick that can be seen from the busy A12 has been sprayed, removed, re-sprayed, and re-removed over a period of four months. The message reads “From Shithouse to Penthouse.” The context of the message is clear: the regenerators have given permission to the developers to take these areas from one extreme to the other, completely sidestepping the needs of the current communities and creating spaces designed to be inhabited by the socially engineered communities of tomorrow. It is also noticeable that political graffiti that adorns nearby walls and faces into the area as

opposed to outwards of the area has not been cleaned or covered, indicating a will to rebuff and silence messages that may highlight or at least question the intentions behind the redevelopment in the area. It also seems that London graffiti, much like the graffiti on the walls of Athens immediately after they held the Games there, has returned somewhat to content rather than form, an expression of opinion rather than art.



Anti Olympic graffiti shows a man hung by his neck from the Olympic rings

This idea of shift from public to private was evident in the experimental film I produced and directed titled 'River Runs Dry', which juxtaposes the cordoning off of the Olympic Zone and the construction of the private park or 'house' against the rapid closure and decay of East London's pubs, its public houses, its public arenas. I produced a lot of footage of interviews that explicitly aired the views of the people through direct dialogue, and 'River Runs Dry' was conceived as an alternative to this, to air an opinion purely visually. Recently there has been a film produced called 'Pete' which is part of the 'England, Your England' series of short films. It explores the themes of public versus private spheres, and claims that public space is being looted to make way for large-scale private-sector zones. The film pinpoints the Olympic Park as a key example of public space being taken away from us, with restrictions on that space, enforced by private security.



View of the Carpenters Estate from the Olympic park

It looks at how the city is being more and more privately controlled, and the dangers of this. There were obvious parallels between the message in film and the findings in my research about the resentment towards the Olympic Games due to the removal of space.

The attempted Gentrification of Carpenters Road

On this topic I carried out a two-year case study of an area called the Carpenters Estate. I visited the area on a monthly basis to make observations, speaking to people in the shops, in the pub, and on the street, then eventually digitally recording footage comprising of the changing landscape and the prominent emptiness. It became clear that this was and still is an area severely affected by this mismatch of old and new, a mismatch of skill set(s), and a contrast of the history of the area and the future under plans by the council. Carpenters Road used to be two miles long,



Carpenters Estate on ground level, boarded up

running from Hackney in the north to Stratford in the south. It consisted largely of dirty industry such as soap factories and scrap metal yards. The vast majority of the road was closed and demolished to become part of the Olympic Park. The surviving 100 metres of the road to the south in Stratford is home to the Carpenters Estate: a mix of high-rise and low-rise flats, a pub, a community centre, and a couple of small shops. At the bottom of the road is a works access entrance to the Olympic Park. When the Olympics were announced, Newham Council began a process of decanting residents in the area, firstly through asbestos reports, next through claiming the buildings were unfit for occupation, then through compulsory purchase orders on the estate. The aim was to sell the land to University College London to build a campus on the site, an act that many residents called 'an eradication of the working class' and 'social cleansing'. (Joe Alexander, 'The Eradication of the Newham Working Class, 2012 Web). Campaign groups, namely Carpenters Against Regeneration Plans (CARP) and more recently 'Focus E15 Mums' were set up to challenge the proposals, claiming the initial reports were being used to justify the sale of their homes to a university body that would pay large sums to build on the edge of the Olympic Park and close to the new transport links. The decanting process continued for seven years, with the council and the Mayor's office putting more and more pressure on the remaining community to leave.

The community had two main objections to leaving. Firstly, the area has a very strong sense of community, apparent by the familiarity between people, extended families living within the estate, little outside interference due both to its geographical position making it unusable as a gateway to other nearby areas and a lack of facilities that would draw nearby communities in, creating little or no passing 'traffic', as well as its popular social/cultural spaces revolving around the community centre, which catered for young and

old, as well as the pub and the kids' playground. It was apparent that this strong and established community had no desire to be broken up, citing the council's claims that the buildings were unfit for occupation to be false, and secondly, they had put up with the disruption of Olympic construction on their doorstep so they should be entitled to enjoy the use of the Park and its facilities.



Carpenters Estate at night - one stubborn light on



A single light on in the low rise of Carpenters Estate

Many families left, accepting sums close to £5000 to relocate elsewhere, and even though some people defiantly stayed, the community that had been on the estate for over fifty years was broken up. The area became so empty that it was attractive to film crews looking for housing estate settings without the interruptions of filming in highly populated areas, and in a two-year period three British films - ('Attack the Block', 'Ill Manors', and

'Wild Bill') - were filmed there. Eventually, in early 2013, the council announced a U-turn: UCL would move into a site inside the Olympic Park itself. In addition, the Carpenters Estate had now been deemed to be fit for living if refurbished, and would not be demolished. The remaining residents could stay, and any previous residents that accepted the compulsory purchase orders relocation offer of £5000 would have to repay the full amount if they wished to return. Residents I spoke to mid-2013 were happy they could stay, but believed they were only given permission to stay because UCL and Newham Council had managed to come to an agreement to house the new campus inside the Park. If this agreement had not been reached they would have gone ahead with demolition eventually. Also, it was believed that many residents would not wish to return after all this time; they would have settled elsewhere, elderly people and young people would not want the upheaval again, and most tenants would have spent the £5000 anyway. The remaining tenants believed the damage had already been done, and the community had been broken beyond repair.

Looking at literature published by the Olympic bodies in the weeks before the re-opening of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, their description of the new area goes some way to summarising the lack of attention given to the existing neighbouring areas:

"The opening of the south Park is a huge moment in our vision to create a new heart of East London. With beautiful parklands and waterways, and world-class sporting facilities the Park will become a must-visit destination for everyone – local people and visitors alike. We would encourage everyone to come and explore more from 5 April."

(Dennis Hone, Chief Executive, London Legacy Development Corporation 2014)

The new postcodes are described as a new heart of East London. But back in 2005, there was no reference to a new heart. All the emphasis was on transforming the *existing* heart of East London – indeed; Newham Council's motto is 'Newham – The Heart of East London'. The plan sold to the world and to the people of East London was regeneration to eradicate the existing suffering of housing, poverty, lack of facilities, and jobs. It was to improve the infrastructure in place. Now it seems the plan was to build new infrastructure, and to neglect existing infrastructure that is still suffering. This mis-match is one of the problems of trying to marry mega-events with social progress successfully. 'New' is not necessarily regeneration; it is simply new. And the beneficiaries of new homes, new facilities and services, in this case, may not actually be the residents who were originally set to benefit from the regeneration of their areas.

9. Tactics

de Certeau's Ordinary Man

While not drawing any definitive conclusions, it is clear that even within the group of marginalized people that largely form the users of Queen's Market there is still a hierarchy, competition for power, and clear evidence of haves and have-nots. I share the view and approach of other creative practitioners who have usefully applied the ideas of de Certeau to their practice:

"de Certeau sees processes of 'othering' and religiosity as fundamental registers of everyday social formations in this context, and points us to privilege the plurality of histories, phenomenologies and embodied narratives that compose an ethnographic field over reductionist singular interpretations."

(Napolitano, V 2007 pg: 4)

I have understood an 'othering', as well as an 'Us and Them' within my research that exposed formations of narratives rather than singularity by both the scale and variety of peoples and space recorded, old and young, male and female, local and foreign, as well as the time spent, which allowed us to interpret difference and change between people and within themselves, whilst still embodying a broader formation.

Whilst there were common themes and modes of operation, shared space and culture that enveloped worlds, the people are not autonomous. It is apparent from their surface differences (who they voted for, if the Olympics were reducible to good or bad and which side they swayed, their clothing, accents, and relationships with others within their space) that there is no singular interpretation for the marginalized of the East End of London. Subjects such as Gary, Manish, and Zack have managed to acquire a certain degree of power and visibility, while others in the market do not possess the same explicit power and relative visibility (visually and verbally and a much lower frequency of interaction). The constructed order for all users is the same, as they are all subject to the same regulations imposed by the council (trading hours and spaces, goods permissible, rent etc) and by dominant discourse. In order to understand how some users seemingly negotiate themselves into a better situation, one must consider the idea of 'tactics', as explained by de Certeau, as the difference within a people.

Perhaps his best known book, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), explains that 'tactics' are the acts of the weak/suppressed/Subaltern which allow them to "manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them" (de Certeau, M

1984:xiv) which 'set out to propose new ways in which users, ordinary folk, might escape the passivity and rule-bound models of structuralist analysis through tactics of evasion and escape' (Napolitano, V 2007 pg: 3), and that the weak, or suppressed, who engage in tactical evasion must be "always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized 'on the wing'" (de Certeau, M 1984: xix).

Act of Walking

We resist through action. One of de Certeau's 'tactics' is the act of walking. To walk and move through the fenced and unfenced sections of the city is to act. He describes the relationship between walking/acting and resistance as the manipulation of space by its users, the deviations of routes taken when walking in the city, contradicting the plans of architects, urbanites and town planners, and that acting in space does 'manipulate the 'basic elements of constructed order' (de Certeau, M 1984:100.) The user of the city produces his own relationship with the city. He may forbid himself to take routes, literally and figuratively, that are accessible or obligatory, instead vying to carve his own route, or path, through the city, and to provoke certain fenced sections of the city. Although de Certeau refrains from naming specific acts of alternate movement through the city, I believe he is referring, on a specific literal level, to taking short cuts, cutting across private land (trespassing), avoiding high streets, walking against the crowds, taking paths with an element of danger, and at times being alone. This literal example can be transferred into metaphors for the working class's methods of resistance through action in their everyday life, to take short cuts, to stray onto private property, to avoid mainstream commerce, going against the accepted norm, and taking routes that have the possibility of danger.

If we apply this approach to Zack, who owns the Afro-Caribbean hair and nail shop, it could be argued that he has consciously manipulated his shop in order to be the subject of his workplace. He has surrounded himself with young beautiful African and Caribbean women who both work there, and who use the shop as clients, and he has made a clear decision to be the only man in the building. The women actually run the shop, and also look after his material needs by providing food and water. However they also look up to him. This became visible when we interviewed him. Analysis of the mise-en-scene reveals the most senior woman in the shop, who stands behind him, hanging on his every word. Zack is charismatic and loud, as seen in the film, and he is the centre of attention within his space.

