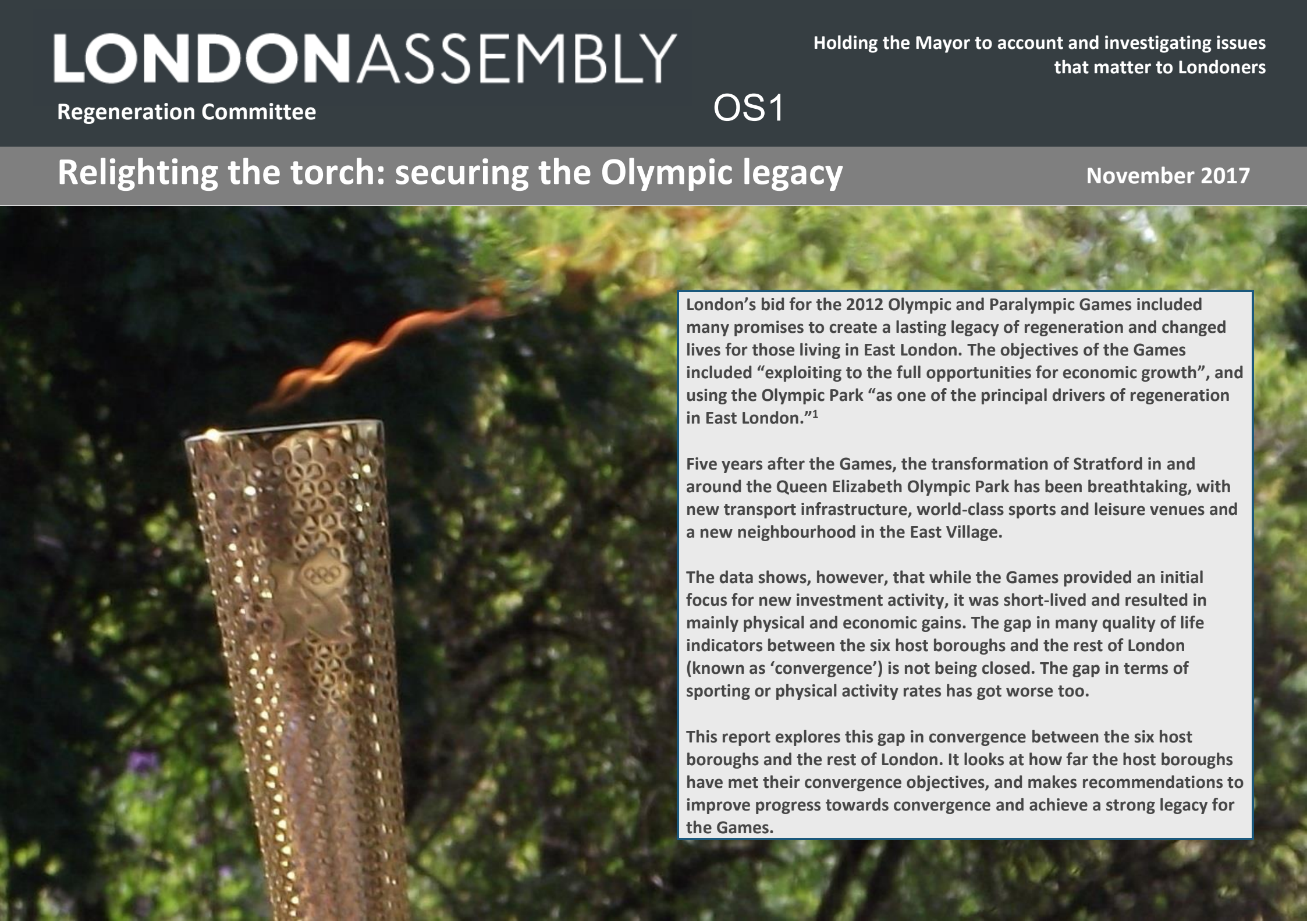


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London's bid for the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games included many promises to create a lasting legacy of regeneration and changed lives for those living in East London. The objectives of the Games included "exploiting to the full opportunities for economic growth", and using the Olympic Park "as one of the principal drivers of regeneration in East London."¹

Five years after the Games, the transformation of Stratford in and around the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park has been breathtaking, with new transport infrastructure, world-class sports and leisure venues and a new neighbourhood in the East Village.

The data shows, however, that while the Games provided an initial focus for new investment activity, it was short-lived and resulted in mainly physical and economic gains. The gap in many quality of life indicators between the six host boroughs and the rest of London (known as 'convergence') is not being closed. The gap in terms of sporting or physical activity rates has got worse too.

This report explores this gap in convergence between the six host boroughs and the rest of London. It looks at how far the host boroughs have met their convergence objectives, and makes recommendations to improve progress towards convergence and achieve a strong legacy for the Games.

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What is 'Convergence'?

The desire for a lasting legacy of regeneration for East London was a key objective of the 2005 London bid to host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games (the Games). The bid documents highlighted that levels of deprivation in and around Stratford, the proposed home for most of the Olympics venues, were much higher than the London average, and set out the potential effect that significant new investment would have on the area.

In 2010, the Olympic host boroughs' 'convergence' vision was adopted with the objective that "within 20 years, the communities which host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games will enjoy the same social and economic chances as their neighbours across London".² These 'host' boroughs were: Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets, and Waltham Forest.

The convergence aim is a 20-year process of improving the performance and prospects of communities in the former host boroughs – now re-named the 'Growth Boroughs' – by bringing them closer to the average for London.³ The goal of convergence is supported by the GLA through the London Plan, and a commitment from the previous Mayor to help "develop and implement a viable and sustainable legacy...of fundamental economic,

social and environmental change within East London"⁴. It also has support from central government, including from the Department for Work and Pensions, and from other partners, such as the East London Business Alliance (ELBA).⁵

A series of indicators, brought together under three cross-cutting themes, were identified to track the Growth Boroughs' progress. These themes are:

- Creating wealth and reducing poverty
- Supporting healthier lifestyles
- Developing successful neighbourhoods

The table overleaf shows the various indicators, the gap between the Growth Boroughs and London in 2009 and the 2020 intermediate target, so, for example, the gap between the 16+ unemployment rate in the Growth Boroughs and the rate across London was 2.9 percentage points (PP) and the target is to reduce that to 1.4 PP, while life expectancy in men in the Growth Boroughs is 2.2 years less than the London average and the target is to reduce that to 1.1 years by 2020.

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Table 1: The indicators of Convergence

THEME	INDICATOR	2009 LONDON AVERAGE	2009 GROWTH BOROUGH	GAP (2009)	TARGET (2020)
Creating Wealth and Reducing Poverty	Employment rate - aged 16-64	67.8	62.5	5.3 PP	Narrow the gap to 2.5 PP
	Unemployment rate 16+	8.5	11.4	2.9 PP	Narrow the gap to 1.4 PP
	Median earnings for full time workers living in the area	£606.4 (2010)	£568.2 (2010)	6.3 PP	Narrow the gap to 3 PP
	Job density	0.86	0.60	0.26 pts	Narrow the gap to 0.2 pts
	Proportion of children in working age families receiving key benefits	26.3	34.6	8.3 PP	Narrow the gap to 2 PP
	Pupils achieving at least Level 4 in English & Maths at Key Stage 2	73.0	70.0	3 PP	Close gap or better
	Pupils achieving 5 GCSE grades A* - C (including Maths & English)	54.0	46.6	7.4 PP	Narrow the gap to 2 PP
	19 year olds achieving Level 2 threshold	78.7	74.1	4.6 PP	Narrow the gap to 1 PP
	19 year olds achieving Level 3 threshold	52.9	45.6	7.3 PP	Narrow the gap to 1.5 PP
	Percentage of working age population with no qualifications	11.7	17.1	5.4 PP	Narrow the gap to 1.5 PP
Working age population qualified to at least Level 4	39.7	32.2	7.5 PP	Narrow the gap to 3.5 PP	
Supporting Healthier Lifestyles	Life Expectancy - Male	78.5 years (2007-09)	76.5 years (2007-09)	2.2 years (2)	Narrow the gap to 1.1 years
	Life Expectancy - Female	82.9 years (2007-09)	81.3 years (2007-09)	1.7 years (1.6)	Narrow the gap to 0.8 years
	Children achieving a good level of development at age 5	54.7%	48.7%	6 PP	Narrow the gap to 0 % or better
	Obesity levels in school children in yr 6	21.8%	24.0%	2.2 PP	Narrow the gap to 1 PP
	Mortality rates from all circulatory diseases at ages under 75	99.4 (2007-09)	133.8 (2007-09)	34.4 pts	Narrow the gap to 12 pts
	Mortality rates from all cancers at ages under 75	147.1 (2007-09)	168.4	21.3 pts	Narrow the gap to 12 pts
	Recommended Adult Activity (3 times 30 mins per week)	17.9 (2008-09)	16.9 (2008-09)	1 PP	Narrow the gap to 1 PP
No Sport or Activity (0 times 30 mins per week)	50.2 (2008-09)	55.7 (2008-09)	5.5 PP	Narrow the gap to 2 PP	
Developing Successful Neighbourhoods	Violent crime levels (Violence against the person, per 1,000)	22.0	26.2	4.2 pts	Narrow the gap to 2 pts
	Overcrowding measure (Bedroom standard)	7.5 (2010)	10.4 (2010)	2.9 (2010)	Narrow the gap
	Additional housing units - Affordable units delivered	N/A	N/A	N/A	85,000 units (of 211,945)