Gary also uses action to become the centre of attention within his space at the rear of the market. He is constantly visible throughout the market, accentuating his dialogue with regularly banging on the stall with his fist or smashing the fruit bowls together. He is always

shrouded in a cloud of cigarette smoke, constantly throws boxes over his shoulder, and fruit and vegetables into the compost heap which both alarms passers-by and impresses them with the accuracy of his aim. He retains attention by visibility, thus ensuring people are aware of him whether they like it or not. It is no surprise that Gary's visibility through his tactics makes his stall always one of the busiest.

Another expression of tactics is visible in the identification and exploitation of *opportunities*:

"A tactic takes advantage of opportunities and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position and plan raids. What it wins it cannot keep. This nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but mobility that must accept the chance offerings of any moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any moment."

(de Certeau, M 1984:37)

Through Gary's actions in the film we obtain a clear indication of the use of tactics, an idea that carries over into his verbal opinions on the Olympic Project and the business venture that he has in place to exploit the Olympic opportunity. Indeed Gary is the only trader at the market that expressed any positive attitude or opinion towards the Olympic Games as a possibility for economic growth. When I questioned him further he said it was simply because he saw it as a chance to make money. He made no reference to symbols or representations of what the Olympics stand for. Nor did he mention the ethics, the politics, the morals, or the prestige - there was no comment on the legacy or the regeneration of the area that he has lived in for all of his life. He simply saw it as a way to make money. When asked about the effect of the Olympic Games on the East End, he is ambivalent. He admits to some uncertainty as to the future recipients of the new housing being created as part of the project and acknowledges the likelihood that they will be sold off to middle - and upper class - city workers. However, he does not seem too disheartened by this fact. He explains that the Olympic Games is a chance for local people to earn money, or as he puts it to make a 'pound note'. He believes that the people of East London have a *right* to make money from the Games, and sums up his ideas of tactics when he says that anyone who does not want the Olympics to come to East London, or who doesn't know how to make money from it, is 'either stupid or lazy.'

He recalls that in 2001 he bought some leftover stock of Millennium Hats. He is in the process of altering the '2000' sign and adding an Olympic logo, and he will resell them around the perimeter of the Olympic Park during the Games in 2012. He has taken

advantage of an opportunity that exemplifies how 'ordinary people survive by wit and improvisation' (Napolitano, V 2007:9). He has physically improvised and adapted dead stock to inject value back into it. Furthermore, he is convinced that he can make £10,000 profit from this venture. This gives him great pride. He does not expect improved housing, better transport, or better sporting facilities for the future, from the people making decisions, but rather satisfies himself with the potential £10,000, he can make from the Games, which will not change his life, but will momentarily improve it. In some respects this is consistent with de Certeau's contention that marginalized people lack any base to stockpile their winnings and/or reinvest in future projects. Indeed, Gary is conscious of not having a base to stockpile his profits - he is aware that he lives 'hand to mouth' - and indeed celebrates his ability to continue to do so. Change for him is necessarily momentary, temporary; he does not expect change on a social platform. He sums up his thoughts on the idea of change when questioned about the recent student protests. He says that he is a firm believer that it does not matter what the man in the street votes for, what he protests for, what his beliefs are: whoever is in power is in power and there will be no change. He likens it to shouting off the top of a cliff, which is a view entirely consistent with his earlier comments about the results of the general election. Even the election of a new government represents no possibility of being able to change anything - a view that echoes Lampedusa's idea: everything has to change in order for everything to remain the same.

Act of Speech

Although de Certeau has written less on the act of speech than on that of walking, the two overlap in his work. He describes language, and more specifically the act of speech, as a mode of communication that he terms 'folkelighed' (a Danish word that cannot be translated: it means "what belongs to the people") (de Certeau, M 1984 pg: 131). Ownership of one's speech gives a temporary ownership of one's language. He goes on to explain that the act of speech, the enunciation and use of language, modifying the dynamics of its relation, is an operation performed on language (de Certeau, M 1984 pg: 33). Moreover, its context of use, situating the act of speech in relation to its circumstances and its audience, is what makes possible the withdrawing of meaning from the references within the language. I believe that de Certeau's guides to operations performed on the act of walking can also be transferred to the act of speech, including but not exclusive to polysemy (the same thing has uses and properties that vary according to the arrangements into which it enters), substitutability (a thing is always replaceable by another, because of the affinity of each with the others within the totality), and euphemism (one must hide the fact that actions conflict with the dichotomies and antinomies represented by the symbolic system).

In Queen's Market, the act of speech was very prevalent as not just a mode of communication but also as a mode of resistance and this act of speech uses polytheism, substitutability, and euphemism. Above all, it goes against Standard English – or the Queen's (!) English. Polytheism is abundant within the speech of the Market, i.e. words used which taken in relation to the sentence do not make sense, but taken in the context of the point being made, and the alternate use implied onto that word by the speech act, make a certain audience (others who use similar speech acts or have been exposed to it) understand. For example, when Gary is discussing something, which he feels is unfair treatment of him or the working classes, at the climax of his point he stops and says, simply, 'Hello.' In standard use this is nonsense; the word, prior to having any operation performed on it, is a greeting, certainly not the meaning Gary wishes to convey. What he is actually saying is 'Hello, I'm here, I'm aware of what you are doing and why you are doing it. I've not been fooled'. Substitutability is provided mainly in the form of sarcasm, wit, and metaphor. Most users of the Market tend, when they are making points which may seem controversial to popular or mainstream beliefs, not to actually say their point explicitly, but to tie it up in sarcasm, in wit, or to draw metaphors, i.e. to explain the situation as they see it but moving the scenario to a different set of circumstances, objects, time, or space. It is possible this particular act of speech, clouding particular statements, is aimed at deceiving outsiders, as is regularly claimed of Cockney rhyming slang that it is being used to confuse police regarding criminal activity. However, my understanding is it is part deception and partly establishing a connection between the speaker and the audience, to reinforce the fact that they are on the same wavelength. They can understand each other where the meaning is not at once apparent, making it a shared use of tactic which ultimately highlights they are from the same habitus ('Us' as opposed to 'Them'), and lastly, it is a creative expression of oneself, to be able to modify the dynamics of language to give meaning in an alternative way, to utilise the act of speech and shared understanding of context to make language more interesting to speak and to hear, and more personal, something used by relatively powerless people the world over.

Continuing on this theme, the staccato nature of speech in the market is common throughout. For example, dropping sentences midway through and picking up at different points, using acts and gestures of the body to accentuate certain points, gathering momentum to a certain point, getting there, and then not actually saying the vital word, which actually gives the point more gravity. The qualifying of themselves to make the audience aware that they understand they might not be correct on everything, even if in some instances you can tell they are 100% convinced of what they are saying. The going off on tangents, the questioning of the audience ("You know what I mean?"), the use of slang,

the very distinct use of pronunciation. The speech act of the people in Queen's Market is a developed/developing divergence from "Standard English", which they use as their language base but which is then localised to degrees of difference unrecognisable to some. It is a tactic, employed as a resistance. The use of this tactic resists not just the Queen's English but authority in general, reinforces shared class experience, and further creates an 'us and them'. The users of language in this way are refusing to use the language in the 'proper' way. On the contrary, they revel in using it their way: by drawing power from almost exclusive communication, they are empowering themselves and others sharing their time and space.

Specific Tactics within the Host City

From the actions of the working classes in my research, it is clear that their 'tactics' serve two purposes: one is to achieve momentary victory in physical or economical terms; but the main aim is to draw personal power through resistance. Through not abiding by the rules, they are making their own rules. And a man who makes his own rules governs himself, to whatever varying degrees, giving him temporary power, and pride in that power. The intent and result of 'tactics' could be split into three parts. Firstly, the tactics were intended to achieve economic gain. Some market workers working the maximum hours a week at the market (but not so many that they will stop receiving their Jobseekers Allowance), Kenan in the music studio connecting the electricity from a nearby house to power the studio and therefore not having electricity bills, Dan and Phil in Hackney Wick simply deciding to squat in their house and forfeit their rent altogether, Gary in the market altering 'dead stock' to make it sellable again: all were tactics aimed at economical gain. The second part is a mixture of both economic gain and resistance, such as the pirate radio station set up by Kenan, which ignored broadcasting regulations and fees, an act of economic gain, raised money through advertising on their station, another economic gain, whilst at the same time broadcasting across East London, naming the area they were broadcasting from and the musical names they work under, expressing themselves through their own avenues as opposed to the mainstream avenues which were out of their reach - a clear act of resistance to the normal operation of broadcast. And, thirdly, there were tactics intent on pure resistance: the tactic which summed up the working-class attitude to resistance, the tactic which showed most resistance in the simplest way, was the complete flouting of the smoking ban in Queen's Market in Upton Park. This flouting of the smoking ban was also explicitly evident across the working-class neighbourhoods of the city of Athens, where I visited and filmed a section of documentary footage of the Olympic Games

fallout in that area and the community's response, attitudes and actions in response to the current economic situation there.

Mass Tactics

Here I will consider two processes of tactics. Firstly, what I will call a 'Mass Tactic', where the masses act in unison producing the same benefit from the act of a tactic, and secondly the 'Tactical Circle', where people act together but in different roles to create a circle of tactics, encompassing inception, creation, powering, delivering, and consuming, for the benefit of all.

As smoking is restricted within certain spaces but not illegal in its entirety, the simple act of smoking a cigarette is an action of enjoyment, not a tactic. But the smoking of a cigarette in a clearly restricted zone, restrictions that have come in all over Europe over the last decade, as opposed to simply walking ten yards to an unrestricted zone, is a tactic of resistance, and in this particular case, what I will define as a 'mass' tactic resulting in 'mass' resistance. By this I mean where multiple persons employ the tactic simultaneously and explicitly to an extent where punishment by authorities is so difficult that they result in ignoring the act. The rules regarding smoking in Queen's Market are clear: customers can smoke anywhere in the market, but the traders must not smoke when standing behind, or serving at, their stalls. They must leave their stall and stand and smoke in the common walkways of the market. But this was not the case during my visits. Of all the traders that I saw smoking, more often than not (and in some traders' cases, almost exclusively), they smoked while serving at their stalls. As smoking is a visual act by the regular movement of the hand towards the mouth, the red ember of the cigarette burning, the smoke exhaling from the mouth and the plume of smoke constantly rising from the cigarette, it is an act that is very difficult to hide - but more importantly than that, it was an act they did not try to hide whatsoever. They smoked openly and constantly, in the comforting knowledge that it was a mass tactic of resistance, and, literally, 'they can't arrest us all.' This was never mentioned, but it was clear in the fact that I never witnessed any approach from the Council wardens, market manager, or police that roamed the market to any trader clearly smoking to challenge them. This act was not a planned act, it was a non-spoken agreement between the traders, trusted in by their experiences of their habitus, that this was a regulation that would be resisted, through the mass tactic employed. It gave them temporary power, not power to change the world, but power nonetheless, and some reassurance that 'people power', the unifying act of many in resistance to what it deems as unnecessary, can work.