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Convergence and the Olympic legacy

Major interventions to regenerate the London Docklands and the wider Thames Gateway have been ongoing since 1981, first through the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), and more recently through the Thames Gateway Programme,⁶ which was initiated in 1990. The Thames Gateway stretches eastwards from Tower Bridge and includes Stratford and Canary Wharf.

The regeneration of Stratford, and a desire for a subsequent legacy for East London, were an important context for London's Olympics bid. The Games were not "seen as ends in themselves but rather as a means for something good. That 'Good' is legacy."⁷ Beside the hoped-for economic benefits and opportunities that the Games could bring to the UK as a whole, they were 'deliberately' sited in Stratford to develop and accelerate the regeneration of East London.⁸

With the bid won, the initial focus was on physical regeneration, with the Olympic Delivery Authority's (ODA) main responsibilities being to develop the site and construct the new permanent and temporary venues to host the Games. The London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) held the responsibility for organising the

sporting events but felt it had no responsibility for legacy. As Lord Coe told the London Assembly in 2009 with regard to his own personal ambition to leave a sporting legacy:

"I think it is very important for us to recognise that, as an organising committee, we are responsible for delivering 26 simultaneous world championships and raising the public finance in order to do that. It has never been the responsibility of any organising committee of the Olympic Games, either current or historic, to be responsible for sports participation."⁹

To meet the aspirations of a regeneration legacy, the Government and the Mayor tasked the former London Development Agency (LDA) to "think bigger" and use the Olympics "as a wake-up call" to recognise the failure of previous regeneration programmes, and work to address the problem of poverty in East London.¹⁰

Governance of the Games and the convergence legacy

No one organisation is solely responsible for the legacy of the Games, and as such, it is overseen by a series of stakeholders, including:

- Central Government, through the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG).¹¹

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- The London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) established in 2012 as a mayoral development corporation under the powers of the Localism Act 2011. It is directly accountable to Londoners through the Mayor of London.
- The Host Boroughs Partnership, established by the six host boroughs in 2006, to work together on the delivery of the 2012 Olympics. The partnership was renamed the Growth Boroughs Partnershipⁱ in 2013 in recognition that the area made up the UK's strongest potential growth area.

Assessing 'the Olympics effect'

The 2011 census showed that significant change was already under way in East London even before the Olympics took place. The area was becoming younger, more diverse, less car dependent, and more dominated by flats and private renting.¹² Distinguishing the very specific 'Olympics effect' from wider demographic and economic change is therefore challenging.

Academic research indicates that there are at least three ways that hosting the Games contributed directly to the regeneration of the area:¹³

- They helped 'radically' change the public perception and image of the area and of East London in general¹⁴
- They provided world class venues, facilities and transport infrastructure¹⁵
- They provided a new focus for policy-makers and helped 'speed up' the regeneration of the area.¹⁶

After the Games, a report by the Royal Borough of Greenwich highlighted the 'positive' effect of the Games on the community and concluded that many of the borough's long-term regeneration plans had progressed "more rapidly due to the opportunities that arose" from hosting the Games.¹⁷

The short-term impacts of hosting the Games

The Games had a significant impact on job opportunities and economic growth in the host boroughs. The Olympics provided local job opportunities both during the construction phase and at the time of the Games:

- The workforce on the Park and Athletes' Village peaked at the end of September 2010 at 10,333. More than twenty per cent (23 per cent) of the Park workforce and 29 per cent of the Village workforce were

ⁱ The Growth Boroughs Partnership consists of the six host boroughs: Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets, and Waltham Forest