Rhythmanalysis of the Mediterranean

Just as Lefebvre was useful in defining the space of Queen's Market, his unfinished piece entitled 'Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities' goes some way to explain and conceptualise the space of Athens, its rhythms regarding people, time, and space; to make sense of what I observed while in the city, how this came to pass, and its comparisons with Queen's Market. He begins by announcing 'Mediterranean towns are striking, amazing, surprising, on account of their specific characteristics' (Lefebvre 2004:87), characteristics meaning the acts and use of public space for socialising, exchange of goods and local politics. This specificity of city space underlines a difference, a difference when regarded against non-Mediterranean towns - something that was clearly visible to me from the instant I arrived. Resistance to commercialization in the way one exchanges goods, travels through the city, and uses space was apparent, as 'historical traits seem to us to persist more in the Mediterranean than anywhere else, and with remarkable force' (Lefebvre 2004:87), and although every town has historical traits socially, economically and politically, he implies that these traits in Mediterranean cities are less likely to be reduced over time. He includes that 'all forms of hegemony and homogeneity are refused in the Mediterranean' and that 'it is the very idea of centrality that is refused, because each group, each entity, each religion and each culture considers itself as a centre' (Lefebvre 2004:98). He also believes this evolved threefold, beginning with industrialization - or lack thereof - when compared to Oceanic towns (town and cities that border Oceans as opposed to seas):

"Industrialisation was accomplished unevenly and with difficulty, it seems to have profoundly altered neither the traditions of exchange or habits."
(Lefebvre 2004:91)

This relative lack of change in habits in turn minimizes change regarding habitat and habitus, keeping a historically strong constant, which stays as apparent as ever as opposed to being 'diluted' by industrialization and post-industrialisation. Secondly, he references the political structures within Mediterranean towns and how they came about as reasoning for the differences in the way the town acts within politically controlled spaces, i.e. the city. Political control within these towns is run by a state which 'is both violent and weak' and therefore 'the life of the city seldom has a political objective - except in cases of revolt' and political affinity from city dwellers is 'a compromise between all political powers' or an affinity to none; 'on the contrary on the refusal of alliance that can lead as far as open struggle' (Lefebvre 2004:92/93). In contrast to Oceanic towns where the state took power with fewer difficulties, violence and drama, interfering more explicitly with individual and social practices (Lefebvre 2004:93), Mediterranean towns resisted and rebelled against the

state more visibly and for longer, and, while still controlled politically by the state, this process of rebellion and resistance culminating in self-control has survived until today. Lastly, Lefebvre claims the relation of cities to the tides of the neighbouring seas plays a part in the rhythm of that city. The Mediterranean is an (almost) tide-less sea, and as such is a solar town:

“If it is true that Mediterranean towns are solar towns, one can expect from them a more intense urban life than in lunar towns, but also one richer in contrast at the very heart of the town. While in Nordic and Oceanic towns one can expect to find more regulated times, linked simultaneously to more restrictive, more disembodied and more abstract forms of (contractual rather than ritual) association.”
(Lefebvre 2004:93)

This idea of struggle, of compromise on or lack of alliance, of a more intense urban life and one rich in contrast, made it attractive for conducting research as at once it is visually enchanting and rich and within that are people who Act, Think and make Art honestly, expressively and with a lack of bias that suits research in general and particularly my form of research through filmmaking.

This Mediterranean rhythm brought out a vibrancy in the city of Athens. People took to the streets to try to make money anyway they could, through fly- pitching the exchange of goods, and ‘in this trade, material exchange was always mixed with an extreme sociability.’ (Lefebvre 2004:92): they congregated in the squares to talk with both friends and strangers, and the public spaces ‘were full of those who leave their homes in order to make contact with the outside, business people and people of leisure.’ (Lefebvre 2004:88):

“It seems to us that in them, urban, which is to say public, space becomes the site of a vast staging where all these relations with their rhythms show and unfurl themselves. Rites, codes and relations make themselves visible here; they act themselves out here.” (Lefebvre 2004:96)

The use of space is diverted away from political power and back to themselves, ‘they appropriate this space in a non-political manner. Through a certain use of time the citizen resists the state’ (Lefebvre 2004:96). The people and the traffic were loud and expressive and constantly moving. Food was cooking everywhere on the street, music played loudly, mopeds rode on the pavement, wild dogs wandered about barking randomly. All this, set against the intricate graffiti sprayed across every possible surface, brought the city alive.

When I visited Athens, there were many tactics employed by the people to make their movements quicker and easier. 'Health and safety' did not seem to be a concern to anybody, people sold their wares on the street when and where they saw fit, and cars ignored traffic lights, 'No Entry' signs, and parking restrictions. Mopeds rode on the pavement, sometimes with three or four people on them; people jumped on buses without paying. But the most obvious tactic feature to me was that the 'mass tactic' of resisting the smoking ban employed in Queen's Market was being employed throughout the city, in every bar, club, coffee house, restaurant, and shop that was not chain owned. Being the city Athens is, most indoor public places of recreation and entertainment are family owned or one-off individual places. People smoked everywhere despite the obligatory 'No Smoking' signs posted in all indoor public spaces. Nobody went outside for a cigarette: they all smoked inside - and I never saw any non-smokers complain. On one occasion, all the men at the bar of a coffee shop were smoking, a policeman walked in, took absolutely no notice of the people flouting the smoking ban, ordered his coffee and left, and no-one even raised an eyebrow. When talking to a barman about this, he said that the government took to the media a few years ago saying to the people of Athens that because of the economic struggles, they would relax the enforcement of the smoking ban to relieve some of the pressure on the people in that city. When I spoke to the owner of the coffee shop, he said people simply ignored the smoking ban when it was introduced: they saw it as unnecessary and unacceptable and carried on smoking. Faced with this, the government, realising they could not possibly arrest everyone, and not wanting to seem impotent in its law enforcement, hastily took to the press to relax the smoking ban so as not to expose their inability to deal with mass acts of resistance.

The Tactical Circle

Of all the tactics used by the people I came into contact with during my research, the one which literally showed most explicitly the process, product, and consumption of a tactic in de Certeau's sense, whilst simultaneously underlining the entire spectrum of tactical moves, was Kenan wiring up his studio power-supply into the public mains via a nearby electrical box. The studio would then allow Kenan and others to express themselves by making music containing lyrics directly questioning authority, to broadcast on his unlicensed pirate radio station, to be consumed by people who preferred his station to commercially licensed stations - whilst conveniently saving him electricity bills. Literally, he was stealing something from the mainstream suppliers of everyday essentials to create a record of rebellion, and then using it to compete against the very people he was diverting resources from. On a sub-level he was diverting power, actual power in the form of

electricity, away from the people who controlled this power, and using it himself for his own means, to empower his studio and radio station, to be able to express himself and others through broadcast, and indeed to empower himself. It is this act of temporarily diverting power, both physical power and assumed social power, away from the people and organisations who hold it, into the hands of the people who are not supposed to hold it, and then using this power for yet another tactical act of resistance through expression and broadcast through pirate radio broadcast, that highlights this as the clearest act of tactics. It is not life changing, but it is at once financially beneficial to him, an act of rebellion, and an act of control, empowering, expressive, exclusively consumed, and just criminal, parts that make up the sum of 'tactics'.

Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern Speak' – 'Can the Non-Subaltern Hear?'

Through the way my research was recorded and subsequently displayed, the notion of giving one a voice - indeed Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern Speak' - has been scrutinised by myself through my work and methodology. Whilst Spivak's work concentrated mainly on the experience of women under British Colonialism in India, the term 'Subaltern', originally defining a lower ranked member of the Army, has been used over the last century to take into consideration all peoples and groups of peoples who are marginalized from and oppressed by the dominant culture, the illiterate peasantry, the tribal, and most relevant to my research the 'strata of the urban subproletariat' (Spivak, 1988:25). At this point I will not delve into a commentary of Spivak's work, as it spans many subjects and nuances of the ideas of the Subaltern and colonialism and the secondary questions that arise from the seeking of the Subaltern to speak, alongside the problems caused by irresponsible encouragement from the non-subaltern for the subaltern to have a voice. But part of her central argument is relevant to my research, being whether or not 'the oppressed, if given the chance.... and on the way to solidarity through alliance politics... *can speak and know their conditions*' (Spivak, 1988:25). Through Spivak's subsequent arguments, it is clear she is not talking about whether they are capable of pronouncing words or forming sentences, but rather do they have a voice that can be projected out of their own groups and towards the dominant elements of society's elite. She considers if their plight can be articulated from within rather than formed from the outside, and if they can represent themselves with enough presence to inflict change on their conditions. The answer she gives to her own question, although it is considered on many levels and in differing times and spaces on different members of the Subaltern, is, no.

Whilst I agree with Spivak on the principle that there is a breakdown in communication expressed by the subaltern towards the elite, my view considers the same

problem in the opposite sense. I would argue that the Subaltern, who have limited opportunities to broadcast their story and opinions to the general public, are expressing their voice through my work. The problem in the communication between the two opposing groups, is, for me, more a question of: are the non-Subaltern actually 'listening'? Or to be more precise, are they even capable of 'hearing'? (listening being to acknowledge someone is speaking, hearing being to understand what is being said). To explain further, I do not believe my piece has given a voice to the Subaltern - but I do believe I have given ears to non-Subaltern people, the audience, to hear these people's voices that would not necessarily have engaged with them otherwise. The Subalterns, to me, do have a voice to a degree, but some elements choose not to use it in the public sphere generally speaking due to their opinion of their voice not carrying the power to instigate change. The lack of a voice being heard by these people is a result of outsiders, mainstream news corporations, the middle and upper classes, and traditional academics not wanting or not being able to have access to these people, not having the inclination or the social tools to talk and question, to listen to them and to begin debate with them in their own space and time, and to garner information from them that could lead to serious news or research. By talking to these people, by recording it and broadcasting it in a feature-length film, and quoting them directly in this thesis, I have provided a window of access to these people for others to view. To speak crudely, the work I have undertaken and produced has brought the outside world into the market (both Queen's Market and the general market of exchange of working class culture) and working-class communities, as opposed to bringing the market and working classes into the outside world. So in relation to Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern speak', my question would be 'Can the non-Subaltern hear'? To clarify, I have not given a voice to anybody, their voices exist as their own entity independent of me or my research, but what I have provided is an interface which allows members of the dominant discourse, and indeed members of other Subaltern groups, convenient access to a cultural experience they would otherwise have little specific understanding of. Whilst Spivak's work was very useful to me in understanding the problems in communication between the Subaltern and the non-Subaltern, and the seriousness of this issue when one considers communication as the underlining component of democracy and therefore progress, the research I have undertaken leads me to the conclusion that the problem is one of listening from outsiders and lack thereof. If we are to really instigate democratic progress, in co-operation with mega-events or otherwise, we need to engage with all members of society, a real engagement that goes beyond the ballot boxes, opinion polls and quick turnaround news reports with little depth.

Developing this idea of 'Can the non-Subaltern hear?' with my own experience of promoting my films made me consider not 'can they' but 'will they', as I mentioned above, and a specific example of this occurred during my research. Within a year of the first draft of the film being screened at the East End Film Festival in 2013, a member of the research staff at St Martin's Central School of Art contacted me. She had been asked by Newham Council to facilitate a film event to be held in Queen's Market. When she ventured into the market to speak to the traders and customers about what kind of films they enjoyed or they believed were relevant to the local area, a member of 'The Friends of Queen's Market', who were the main body of people battling and eventually keeping the market open, suggested she viewed the documentary I had made there; 'We Ain't Stupid'. The research staff contacted me and asked me for a copy of the film which I supplied. She viewed the film and immediately said she would like to screen the film at the end of the event as the only feature-length film screening on the day. I agreed, as I believed it would be a fitting place to screen the film, giving the opportunity to some of its participants to watch it that were unable to make the screening at the East End Film Festival, and would also give my research some exposure. Unfortunately, a month before the screening, she contacted me to say that a member of Newham Council, which was presiding over the event, had requested to see all films to be screened, and that my documentary had been rejected on the grounds that it 'brought into focus sensitive issues that involved the council, that had happened in the past', and that they did not wish to 'revisit old ground now they had cleared these issues up to the satisfaction of all parties involved'. She also mentioned that the council would like to meet me in person to discuss re-cutting the film to take out any content deemed sensitive, and also the possibility of producing future films under the guidance of Newham Council. My own suspicions were confirmed when the researcher from St Martin's said she had refused the first offer on my behalf as it amounted to nothing more than censorship. I also refused the offer of meeting the council to discuss future projects. Applying these events to the idea of Spivak's 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' with my own 'Can/Will the Non-Subaltern Hear' leads me to a conclusion that not only is the non-Subaltern unable to 'hear', but they will avoid hearing what the Subaltern says if it questions their governance, if its accusations make them uncomfortable, and most importantly if what is being expressed may make others raise similar questions. For me this added more importance to my work as an entry point for people not affiliated with such people and places: if opinion within my work is censored or blocked, it suggests that there are genuine questions in there, actual problems with how local politics is being served in the area, and that the council are fearful of this being broadcast back to the people within the borough. The invitation to work on future projects under their guidance was, to me, a thinly veiled attempt to stop me producing work

that questions how we live under the control of the council and wider authorities, and instead to make films that promote an idea of the council that benefits them – in short, propaganda. This situation is itself symptomatic of the underlying problems of development and regeneration on a social, cultural, and economic level. Rather than use collective grievances as an opportunity to consider where faults might lie, to try to pinpoint common themes of dissatisfaction with the operation of the council within the borough, to question themselves and those around them and as such to invite me to conduct similar research in other areas of the borough or indeed in other boroughs to actually try and tackle the problems head on in the name of progress, they have opted to ignore my research and the opinions of the people within it, who work and live in the borough, and to instead give the valuable platform to other films that are more council policy friendly.

10. Methodology of My Work

Placing my documentary 'We Ain't Stupid' within Nichols' six modes of documentary, it is important to note that 'most films incorporate more than one mode, even though some modes are more prominent at one time or place than another' (Nichols, B 2010: 143). As Natusch points out, 'in-depth scene-by-scene analysis is also possible in terms of Nichols' modes in order to better understand the film structure and the director's vision' (Natusch, B 2014:Abstract).

The scenes in my film vary in style, my own involvement and the method of delivering information. The main mode used is participatory, defined by Nichols as the use of interviews to give opinions on the subject matter. The question and answer format of these sections complies with Nichols' definition, where 'the filmmaker does interact with his or her subjects rather than unobtrusively observe them' (Nichols, B 2010:179).

In places, the film takes on a poetic feel. Nichols defines the poetic mode as 'associations and patterns that involve temporal rhythms and spatial juxtapositions' (Nichols, B 2001:102) and that present poetic representations of the world that are abstract and fragmented. The main example of this is the section in the snow, showing all the characters battling through the conditions to carry on with their normal day. This section ends with Dan building the snowman on his roof with the Olympic stadium in the background, making use of spatial juxtapositions between characters in differing locations connected by the blanket of snow, as well as between snowman and stadium, giving an abstract poetic representation of the people and the themes within the work. There are no interviews, narration or music, just the images and diegetic sound to convey meaning.

There are also flashes of what is described as the reflexive mode, where we demystify the process of “*how* we represent the historical world as well as... *what* gets represented” with the aim of helping the audience “to see documentary for what it is: a construct or representation” (Nichols, B 2010:194). This normally includes some kind of behind the scenes footage, the setting up of equipment and briefing of characters before the actual interview begins, or the inclusion in frames of recording equipment. This helps to place the filmmaker within the film, unpack parts of the process, and also as Nichols explains, to underline the film as a construct, not an absolute truth. Examples of this in ‘We Ain’t Stupid’ are me and the crew eating with Manish in the market prior to an interview, shots of myself filming from the top of the pub wall as the Olympic Torch relay came by, and me holding the boom during the park interview with Aaron.

During my filmmaking process, I watched and studied a lot of documentaries for inspiration and guidance, none more so than the films of British Director Marc Isaacs. Most useful to me were his films ‘All White in Barking’ and ‘Lift’. The former looks at race relationships within the London borough of Barking and Dagenham. Although different in content, the demographic and landscape of the film, as sub themes of community, space, identity and change were very similar to my films. He identifies a theme which he wishes to investigate, then selects a location where he thinks he can find characters who can express that theme:

“I usually start with an idea of a place and a theme. I enter into a particular space, which has certain themes at its heart, and then I’m looking for people and characters that will bring those themes alive”.

(Isaacs, M quoted in Quinn, J 2013:246)

This was how I approached the space of Queens Market, as I believed the space and the characters within it would be the best place for me to investigate the Olympic effects on the working class communities of the host boroughs.

Isaacs likes to put time and effort into building relationships with his characters, something which is visible within his films, and he believes ‘it’s crucial you have time because it’s not something that happens in the first meeting.. it’s only slowly over time where you feel you have the right, in a way, to ask them more personal questions’ (Isaacs, M quoted in Quinn, J 2013:251). With the model of the PhD, and with the space being local to me, I had this time to build up relationships and didn’t need to rush things, which was probably the most useful tool I had at my disposal.

During my PhD, I became aware of a young Brazilian film collective called Paêbirí Realizações working on an ongoing documentary project called 'Publicio Dominio' (public domain), about two mega-events in Brazil - the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. Their approach to the project was similar to mine - young filmmakers working on zero budget, filming their own community to give an insider view of a mega-event's effects on economically deprived areas. Following their project helped me in two ways. Firstly, this project had a good online following and showed me people were interested in the alternate view on these kinds of issues, not just the view portrayed by mainstream media. Secondly, it taught me the importance of ongoing character/subject viewings of the work in progress and also their feedback on this work. The filmmakers behind 'Publicio Dominio' hold regular screenings of rushes to the very communities who feature in the footage. I realised this would be useful to my work, for a few reasons. In the first instance, as the project was conducted over such a long period of time, I was worried some of the characters would lose interest. On top of that, there were many characters within the film, some of whom only shopped at the market but whose input into the film was all away from the market. I wanted the traders in the market to be aware of the characters outside the market and vice-versa, to understand the bigger picture of the project and each character's place within it.

Rhizomatics

Methodology regarding filmmaking and research through filmmaking, has traditionally been a hierarchical process, a practice where information flows from a central stem or spine, the route of which can be clearly traced back to a singular entity, author, or dominant organisation. This operational mode of making films and conducting research projects, where several elements make up the process, with people involved both in front of and behind the camera but with all direction coming from a single source, has been the historical dominant ontological method in Western thought. This process can be compared to the growth and stature of a tree, where leaves grow and spread outwards whilst still being traced back to branches and eventually the trunk, a single source. However, the time I spent on my PhD was not one of being a branch on the tree or indeed the trunk, but more accurately in contrast it became more like stepping into a 'Rhizome' as described by Deleuze and Guattari. They describe a Rhizome, or Rhizomatics, in the arena of linguistics, thought, psychoanalysis, biology, and human organisation, as not a model of binary representation, but that of multiplicities, as a never-ending map that has no town square. The Rhizome has no unique source from which all development occurs. The Rhizome is both heterogeneous and multiplicitous. It can be entered from many different points, all of which connect to

each other. The Rhizome does not have a beginning, an end or an exact centre (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:21-22).

Deleuze and Guattari go on to describe the Rhizome as an assemblage, where life, lived by people in spaces interacting with time and objects, is a circulation of states. There is multiplicity, expansion, variation, interchange-ability, and constant new 'lines of flight.' The fluidity and unpredictability of this way of being threatens the central agencies of hierarchy and authority, as there is no central organisation or power; the Rhizome therefore offers some hope of bringing about a kind of 'liberation' from structures of power and dominance. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:24)

In hindsight, I cannot recall if I was consciously aware of the idea that the arena in which I was to conduct my research was a 'Rhizome', and if I purposely stepped into the arena prepared to immerse myself into it and travel and talk accordingly, or if I set out with plans to work in a traditional ontological way but found myself pulled into the more fluid circulation of person and place. Analysing both the way I worked after the first couple of months until the end of the PhD as well as the form of the final documentary film, it is clear that both represent a way of being much more consistent with the concept of Deleuze and Guattari's 'Rhizomatics'.

Rhizomatics is relevant both to the way I worked and moved around East London expanding from myself as a single entity to a crew/cast/subject through the acquiring of crew and the increase of subjects, as well as with the narrative of the final film. Firstly, considering the way we worked, we indeed began with a plan or starting point, as a new undertaking. We started with a meeting at Queen's Market one morning, surveying the landscape and the practicalities of being within that space with our recording equipment. We planned to visit the market every Friday and conduct interviews on local and national current affairs, the progress of London's Olympiad, as well as the ongoing battle between the market traders and the council over a proposed redevelopment of the site that would see many traders lose their stalls.