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from the host boroughs. 12 per cent of the Park workforce and 10 per cent of the Village workforce were previously unemployed.¹⁸

- LOCOG employed or directly paid 8,300 people at Games time, of which 1,951 (23.5 per cent) were host borough residents. 55 per cent of them were previously workless.
- At its peak, up to 106,322 people were part of the 2012 Contractor Games Time Workforce, of which 22,381 (21 per cent) were host borough residents.¹⁹
- Further jobs were created in the newly-built Westfield shopping centre in Stratford. However, many were over-subscribed and some local residents called the promise of jobs ‘cynical’ and a ‘public relations campaign’. For example, 12,000 people applied for 800 John Lewis positions; 10,000 for 550 Marks and Spencer’s positions, and 1,400 for 150 Waitrose positions.²⁰

Crucially the area was better able to withstand the ongoing effects of the 2008 financial crash than other parts of the country. According to Liz Fenton, Economic Programmes Advisor at the Growth Boroughs Partnership, the Olympics provided ‘a (vital) employment cushion’ in 2011 and 2012 in that part of London:

“Some of the metadata work with DCMS and DCLG was looking at other comparable areas that had comparable levels of deprivation to the Growth

Boroughs. We know that whenever there is a big downturn in the economy, it hits the poorer places first, and it did not hit the Growth Boroughs first.”²¹

Progress after the Games

Since the end of the 2012 Games, the regeneration of this part of East London has been delivered through different projects and programmes:

- The LLDC has achieved major progress in the regeneration of the Queen Elizabeth Park (as the Olympic Park is now known), notably with regards to housing (East Village and Chobham Manor), business (The International Quarter) and culture and creative industries (Here East).
- The Growth Boroughs Partnership has delivered a series of grant funded programmes awarded by a range of funders including the GLA, the former LDA, the DCLG and the European Union. For example, in relation to employment and skills, the London Local Enterprise Partnership funded a £17m programme called ‘Unlocking Opportunities’.

Understanding the effects of the Games

Several documents have been published that focus on the progress of the 2012 legacy, such as the Growth Boroughs Partnership’s annual *Convergence reports*²² and the DCLG commissioned Regeneration Legacy Framework²³. The LLDC also produces quarterly performance reports

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focused on the changes to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park which are discussed at the London Assembly.

Amid concerns that that the initial benefits of hosting the Games were wearing off, the leaders and Mayors of the Growth Boroughs agreed that a 'step change' in the efforts to support convergence was needed. The Growth Boroughs Partnership therefore published a new Convergence Strategy, endorsed by the GLA, for 2015-2018.

To this end, a full action plan was agreed, which includes a series of objectives, actions, timeframes, and targets with clearly identified leading partners and agencies for each action.

The new strategy focuses on:

- increased employment and wage levels,
- higher levels of skills and qualifications, and
- improved transport infrastructure to unlock growth.²⁴

What progress has been made?

There are a variety of ways of assessing progress towards convergence. The *Convergence Annual Report 2015-2016*, published by the Growth Boroughs Partnership, gives an up-to-date picture of the progress of convergence in East London. This is compared to performance against each of the three convergence themes, and progress made against the *English indices of deprivation 2015*, published by DCLG.

The latest convergence indicators show mixed progress

The latest report by the Growth Boroughs Partnership was published for the year 2015/2016.²⁵ It shows a mixed picture of progress – with less than half of the indicators on track to meet the convergence targets. The following table – adapted from the report – shows progress to 2015/16:

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Table 2: The 2015/16 convergence indicators

INDICATOR	GAP (2009)	GAP (2015)	TARGET (2020)	STATUS	
Children achieving a good level of development at age 5	6 PP	-0.4 PP	0 PP or better	Achieved Convergence	
Pupils achieving 5 GCSE grades A* - C (including Maths & English)	7.4 PP	1.9 PP	2 PP	Achieved 2020 target	
Employment rate	5.3 PP	3.8 PP	2.5 PP	On track to meet 2020 target	
Pupils achieving at least Level 4 in English & Maths at Key Stage 2	3 PP	0.1 PP	0 PP or better		
19 year olds achieving Level 2 threshold	4.6 PP	1.1 PP	1 PP		
19 year olds achieving Level 3 threshold	7.3 PP	3 PP	1.5 PP		
Proportion of children in working age families receiving key benefits	8.3 PP	3.4 PP	2 PP		
Additional housing units	26,000 achieved (2009-2015)		24,530 (2015-2020), of which 3,200 homes have been achieved so far		Improvement on baseline but not on a trajectory to achieve the 2020 target, either because improvement from the baseline is too marginal or the 2015 performance is worse than that in 2014
Mortality rates from all cancers at ages under 75	21.3 pts	18.1 pts	12 pts		
Unemployment rate	2.9 PP	2.3 PP	1.4 PP		
Percentage of working age population with no qualifications	5.4 PP	3.6 PP	1.5 PP		
Working age population qualified to at least Level 4	7.5 PP	6.7 PP	3.5 PP		
Life expectancy - Male	2 years	1.8 years	1.1 years		
Life expectancy - Female	1.6 years	1.3 years	0.8 years		
Mortality rates from all circulatory diseases at ages under 75	34.4 pts	21.9 pts	12 pts		
Violent crime levels	4.2 pts	3.4 pts	2 PP		
Median earnings for full time workers living in the area	6.3 PP	7.3 PP	3 PP		
Job density	0.26 pts	0.26 pts	0.2	Gap identical or widened since base line year	
No Sport or Activity	5.5 PP	6.7 PP	2 PP		
Recommended Adult Activity	1 PP	2.7 PP	1 PP		
Obesity levels in school children in yr 6	2.2 PP	2.9 PP	1 PP		
Overcrowding measures	Data cannot be tracked but census data 2001-2011 shows increased gap from 3.7 to 6.2				

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Convergence has only been achieved so far with regard to the number of children achieving a good level of development at age 5, though convergence appears on track for a further six indicators, four of which are education attainment indicators.

However, the gap with the rest of London is identical to that in 2009 or has widened with regard to indicators such as median earnings, job density, physical activity, and obesity. Other more long-term issues, such as unemployment, income levels and life expectancy, could be difficult to rectify in the short term, and fluctuate year-by-year through a 'yo-yo effect'.²⁶

Some convergence themes are being met better than others

Progress can also be measured against the three convergence themes: creating wealth and reducing poverty, supporting healthier lifestyles, and developing successful neighbourhoods.

Theme 1: Creating Wealth and Reducing Poverty

The theme of creating wealth and reducing poverty shows most progress towards convergence. The 2015-16 data show that 6 of the 11 indicators have achieved or are on track to achieve targets. The employment rate in

the Growth Boroughs has increased since 2009 to reach 62.5 per cent. The employment gap has narrowed to 3.8 percentage points, a significant improvement compared with 2009 when the gap was 5.3 percentage points.²⁷ The performance is good for education indicators, as the gap in terms of attainment levels has narrowed sharply. Indicators of earnings and job density are, however, rated red. The earnings convergence gap was greater in 2015-16 than it was in 2009, though job density remained stable as the number of jobs in the local economy increased while there was an equally large increase in population.²⁸

The borough that has shown the strongest improvement against the overall indicators on employment is Newham.²⁹ This could be attributed to the fact that most of the Olympic Park, where jobs growth has been significant, is situated in the borough but may also be the result of investment in the local job brokerage, Workplace.³⁰

Theme 2: Supporting Healthier Lifestyles

Looking at the second theme, supporting healthier lifestyles shows little progress towards convergence. While the number of children achieving a good level of development at age 5 now exceeds the London average, all other indicators for 2015-16 have seen the gap increase or are not on track to achieve convergence.³¹ There is no silver bullet to tackle adult sedentary behaviour and simply hosting the Games has not proved to be a panacea.

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Theme 3: Developing Successful Neighbourhoods

Looking at the third theme, the limited data on developing successful neighbourhoods shows mixed progress. The gap for violent crime has reduced overall, but there was a slight increase over the past year. This reflects crime trends across London and could in part be explained by changes in recording practice.³² Housing figures for 2015-16 were partial when the last report was published. They indicated that 3,200 affordable units had been achieved (out of a total target of 5,000 units), bringing the cumulative total of affordable units completed since 2009 to over 26,000.³³

There has been limited progress in reducing deprivation

A complementary perspective can be gained by reviewing the English Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). The IMD is the official means of measuring how deprived an area is relative to other areas in the country, with each area ranked according to its relative deprivation. This enables a comparison of poverty rates across local authorities within England.ⁱⁱ

Based on the IMD, many of the Growth Boroughs have consistently ranked

as having some of the highest levels of deprivation in the United Kingdom. However, as shown in the following table³⁴, all of the Growth Boroughs are less deprived in 2015 than they were in 2010 compared to other local authorities in England:

Table 3: The Growth Boroughs are getting relatively less deprivedⁱⁱⁱ

Growth Borough	IMD 2010	IMD 2015	More or less relatively deprived (2010 to 2015)
Barking and Dagenham	89 th	127 th	-
Greenwich	71 st	147 th	-
Hackney	49 th	85 th	-
Newham	51 st	116 th	-
Tower Hamlets	38 th	81 st	-
Waltham Forest	62 nd	118 th	-

ⁱⁱ The Index of Multiple Deprivation is based on indices that measure 'multiple deprivation' in 7 domains: income, employment, health, education, crime, living environment and housing & services. Areas are ranked relative to all others.

ⁱⁱⁱ Based on English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2010 and 2015 'rank of local concentration', which is the population weighted average of the ranks of the local authorities' ten per cent most deprived small areas.

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However, income deprivation remains a significant problem in the Growth Boroughs. Table 4 shows that, nationally, Tower Hamlets has the highest proportion of children living in income deprived households. Other Growth boroughs such as Barking and Dagenham, Hackney and Newham are among the 20 most deprived in the country on measures for the proportion of children and older people living in income deprived households.

Table 4: Income deprivation remains a problem within the Growth boroughs

Proportion of children living in income deprived households			Proportion of older people living in income deprived households		
UK ranking	Growth Borough	Percentage	UK ranking	Growth Borough	Percentage
1	Tower Hamlets	39.3%	1	Tower Hamlets	49.7%
10	Hackney	32.2%	2	Hackney	43.1%
11	Barking and Dagenham	31.9%	3	Newham	41%
<i>Note that other London boroughs are among the 20 most deprived in both categories, such as Lambeth, Lewisham or Southwark.</i>			17	Barking and Dagenham	27.9%

Significant social and economic change may be driving convergence

Progress in tackling deprivation may be due in large part to the significant economic and social changes taking place in the Growth Boroughs. These changes include economic growth, gentrification and welfare reforms, all of which will be affecting the progress towards convergence.

London's economic growth is driving absolute progress in the Growth Boroughs. While the convergence indicators show a mixed picture of progress in comparison with the London average, the IMD suggests improvement in poverty levels in comparison with England as a whole; which may be, in part, due to the "rising tide effect" of London's growth since the 2008 financial crash – the strongest in the UK between 2009 and 2015.³⁵ Some London boroughs have performed exceedingly well over this period. For example, 25,000 new jobs have been provided in Hackney since 2012, an increase in job growth of 24.4 per cent, almost five times the 2013 forecast.³⁶ Indeed, the Growth Boroughs as a whole have seen considerable jobs growth, with 110,000 new jobs since 2012, and a further 125,000 forecast for 2030.³⁷

However, as Greenwich reports national measures of economic growth are hiding "high and stagnant levels of inactivity".³⁸ It argues that issues such as low pay, welfare reforms, the prevalence of part-time jobs and zero-hours contracts, and low levels of productivity are contributing to high levels of

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poverty in the borough. In addition, many of the new jobs forecast for the Growth Boroughs are 'skills hungry', requiring higher levels of education that may not be available to local people.³⁹ As such, economic growth may be disguising the need for efforts to target those 'left behind' in the years since the Games.

Social and demographic change is also affecting progress towards convergence. According to Mark Fransham, researcher at the University of Oxford, a series of 'possible mechanisms' could explain falls in relative deprivation in East London. Among these mechanisms, a process of gentrification could be leading to the displacement of poor households by richer in-comers and a dilution of the poor population rather than a reduction in absolute numbers.⁴⁰

In 2013, Kirby Swales, senior research director at NatCen Social Research, was suggesting already that the convergence taking place in East London was "a result of the in-migration of a new, younger, richer population to areas like Hackney and Tower Hamlets, while a more marginalised resident population [had] been gradually pushed to outer east London, to areas such as Barking and Dagenham."⁴¹ The Outer London borough has indeed been "a net recipient of people from central London" because of its cheaper renting prices.⁴²

Indeed, many Olympic host cities have witnessed displacement and gentrification following large-scale investment in new venues and infrastructure.⁴³ Recent figures for property prices suggest that Olympic venue areas have seen the biggest uplift since 2012⁴⁴ and that London's Growth Boroughs have seen some of the highest property price rises in the capital.⁴⁵

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Getting back in the race towards convergence

Five years on the excitement and promise of the Games has faded and it is increasingly challenging to keep the momentum going. Renewed commitment is needed to better face the new structural challenges arising in the Growth Boroughs, and to develop new strategies for meeting convergence targets.