However, once we began researching and recording in the market, we were drawn into a situation which was for the most part reactive as opposed to proactive, in the sense that events unfolded around us and information was passed to us signposting new avenues to research both in existing spaces as well as new spaces. We were also drawn out of the market by customers that were involved in activities elsewhere that were nevertheless still relevant to our topic of research. The market began as our first entry point, but ultimately was not an exact centre for us, as we were introduced to (as opposed to seeking out) sub-

centres and hubs of human organisation that were multiplicities of activity, and to a multiplicity of entry and exit points both as locations on a map and as subject matter relating to my PhD research. People and places were interchangeable, people moved from space to space and person to person, and we were carried along with it. Our crew also had multiple facets to it which evolved over time: people came and went, people changed technical roles both temporarily and permanently, and sub-crews ventured off so we could be in multiple places at a single time to try to record this idea of the anti-singular, how there was neither a central focus of being nor place. In hindsight, this was probably the only way of carrying out such research, as the nucleus of the research was about communities within a certain space, and communities and space develop in a natural, haphazard and Rhizomatic way. It also might be worth considering here, if the fact that the Olympic Games movement of grandiose redevelopment and structured change was one of the reasons it was jarring to the local communities both within their minds and their day to day lives; the structured un-rhizomatic way they redeveloped the Host City went against everything that was natural to the communities and their spaces experience of change, development or progress. Sweeping change is unnatural to a city, and this may have had some bearing on the discomfort people expressed when talking about the Olympics' effects on them.

Eventually, people whom we had interviewed over time began observing their own sub-centres and contacting us to inform us of potential avenues of relevant research, introducing us to people within their own lives and being a go-between, hence now moving from participation in front of the camera to participation behind the camera, actually researching on my behalf, reinforcing this idea of an organic rhizome that is flowing and moving at once in no presupposed direction. Participants became researchers themselves, they became familiar with what we were looking to research and also with the equipment, which meant they were more comfortable talking to us while we recorded, giving us more genuine interviews.

Narrative of the final film

The result of working in such a Rhizomatic way is a film that follows this process rather than one of a traditional narrative. Although the individual characters have their own loose narrative (for example, the battle to keep the market open, Ken's battle to keep his music studio going, Dan's battle against being evicted from his house, and Aaron's attempts to get into the Olympic Games), the transition between all stories is one of a multiplicity of stories existing as one and side by side, crossing each other's paths whilst relying on one and all to exist. The film has no central dominating focus, a dominating focus being an attribute of most traditional narratives (although examples of Rhizomatic narrative in literature

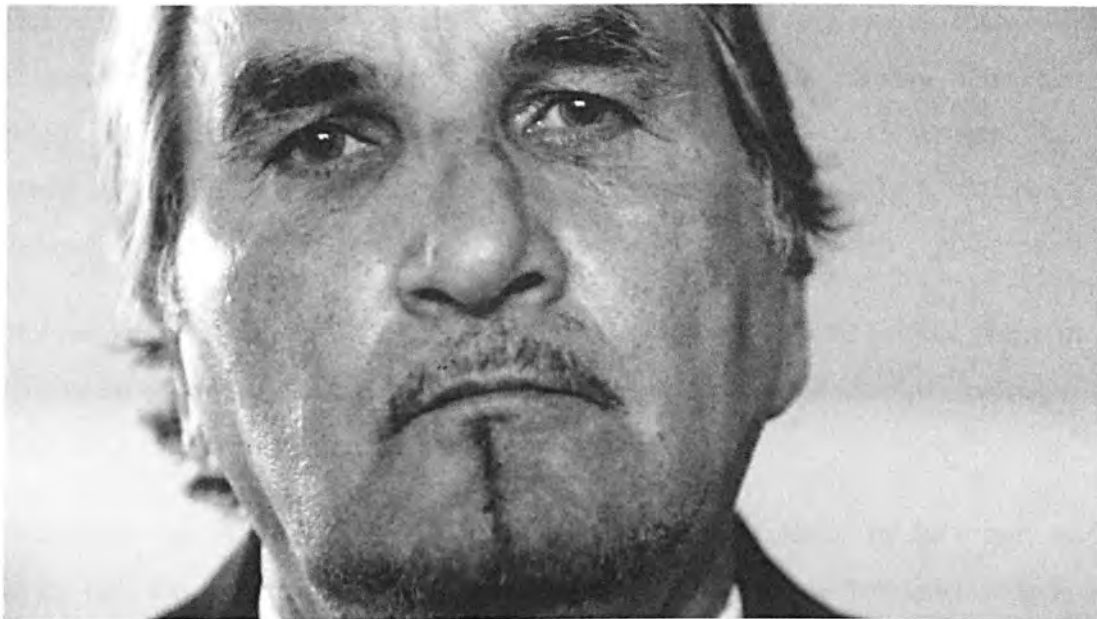
include 'The Canterbury Tales' (14th Century), and in film 'Magnolia' (1999) and 'Crash' (2004)). The weaving of time, space and character reflects the process of the recording and the habits and activities of those present in the film. The story in the film can be entered and/or exited from many points. It has no beginning as it existed before we entered their Rhizome, as 'in all ages, he [the 'ordinary man'] comes before text' (de Certeau, 1984:Prologue), and it has no clear ending, as the ordinary men continue with their challenges after the cameras have stopped recording.

Use of Non-Actors in Cinema with Mick Kennedy

When choosing actors for my drama films, although I had a small budget, and some actors who enjoy paid work indeed will work for expenses if they are attracted to the script and have free time in their schedule, I opted to cast non-actors. By actors and non-actors I mean; 'habitually, professional and semi-professional actors are actively seeking work, whereas by definition non-actors need to be discovered or unearthed' (Kennedy, M (No Date):14). Economically and contractually, 'the professional is hired to fulfil a task for which he is paid a contractual fee' whilst 'non-actors, on the other hand will come out without a call out fee, and presumably plug all leaks; for love' (Kennedy, M: 14). Although I mentioned we had a small budget that would cover only expenses, and therefore part of the decision to use non-actors was made for me, the main reason for choosing non-actors was two-fold. Firstly, it was for aesthetic effect and character understanding; how they looked (typage) and similarities between actor and character (context). Secondly, it was due to the relationships formed between the combinations of directors/non-directors and actors/non-actors. Regarding how they 'look', their physical features, film is heavily influenced by physiognomic language – to judge human character on their facial features, and was prominent in Italian Neo-realism cinema;

"Both Francesco Rosi and Pier Paolo Pasolini incorporated non-actors into their films in order to provide authenticity through a form of typage, a physiognomic language.... faces were carefully selected in order to signify notionally objective meaning."

(Kennedy, M: 7)



Mick Munn facing his death in 'A Killey'

The actors in 'A Killey' and 'Hot Wings', especially Mick Munn in the former and Kenan Kiani in the latter (both playing themselves), signified their characters' personality and meaning within the narrative through their physical attributes. Mick Munn played Mick, a 65-year-old bus driver who faces imminent murder for witnessing another man's death. His age and his 'worn' face give him a look of experience and wisdom, a man who has seen it all. This allows his awareness and his acceptance of his upcoming death to be plausible; he knows how the world works, and even though the threats he receives are not explicit, he is clever enough to fully understand the implications and his inability to divert his fate. Ken (in 'Hot Wings'), whilst significantly younger than Mick, also has a tough look to his face, he is streetwise and clued up and is no-one's fool. This serves throughout the story to face adversary head on and not to shy from confrontation; it is believable that he would fight fire with fire ultimately because he 'looks' like he would. Both men are also handsome; albeit not in the traditional sense (it has been commented that they both have an unusual look), and are at the same time very photogenic: they look very visually appealing both through the camera lens and on screen. This handsomeness and the fact they are photogenic gives a 'likeable' quality to their characters, which is also important to their narrative and character arcs and bringing in the audience to their respective plights.

Although aided by shooting techniques, supporting characters, locations and costume etc., Mick's physiognomy oozes solitary strength; physical and mental power compounded by isolation. He looks at all times a man deep in his own thoughts; he looks strong physically and mentally, even when alone, and does not look a social creature. This strength and solitary existence combine to allow his character to face his task alone, without asking for help or support, to take charge of his fate and to bring about his own death rather than

suffer death at the hands of another. Ken in 'Hot Wings' is short and very stocky. His physique gives him an air of strength whilst maintaining simultaneously a feeling of being an 'underdog'. These are important traits for the character in the film; he is strong and 'solid', whilst having the odds stacked against him by both the changing world around him and the antagonist Bobby Welsh; Ken has physical power but is one of society's powerless.

Non-actors are also used for their own experiences in relation to the subject matter of the film's narrative. They are closer to the material through their being (if selected material is in sync with the actors own consciousness):

"Non-actors are individuals affected materially and psychologically by the society in which they live... the concentrated form in which they experience Universal struggle and suffering is reflected in their own specific cultural forms."

(Kennedy M: 6)

Mick Munn, (the actor) is a working class man who grew up in East London in the 1950s, post war years that were particularly tough in that area. He played football professionally in the late 60s, although football was nowhere near as well paid as it is now. Injury cut short his career, and he became a casual labourer, until his injury restricted that work as well to just odd jobs. He was born into struggle and poverty, and although he managed to move out of relative poverty, he was and is firmly a part of the Subaltern. His experiences (habitus as discussed earlier), allowed him to understand the underlying emotions of the character he was playing; a man with pride but little real power, whose fate is decided by the all-powerful, and his resistance is temporary and in the form of tactics, but non diverting. This understanding of the experience and mindset of the character in 'A Killey' allowed Mick to draw on many of his own internal emotions to play the character accurately and with little or no remoulding of his attitudes or opening up of his mind to new ways of thinking. Ken, the actor, was born and bred in East London, again to relative struggle and suffering, coming from a working class family, leaving school with no qualifications and also working as a labourer. His short height has toughened him up mentally and physically. His battle to compete against other men socially has forced him to be on the front foot in physical and verbal confrontations and to often leave victorious, which instilled a pride within himself as well as a seeking of justice, two important characteristics of the role he is playing in the film. Lastly his immediate experience of the influences and lack of inclusion in the Olympics for the people of East London have provided him with an understanding of the sub-themes of the film. He understood these themes and the role they played in the story from the beginning; he did not have to pretend

to have experienced it and this was valuable with the performance he provided in the scenes we have shot so far.

Mick's look and therefore the signification of the actor, and his experiences, portray the character to such a degree that I was able to tell the whole story without dialogue; his face, eyes and expressions tell the audience all of the information we need to know. I did add minimalist dialogue, although they were throw away lines that I believe the film needed to break up the sound and effects tracks, and also to incorporate a (somewhat token) degree of filmic norms that audiences are used to when watching and listening to films. I have since watched the film with the dialogue taken out, and the story and character arc is just as clear. Using a non-actor with a specific look and whose own experience of struggle is similar in form, if not content, with the character was time saving but much more importantly allowed a convincing performance and link between actor-character, a positive of the film that was often commented on at the East End Film Festival 2012 and subsequent screenings. Again, with Ken, the script has minimal dialogue as the information comes from Ken as a presence and a visual storyteller, and this allows me to concentrate on film's true form; a visual art.

Relationship between non-directors and non-actors

Mick Kennedy comments at length on the relationship with directors and non-actors, and the superiority and inferiority that occurs when combining professional directors with non-professional actors:

"In dialectical terms film directors derive at least two layers of confirmed supremacy from their use of non-actors. In material, power and class terms they are superior to the majority of their non-actors. A superiority that is further enhanced by their liberal inclusion of non-actors in their work."

(Kennedy, M: 7)

Whilst Kennedy does not comment on the relationship between *non-directors* and non-actors in his writings, I would like to note that if superiority/inferiority within filmmaking derives in this instance from the difference not just contractually but also through material, power and class, then an equality of material, power and class between the director and the non-actors outside of the film actually creates an equality within the filmmaking process. The actors (non-actors) I cast for both 'A Killey' and 'Hot Wings' (minus the long term professional British Television and Film actor Jeff Stewart) were people I knew personally away from filmmaking, and their backgrounds and status regarding power and class were the same as mine. Knowing them personally and being

within my circle of friends, meant that although Kennedy acknowledges that 'invariably relations of loyalty, gratitude and dependence emerge between non-actors and directors' (Kennedy M: 7), in fact these relations already existed prior to us making the film together, and as Kennedy notes that with directors and non-actors 'at no point is there parity.' Due to these differences mentioned earlier, when the differences do not exist, parity does. So before we even began making the film, there was a strong sense of togetherness and a shared respect.

Once we began making the film these relationships were not altered, and in fact were reinforced. Firstly, this was due to the fact that none of us were getting paid; the budget only covered expenses and some limited props and location costs. So there was no contractual and indeed financial difference, a central part to the hierarchy within traditional mainstream filmmaking. We were all doing the film because we wanted to, and we all had to 'plug all leaks; for love' (Kennedy, M: 14). I had no contractual right to pressure anyone to do anything and vice-versa, and as I was also the producer there was no over-arching power that could pressure any of us in the same way.

Having said that, as director I indeed had to direct, but the willingness for the non-actors to take direction came from a respect for the films I had made so far, a trust that I had their interests as well as the interests of the film at heart, and a willingness for me to succeed not just with the film but with my PhD project. But these reasons were more organic than the traditional format of acting in a certain way because you are being paid to do so. In return, I respected their input into all aspects of their character, story, location and costume not only because I understood that due to their personal experience - socially and culturally - relating to the subject matter (both the story's narrative and its sub-themes), but also the extreme effort they had put into understanding the story and the sub-themes in this particular form, on top of their willingness to do their best for me. This created a working environment that was very transparent, creative, reflexive and ultimately productive; we all genuinely respected one another and could give and receive constructive criticism, and question creative and logistical choices without ego interfering whilst there being no unnecessary niceties on set in a bid to quickly 'make friends'; we had a personal history of making friends. This transparency helped us two fold. It allowed us to work quickly and efficiently as there was a lack of unnecessary communication sometimes found on bigger budget productions, and encouraged an inclusive creative process where things were discussed and suggested and solutions to the many problems encountered on small budget productions could come from many minds as opposed to a few. This group spirit was further increased when we wrapped filming each day; where we would go for a meal and some beers and

could talk over the day and question what went well, what did not, and then talk about subjects away from the film and unwind. It is clear to myself and anyone who views 'A Killey' and 'Hot Wings' in its partial progression that both are a long way from perfect: parts could have been written and indeed executed a lot better, but the use of non-actors alongside myself a non-director, definitely provided a dynamic in pre-production and production that eliminated many problems we may have had on ambitious small budget films like these whilst saving us time and money, giving a clear focus of the film, whilst also eliminating a large part of the stress and anxiety which comes with directing any type of film. It is hard to comment on 'Hot Wings' as it is still in progress and as such is incomplete and difficult for me to step back and analyse succinctly at the moment. However, I am very pleased with the result of 'A Killey' and winning the audience award at the East End Film Festival 2012, where there were many films which obviously had much larger budgets than ours and the majority of which used professional actors, owes a large part to the use of non-actors.

During the making of my documentary 'We Ain't Stupid', my relationship with the contributors or characters took on a different dynamic. Whilst I chose the locations and the characters, there was no script, so the character's opinions shape the film's content, but the final film content came under my editorial power. As mentioned previously, I decided early on in the project to make regular rough cuts of the footage to screen for the contributors, a methodology which can be traced back to Flaherty's feedback from his subjects on 'Nanook of the North' (Ruby, J 1991:51) Like me, he wanted to gauge the contributors' belief in the accuracy of how I was re-presenting them, and also 'to project it to the Eskimos so that they would accept and understand what I was doing and work together with me as partners' (Flaherty 1950: 13-14). This togetherness breaks down the traditional hierarchy between director and non-actor in a different but equally effective way to the dramas mentioned earlier in this section.

I had a head start in creating this togetherness compared to traditional 'professional' documentary filmmakers from the outside the area. I personally knew Kenan, Aaron and Zack they had a friendship with me before we began filming. Although only knowing one of the traders in the market personally, from the time I spent talking with them before we filmed, they realised I was a local first and filmmaker second. Over the years of filming, we became even more immediately local through our consistent presence in the market, and the process took on what, in 1973, John Grierson characterised as the next chapter of documentary filmmaking, where films will be made 'really locally':

"Zavantini once made a funny speech in which he thought it would be wonderful if all the villages in Italy were armed with cameras so that they could make films by themselves and write film letters to each other, and it was all supposed to be a great joke. I was the person who didn't laugh, because I think it is the next stage-not the villagers making film letters and sending them to each other, but the local film people making films to state their case politically or otherwise, to express themselves whether it's in journalistic or other terms" (emphasis mine) (Sussex 1973: 29-30).
(Quoted in Ruby, J 1991:52)

Grierson is referring to both films made with local people within a specific locality about a political and social issue specific to that area, and films made by local people (both 'written' and recorded by local people but also with feedback and advice on content from local people). I'm comfortable claiming *We Ain't Stupid* is an example of the latter - a process of a local filmmaker documenting from within, myself and my community.

Over the past thirty years or so, within independent filmmaking particularly, there has been a shift in the relationship between the filmer and the filmed, where the filmmaker's work 'is recognized as a point of view' of the contributors, not a 'window into [their] reality' (Ruby, J 1991:52). This recognition of a filmmaker's point of view as opposed to a 'reality' or 'truth' questions traditional notions of objectivity, and the 'reassessment of the moral and intellectual implications of documentary authorship' (Ruby, J 1991:53) has accepted that the subjective nature of image making and meaning creation is central to the documentary film. 'Authority' in an objective sense has all but disappeared in the minds of many filmmakers and theorists, and it is important that the audience are aware of a film's subjectivity:

"Since the public still believes that documentary films can be objective, the documentarian has the additional obligation never to appear neutral, that is, to disabuse people of the fantasy that films are somehow privileged messages with an inside track to truth and reality. As the acknowledged author of a film, the documentarian assumes responsibility for whatever meaning exists in the image, and therefore is obligated to discover ways to make people aware of point of view, ideology, author biography, and anything else deemed relevant to an understanding of the film that is, to become reflexive (Ruby 1977)"
(Quoted in Ruby, J 1991:53).

Within *'We Ain't Stupid'*, I never tried to hide my own opinions towards the subject matter, I clearly stated my own connection with the communities I was researching as well

as my own opinions on the Olympic Games, and allowed my empathy for some of the characters' plights to be apparent. Whilst this was a research project, filmmaking, as described by Ruby, cannot hide from its subjective elements, and I was keen to be open from the beginning about my own lack of a complete objectivity or authority.

The de-mystifying of the image as truth, and the acceptance of it being in fact a social expression, has created a 'repositioning of the work and the documentary author [which] carries with it the necessity for reconstituting the relationship of author to the subject' (Ruby, J 1991:54). I believe the repositioning of the author as a subjective expresser of opinion along with the already accepted contributor's role in documentary of social expression and point of view has dramatically narrowed the gap between filmer and filmed. Both the filmmakers and the contributors are expressing a point of view, their own sense of social reality, and the final work is presented as a combination of both.

This narrowing of the divide, combined with advances in technology, has increased the 'possibility of empowerment to subjects through the use of on-camera interviews', where 'being able to hear people tell their stories and observe their lives instead of being told what they think and the meaning of their behavior clearly offers subjects a greater say in the construction of their image' (Ruby J 1991:54). This empowerment creates a change in the filmmaker-contributor relationship which Nichols describes as a shift from the filmmaker 'speaking for' to the filmmaker 'speaking with' (Nichols, B 1983:17).

However, it is important to acknowledge that the editorial power of the filmmaker has not been relinquished - the final say on the edited material is not given to the contributors, even if in my project and others, they are engaged in the editing process. There are two important factors to note when considering editorial power in my project. Firstly, as an independent filmmaker, I did not have any obligation towards a film studio or television production company when making the film, so there were no constraints on subject matter, length, style or representation other than the certain generally accepted notions of what a film 'is' and what it should 'look' like, and even then I could break these conventions if I so wished. This alleviated the hierarchical and commercial power wielded by mainstream film and authority and allowed me to represent from within, making my own editorial choices with the material as opposed to being subject to the views of people who were not from the locality of the film and its making. The recording and editing of the film stayed local, which kept the film more natural through all of its stages of production, with no outside interference affecting the representation of its social and cultural reality.