To face these challenges, fresh thinking is needed to better understand the factors affecting convergence. As Professor Ralph Ward told the Regeneration Committee, the Convergence Strategy measures outcomes and does not look at the whole process:

“if the area is converging because many of the people living there are leading more successful lives, great. However, if it is converging because more people are moving in who happen to have higher incomes and better education, which is lost within the figures, then we are still converging but there are actually still a lot of people being left behind.”⁴⁶

Ensuring that local people benefit from regeneration has long been this committee’s main priority and we constantly emphasise the role of early and active community engagement as new projects are developed and funded.⁴⁷ The need now in the Growth Boroughs is to focus on those who have been left behind by the regeneration around Stratford and in the former host boroughs.

However, while the Mayor owns the Olympic legacy agenda, he has not yet made convergence a priority. The London Plan policies 1.1B⁴⁸ and 2.4A⁴⁹ committing to a strategic direction for convergence were written by the previous Mayor. These policies were intended to support the Mayor’s strategies, including on economic development, but this never came into effect. The current Mayor is now in the process of developing a new London Plan. If convergence is a priority, it should feature in this new Plan, and in the Mayor’s forthcoming strategies.

To do this, the Mayor needs to provide the strategic direction required for convergence to succeed. He should:

- commission research on the factors affecting convergence to date, specifically looking at the effects of population churn, welfare reforms, economic growth, and Mayoral and Government interventions. This research would help identify the ‘gaps’ in

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convergence that need addressing and serve as a useful platform from which to assess future support and investment in convergence

- keep the momentum going by ensuring that a commitment to convergence features in his new London Plan, his Economic Development Strategy and his final Health Inequalities Strategy
- consider measuring how far future Good Growth Fund projects in east London contribute to convergence indicators

Working strategically in closer partnership, the Mayor, the Growth Boroughs and the LLDC can secure a better regeneration legacy for east London. In particular, the Growth Boroughs Partnership needs more support for its convergence projects. Liz Fenton argued that boroughs have been left with less money and fewer levers to manage convergence, meaning that “local authorities’ roles were being diminished”.⁵⁰ Work on other sub-regional partnerships between boroughs has also taken resources away from convergence, leaving projects in “hibernation”.⁵¹

The LLDC is ideally placed to rise to the challenge of convergence and secure the legacy of the 2012 Games. The LLDC is currently revising its local plan, which is due to be published in October 2019.⁵² With the Convergence Strategy due to expire in 2018, the LLDC should:

- work in closer partnership with the Mayor and the Growth Boroughs on a new Strategy
- revise its plan to emphasise the need for a collaborative convergence vision extending well beyond the boundaries of the Olympic Park

To facilitate this, the LLDC and the Growth Boroughs should explore ways in which closer partnership working could attract greater resources and support for convergence.

Taken together, these efforts could help to breathe new life into the dream of a lasting Olympic legacy, an ambition the London Assembly has long argued for. The commitment made in London’s bid to secure a regenerative legacy for the Games needs to be seen past every hurdle and to the finish line. So many other host cities have fallen short, but with renewed momentum, London could lead the world in demonstrating the power of the Olympic and Paralympic Games to transform communities for the better.

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Endnotes

If you have any comments or would like to find out more, you can get in touch via reece.harris@london.gov.uk.

Front page image- © Billy Hicks, 2012

¹ DCMS, *Plans for the Legacy from the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, December 2010, p.1.

² [2010 to 2015 government policy: 2012 Olympic and Paralympic legacy](#), Policy paper, DCMS, May 2015.

³ Growth Boroughs Partnership, *Convergence Strategy and Action Plan 2015-18*, p 7.

⁴ Growth Boroughs Partnership, *'Home'*, 2017

⁵ Previously known as the East London Partnership, the East London Business Alliance (ELBA) is a business-community outreach charity promoting corporate social responsibility and employee volunteering, with a focus on the social and economic regeneration of East London. See their [website](#) for more information.

⁶ I MacRury and G Poynter, *London's Olympic Legacy. A 'Thinkpiece' report prepared for the OECD and Department for Communities and Local Government*, University of East London/ London East, 2009, p 14.

⁷ MacRury and Poynter quoted in Ibid. p 39.

⁸ DCMS, *Plans for the Legacy from the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, December 2010, pp 6 and 11.

⁹ Lord Coe, [speaking to the London Assembly Plenary](#), 21 October 2009, See page 11

¹⁰ Lord Coe, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

¹¹ [London 2012 Olympics. Regeneration legacy evaluation framework](#), Amion Consulting Ltd for DLCC, 2015, pp 12-13.

¹² K Swales, *'East London: Who's gained from its growth?'*, *New Start*, 14 January 2013.

¹³ A Thornley, 'The 2012 London Olympics. What legacy?', *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure & Events* 4/2, July 2012, pp 209-210.

¹⁴ Ralph Ward, Joint Founder, London Urban Visits/Visiting Professor, University of East London, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

¹⁵ Liz Fenton, Economic Programmes Advisor, Growth Boroughs Partnership, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ [A 2012 Legacy for Royal Greenwich](#), Royal Borough of Greenwich, p 59.

¹⁸ DCMS, *Plans for the Legacy from the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games*, December 2010, pp 11 and 12.

¹⁹ [6 Host Boroughs – Skills and Employment Update Special Edition](#), November 2012.

²⁰ J Pryn, 'Olympics staff who can't read or write', *The Evening Standard*, 1 September 2011 quoted in J Kennelly and P Watt, Seeing Olympic effects through the eyes of marginally

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housed youth: changing places and the gentrification of East London, *Visual Studies* 27/2, 2012, p154.

²¹ Liz Fenton, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

²² See the Growth Boroughs Partnership [website](#).

²³ *London 2012 Olympics. Regeneration legacy evaluation framework*, Amion Consulting Ltd for DLCC, 2015.

²⁴ The detailed action plan is available on pp 29 – 36 of the *Convergence Strategy and Action Plan 2015-18* published by the Growth Boroughs Partnership.

²⁵ Growth Boroughs Partnership, *Convergence Annual Report 2015-2016*.

²⁶ Ibid., p.3

²⁷ Ibid., p.7

²⁸ Ibid., pp 13 14.

²⁹ Ibid., p.7

³⁰ See website

³¹ Growth Boroughs Partnership, *Convergence Annual Report 2015-2016*, p 16.

³² Growth Boroughs Partnership, *Convergence Annual Report 2015-2016*, pp 24 -25.

³³ Ibid., p25-27

³⁴ Figures in this table and the following are adapted from the published results of the *English indices of deprivation 2015* published by DCLG, 30 September 2015, and the *English indices of deprivation 2010* published by DCLG, 24 March 2011.

³⁵ D Harari, *Regional and local economic growth statistics*, Briefing Paper, House of Commons Library, 16 December 2016.

³⁶ Hackney Citizen, '25,000 new jobs in Hackney since 2012 Olympics – five times higher than forecast', *Hackney Citizen*, 9 October 2017.

³⁷ GLA, 'Mayor reveals East London is fastest-growing area of the capital', 9 October 2017

³⁸ Email submission from Royal Borough of Greenwich, 16 October 2017

³⁹ Oxford Economics, *London Host Boroughs Employment Forecasts*, July 2017, p.17.

⁴⁰ Mark Fransham at University of East London seminar on *Towards an understanding of the changing nature of deprivation in East London*, 9 February 2017.

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⁴² Liz Fenton, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

⁴³ I MacRury and G Poynter, *London's Olympic Legacy. A 'Thinkpiece' report prepared for the OECD and Department for Communities and Local Government*, University of East London/ London East, 2009, p 9.

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⁴⁵ L Rivera, 'London house prices: Olympic borough Waltham Forest strikes gold - and property markets in all host districts continue to race ahead following 2012 games', *The Evening Standard*, 3 August 2016.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ Ralph Ward, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

⁴⁷ *Creative Tensions – Optimising the benefits of culture through regeneration*, London Assembly Regeneration Committee, March 2017.

⁴⁸ GLA, *Policy 1.1 Delivering the strategic vision and objectives for London*, March 2016.

⁴⁹ GLA, *Policy 2.4 The 2012 games and their legacy*, March 2016.

⁵⁰ Liz Fenton, Economic Programmes Advisor, Growth Boroughs Partnership, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

⁵¹ Liz Fenton, Economic Programmes Advisor, Growth Boroughs Partnership, speaking to the London Assembly Regeneration Committee, 6 September 2017.

⁵² LLDC, *Local Development Scheme*, February 2017, p 7.