Secondly, empowerment of the contributors during the recording process inevitably leads to empowerment in the editing process. Seeing and hearing themselves in extended interviews allowed the contributors to contribute to the film in the edit, as opposed to being merely subjects edited by the filmmaker. Whilst not an 'observational' documentary, the content was created largely by the contributors, so whatever decisions I made in the edit were made by examining content created for me as opposed to by me. I decided what I deemed more important, more useful and more motive in expressing the themes of the project, but in the main these themes were expressed by the people themselves (although meaning in some sequences was inferred the editing by juxtapositioning shots within montage sequences). So whilst I of course held and exercised power in the editing process, the resources available to me over which I could wield that power were largely created by the contributors. These factors created a togetherness, a balance, and a narrowing of the gap in the director-contributor relationship, as they gained some power and I loosened my control. This connects with Grierson's prediction of increasingly 'local' films being made and the non-director/non-actor dynamic discussed earlier in this section regarding the drama films that were part of my PhD.

Art Mimicking Life

When starting out my PhD, using practice-as-research over a six-year project, I was keen to understand not just why such a combination was considered a way to go by funding bodies and academic institutions, but also ways I could maximize the two ways of working, to research and to record on film, to do both justice. There are obviously variations with film over different disciplines such as written records, audio records, etc., such as being able to show people talking in their environments, to put a face to an opinion. But I wanted to make sure I made the most of the partnership between research and film. I set about collecting information through research, to record the process, but also to try to record and represent the artistic side of life in the space and people who were part of my research. To convey certain points explicitly with sourced material to provide academic research, but also to maintain a filmic level of subtle artistic deeper meaning through metaphor and visuals alone. I wanted the work to appeal academically, broadly speaking, and to researchers of similar urban movements and events, and also through the language of film through thought-provoking images and editing

All of the locations and spaces we filmed in, when reduced to simply space and material, were brutalist in their architecture. The Market particularly, was designed and built purely to provide covered ground in which commerce could take place, as simply and as directly as possible. The music studio and radio station was a hut, soundproofed to keep its

existence incognito, and nothing else. Dan's rooftop warehouse, although described as an artists' work/living area, was an empty shell on the top of a print factory. There was nothing in existence that was not purely designed to serve its purpose in the most efficient, basic way, nothing lavish or luxurious or even anything that could be described as something resembling décor. But then there was beauty in the people and the objects placed in these spaces by the users of the spaces. The exotic produce adorning the market was as colourful as the traders and customers, the smoke from grilled meat and tobacco swirling with the sounds of traders advertising their wares with Bhangra and Reggae music created the beauty. The music and the people again in the music studio, the microphones, speakers and dials and the knowledge that the sounds were being expressed through broadcast brought visual and audio life into the place. Dan's home, adorned with paintings and sculptures, the view over the Olympic Park, from the roof, all brought art into the brutalist space. And although it is not for me to say that the documentary was beautiful, it eventually mimicked this brutalist/art combination, basing itself primarily in explicitness and purpose through interviews directly encouraging engagement on certain issues in a simple question-and-answer participatory format, with no intended hidden meaning to the footage, information focused, juxtaposed with moments of what may be considered art, visuals (singularly or in tandem) presented in an observational format that was pleasing on the eye but also had an underlying meaning or metaphor available if one wished to look for it.

Montage

When I began digitally recording events and practices, people and opinions, I was recording information; I was asking questions and getting a variety of answers. As this continued over time, I noticed that themes and sub-themes began to arise. I was excited by the recognition of these themes, the things that were said and the actions that were taking place that expressed these themes not literally, but metaphorically, sub-consciously and implicitly. It was these themes that were to become the essence of the film. Unlike in fiction, I had not written or therefore created these themes, the people I was filming had created them and I had simply recognised them. I then had the task of re-representing these themes within the film to be processed and hopefully felt by the audience. The main theme to arise out of my research question, was the idea that the local population of the Host Boroughs, in the main, especially the working class, the poor and the Subaltern, had been left out in the cold over the London 2012 Olympic Games. But from this question also arose sub-themes, one being space. The space of the Lower Lea Valley and surrounding areas, as a result of the Olympic Games, when it came to accessibility of the local population, is slowly shifting from public space to private space.

Specific images I had recorded that related to this theme in particular were when Dan built a snowman on the roof of his home in Hackney Wick. A well sculpted snowman made with bare, cold hands in the foreground and the expansive Olympic Stadium in the background was a sequence many people commented on as being visually strong; a moment of visual beauty rather than information. But others, pleasingly, saw it as an expression of the idea of the ordinary people of East London living on the doorstep of the Games whilst actually being left outside to struggle in the cold. A combination of shots that ran throughout the film interspersed between information-heavy sections were the shots of the Olympic Park being built, cut alongside shots of public houses that were closed, derelict or in ruin. Although serving a purpose, to give a breather, a bridge, a moment of reflection on topics discussed just previously, and some visual context to the market they were also very striking images in themselves, again visually pleasing and powerful enough to hold on screen just a little longer. But the true intent of these images was to bind the metaphorical concept of the Olympic Park, symbol of private land and commerce, rising to prominence in the East End landscape over the working-classes, with public spaces, in this instance the 'Public House', a traditional cultural venue in working-class areas around the country, slowly crumbling. Although the Olympic construction cannot be blamed entirely for the end of the public house, as they began to close rapidly in this area over ten years previously, it is the marrying of these two images which conjures a third meaning, a technique typical in film montages, and used and commented on extensively by Eisenstein. Eisenstein defines montage and its effects and use being 'that two film pieces of any kind, placed together, inevitably combine into a new concept, a new quality, arising out of that juxtaposition' (Eisenstein, 1986:14). This new concept from the images helped to deliver the theme of the film, that the locals of East London had been left in the cold over the Olympics, and that their once public space was becoming ever more private space to which they had little access. I consciously chose the particular images to combine; the closed pub edited against the developing Olympic Park (and in one instance a boarded up pub in the foreground with the rising Olympic Park in the background) and the snowman sharing the frame with the Olympic Stadium (Eisenstein recognises montage is formed by both juxtaposing different sections of film as well as different images within the same piece of film) as I believe these were most relevant to what I wanted to achieve:

"Representation A and representation B must be so selected from all the possible features within the theme that is being developed, must be sought for, that their juxtaposition- that is, the juxtaposition of those very elements and not of alternative ones - shall evoke in the perception and feelings of the spectator the most complete

image of the theme itself.”

(Eisenstein 1986:19)

I had over 70 hours of footage recorded, and editing the dialogue of the characters to what best represented what they were saying gave a lot of information to the viewer, but these montage sequences presented the theme, and once I understood the theme of the piece, these were the shots I believed relayed this theme, whilst the snowman shot I believe is the most singular representation of the theme of the piece, and therefore became the image I used on promotional material as requested by the organisers of the East End Film Festival.

By audiences understanding the themes in any art, it is not simply a successful transaction of emotion; it is a process that brings the audience into the creative process of the piece:

“achieves that great power of inner creative excitement in the spectator which distinguishes an emotionally exciting work from one that stops without going further than giving information or recording events.”

(Eisenstein, S 1986:37)

As Eisenstein notes, the projection and reception of themes and sub-themes creates an inner excitement within the audience, brings them into the piece creatively, and reinforces their belief in their own reading of images giving them an inclusion and a satisfaction when viewing the film.

This part of London is very rich visually; dominated by its contrasts of rich and poor, being home to both some of the poorest areas in the country and one of the world's leading financial centres in Canary Wharf, which is expressed visually in the architecture, the landscape: it is varied, inconsistent yet exclusive, modern and ancient, broken, scarred, and rebuilt. It would have been impossible for me to capture the special context of the research through description alone, so being able to record these elements digitally and then to project them onto a 40ft screen at Stratford Picturehouse as part of the 2013 East End Film Festival allowed me to engage the viewer not just with the information, but also with the spaces where this information was given, and therefore bred within the person being interviewed: this is the habitus that provided these ideas to these people, this is where these people and these ideas come from. Lastly, social information research and experiment cannot truly be reduced to facts and figures: it is people, space, and time that are distinct unto themselves whilst being identifiable to similar cultures around the globe. Face and

setting are extremely important to portray people's emotions as well as conditions, and the visual power of film, I believe, is the closest thing to actually being there.

Representation of the Characters within 'We Ain't Stupid'

Ultimately, the title of the documentary is not a reply to an accusation that had been made publicly to any members of the film, but an accusation many within the project felt was implied towards them, thus Neil, a trader in Queen's Market for many years, commenting 'They think we're stupid, but we ain't stupid'. Representation was a very important aspect to consider when aggregating the recordings into an edit representation of the time spent within the locale.

Stepping away from the theory of Rhizomatics to return to de Certeau's analysis of recording and representation of the masses, *'The Practice of Everyday Life'* (1984), is addressed 'to the ordinary man' and finishes with 'that belong to no one.' So much can be drawn from this opening statement about the rights and responsibility researchers have when investigating what he describes as the ordinary man, the masses, and the number. de Certeau's attitude of ownership of oneself no matter what he volunteers, and of existing before and outside representation was very influential on the approach to both the recording and the editing of the material. It also chimes with Deleuze and Guattari's idea of a lack of hierarchy being a true testament to being and working, and that lives led are not traceable but are maps over which we as researchers, analysts, or filmmakers actually have little control. de Certeau starts by describing them as, 'common... ubiquitous.... walking in countless thousands on the streets', an idea of the multiple in multiple public spaces. The characters in the film are multiple in number and multiple in the locations they occupy both as one and as a group, whilst similar traits are easily recognised throughout different characters regarding attitudes, opinion and use of tactics, *etc.* de Certeau then goes on to question what right we have to question them and also to represent them:

"What are we asking this oracle whose voice is almost indistinguishable from the rumble of history to license us, to authorise us to say, when we dedicate to him the writing that one formerly offered in praise of the gods or the inspiring muses?"
(de Certeau, 1984:Prologue)

de Certeau questions the notion of being authorised to 'say' on behalf of others, and consequently to 'dedicate' what has been said back to the speaker. 'He comes before texts.' (de Certeau 1984). Man therefore advises texts as opposed to being advised by or qualified by text, so consideration of representation is to be held in highest regard when researching

these people, an attitude and thought process I have strived to keep in the forefront of my mind during the recording and representing of all my work within this PhD, although this part of the process was ever-evolving.

Although the people and the places I recorded are what I consider to be my people and my places in a general manner, from being born and raised in the immediate vicinity and personally knowing people we recorded whilst having shared their space and time, the idea of having or not having a right to represent them, at first, was one that was always difficult to comprehend and to judge. I became more and more comfortable with the idea throughout the process that I was in fact not 'presenting' them, or 'representing' them but merely 're-presenting' them, while doing so as responsibly as I could and being aware of the fact it would never be the perfect re-presentation. I gauged their response on-the-go during interviews and discussions on and off camera and also through the consistent engagement with people - especially after they had seen many versions of the material we had collated and edited - but also their willingness to approach me with their own personal friends and family to become part of the research, which contrasted with their reluctance to speak to other more news-centred gatherers that ventured into their territory. This was evident when the BBC visited the market to speak to two traders regarding current West Ham United news involving their proposed move to the Olympic Stadium (a topic I spent a lot of time discussing with the traders and who were always open and generally passionate in their discussion with me on this topic): one trader refused an interview whilst the other gave what was (unbeknown to the reporter) an interview stocked with sly digs at news corporations, in-jokes, and general silliness. The fact that both traders went out of their way to tell me this reaffirmed that they were comfortable talking openly and genuinely to me and also appeared that they wanted me to know this. However, once it seemed I had been accepted to re-present them within the framework of this research; it also opened my eyes to the size of the huge responsibility of doing so accurately in a way that does not do them a disservice. This was one of the main challenges of the edit, and I referred many times to the opening of *The Practice of Everyday Life*.⁸

de Certeau continues in the opening, describing the man as an anonymous hero who is ancient, the murmuring voice of society, and 'in all ages he comes before text.' Importantly 'he does not expect representations', although 'he squats now at the centre of our scientific stages', returning to the fact that they have not asked for representation but now we hold them on a stage for scientific analysis, normally without permission or even seeking permission. I tried not to deconstruct them, not to analyse or dissect their ways of life or their social status, but to pass on their opinions, and to pass my own opinion not on them but

on the subject that they are commenting upon. Neither did I want to turn the spotlight on them individually nor the floodlight on them collectively, or to zoom in on particular details that can be mistaken for the whole.

Film Distribution

The form of the research brings advantages when it comes to distributing the research and to developing a wide audience for it. As well as this thesis being available through the University, and hopefully through journal and archive facilities, the film elements can be consumed *en masse* simultaneously, through television broadcast (Queen's), and film screenings (*A Killey*, *We Ain't Stupid*). It provides larger viewing numbers per screening than a text and also the congregated group are more likely to enter into dialogue (*We Ain't Stupid* Q&A at East End Film Festival) around the topics of the research, making opinion and feedback on the source material more accessible and instantaneous, being advantageous during the process while ideas are formed and at the finale when ideas are presented. Whilst film has been of interest to academics and researchers, I aimed to make the work accessible to others outside of the academia, namely the subjects within the film, to measure their feedback on their representation, and the film format alone was very important in achieving this.

11. Future Projects

Whilst media attention on the Games and its ancillary effects built steadily since the bid was won in 2005, resulting in blanket coverage during the Games themselves, coverage of the resulting effects slumped suddenly after the closing ceremony. This is natural and consistent with other mega-events in other cities with attention shifting to the next Olympics, in Rio in 2016. However, as someone who spent the three years preceding and the three years since the Games researching their effects, it seems that the years before were full of expectation and the years since full of results. The park was reopened, the Athletes' Village was refurbished to create housing, competition venues have now been adapted to become local leisure facilities, and land within the park is slowly being sold off for commercial use. Swathes of new builds have been completed on the fringes of the park, and the Olympic investment in Newham has kick-started further redevelopment plans within the borough, specifically in the Royal Docks area of south Newham. This area is receiving more investment than the Olympic Games, to build a Chinese Business Park alongside the docks, to expand City Airport, the building of a marina, the completion of Crossrail through the borough (which was planned before the awarding of the Games to London 2012),

redevelopment of the Millennium Mills into commercial space and further housing, retail and leisure facilities. Again, these developments are taking place in a hugely deprived area of Newham, in a ward even more deprived than those where the Olympic regeneration was centred.



The entrance to what will be the new Asian Business Park in Newham's Royal Docks



The Excel Centre - the first heavy investment in the Royal Docks that has helped attract new business to the area

Similar issues will arise that will stand strong enough as avenues of research on their own, but combined with my current research I believe will give a more rounded view of the entire Olympic process till 2020 (eight years and two Olympiad's after the 2012 Games.). This is a period of time that suits analyzing whether the predictions of regeneration and

sporting legacy have been realized, and on what scale, and in which direction further development will take. I believe this is such a rich research topic that can highlight specific aspects of measured growth and change, and one that combines well with the research I have so far, that I will continue to research and record in the areas around the Olympic Park and simultaneously in the areas around the Royal Docks. Therefore, I am currently undertaking initial research of the plans of development, of the main areas to undergo construction, and have begun initial landscape shooting to give me time-lapse options later, while revisiting spaces I recorded in during the PhD research. I have pinpointed specific spaces and people who will be my featured, initial areas of research, namely The Henley Arms public house in North Woolwich and the 'FocusE15 Mothers for Justice' protest group. The Henley Arms is a pub that accommodates local people, the majority of whom have lived in the area their entire lives and who have seen the rise and the fall of the Royal Docks, and also the local anti-Crossrail campaign group 'Very Crossrail.' FocusE15 were recently in the news for occupying derelict houses on the Carpenters Estate (a space documented in my research), protesting about their withdrawal from the borough due to a supposed housing shortage while council houses sat empty. There is also scope to undergo research in the Tate & Lyle sugar factory, the area's oldest employer, and the Brick Lane Music Hall, the area's only remaining traditional entertainment venue. I will follow a format of research similar to the PhD, interviewing and recording people and spaces over time, including characters that featured throughout the PhD alongside new people who live in the area, as well as documenting the changing landscape. I aim to carry out this research over a three-year period and then edit recorded footage into a feature-length documentary to be broadcast along with archiving complete footage and producing supporting written and still photographic material.



The redevelopment, or will it be Gentrification, of the Royal Docks?



Local children paddling in the Royal Docks

12. Conclusions

When considering this research, for me what is most powerful is not the striking imagery of the Olympic Park or the spectacle of the events, but what academics might describe as their subjects and their data, the people I met and what they said. Firstly then, the people I met. They were the practicality that contrasted and complemented the theoretical aspects of my research. They were both practical in their being, their existence, economically and socially within the Host Boroughs and with their everyday practice making use of their physical labour, and secondly, they provided me with the practical interaction which was the basis for my research.

Whilst there are commonalities between myself and the people I spoke to, sharing our habitus and spaces, most were strangers to me, or to put the relationship into context I was a stranger to them, and on top of that I was recording conversations digitally with equipment that can be intrusive at best, unnerving at worst. However, I was received with such warmth and openness from the very first meetings, and I readily felt trusted and accepted from the off. The hours spent with people like Gary, Carol, Neil, Zack and Manish at the market, with Kenan, Mark, Mic and Ali at the music studio, and with Dan and Aaron and his family at their homes, was time spent in comfort and with mutual respect. Whilst being very educational and interesting to me, it was also a time of extreme enjoyment combined with a realisation of my position of privilege to be given the time by these people. I was in awe of their willingness to share their beliefs over such a long time period with someone whom they had just met. This experience of communication between them and me was research within itself.

And then, what they said. I believe that analysis of the Olympic Games' Ideals and 'impact', is one dominated by opinion, with few tangible facts making up my own research and indeed that of others, considering the concepts of legacy and regeneration. 'Progress', the aspired aim of regeneration and legacy, is an abstract term and becomes relative, meaning different things to different sections of society, and for that reason it is very difficult to measure and quantify. My main argument throughout this piece, is that on the whole, the indigenous people I spoke to, within the Host City (East London), believed they were left out in the cold over the London 2012 Olympic Games. They felt there was no real democratic process over the decision-making, and this lack of inclusion has escalated since the Games with the shift from Public Space to Private Space, a result of the Gentrification of the area as opposed to the promised regeneration. However, returning specifically to my research question, in conclusion the London 2012 Olympic Games affected the communities of the Host borough's both negatively and positively when considering different aspects. On the positive side, there are unquestionably superior sporting facilities within the park which are available for the local communities. Local Athletes, including Aaron, did have an achievable goal to work towards that was made more motivational by being a chance to perform on the world stage whilst also being on their doorstep. I witnessed firsthand communities gathering together in a carnivalesque atmosphere, in the streets and the parks, to watch the opening ceremonies and the events themselves - what the Olympic organising committees would call the 'feel good' factor. Housing has been provided through the conversion of the Athletes village and also around the fringe of the park, whilst Westfield shopping mall has provided mass employment for local residents. When looking at the negative effects on the local communities, some are stand-alone issues whilst some are flip sides to the positives. Whilst housing was built, the type of housing, especially on the fringe of the Park, is not affordable for local people, is fuelling gentrification, and has actually resulted in many of the local community having to leave the area. The opening of Westfield will undoubtedly affect business at Stratford Mall, which has a large base of small business and sole traders. It could also be argued that the 'feel good' factor experienced outside the park was a direct result of the unavailability of tickets for local residents to be inside the park. And then the stand alone negatives. Many people lost their homes and jobs; the carpenters road estate, the industrial section of the same road, as well as the clays lane housing estate and travellers site. Promised trade from tourists for local business was never realised, with many traders saying their sales actually suffered during the Games. And generally speaking, the value added to the area through both the facilities and new housing as well as the Olympic effect, has made it more attractive to wealthier sections of society,

making it increasingly difficult for young east enders to stay and live in the area where they call home.

These negatives are not just coincidence. They are result of decisions made years in advance of the Games, and without including local communities in this process, it is inevitable that most of the negatives will be experienced by these very people. And this lack of inclusion was also apparent in the case study I conducted on the Athens 2004 Olympic Games; it will be interesting to observe if this continues into the Rio 2016 Games. It seems that the regular movements of the Olympic Games every four years helps to shift attention away from some of the failings of the previous Olympic Games as media focus turns to the next Olympiad. The findings I have presented here are what became apparent to me, what I saw and what I heard and what struck me strongest over the extended time period that I researched. This is by no means intended to be definitive. However, although an 'answer' as such most likely cannot be found - a 'method' to ensure that progress from mega-events is most fruitful while safeguarding the most vulnerable members of society probably will not exist - I am sure that there are alternative ways of staging mega-events so certain sections of society, the people in most need of progress, benefit sufficiently to make the holding of the event worthwhile in the first place. This improvement in the realisation of progress can only be achieved by debate, by critical analysis and gathering of experiences of the process, by questioning people and events and strategies in a bid to see what seemed to work and what did not, and how we can do things differently next time. Experience and facts of existence are relative, and only by consistent and considerate research and debate can we garner where experience of mega-events, change, regeneration and progress are falling short for particular sections of society.

This research is by no means comprehensive when considering where we succeeded and where we failed, but I believe it provides a unique insight into the experiences of the local people before, during and after the Games, and how it affected the most ordinary of people.

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