

London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries



London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries (LJTSCI)

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Scope of the Journal

London is one of the world's most heterogeneous and cosmopolitan cities. It is a quintessential 'global city' located at the interface of manifold networks and flows. *The London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries* (LJTSCI) seeks to publish articles on a variety of related topics which encapsulates this diversity and the nature of its local-global intersections.

The subject area delivered at London Metropolitan University has a history of high quality research into anthropological/developmental studies and policy analysis. It is from these platforms that the journal aims to be a meeting place for research and discussion on a wealth of topics that should appeal to scholars, practitioners, policy makers and general readers. These articles can include research, works-in progress, case studies, developments in theory, book reviews and general reviews that contributes to the development of the subject field.

The journal addresses a broad subject field, while under the banner of Tourism, Sport and the Creative Industries it also includes, but is not restricted to, events, the Arts – including music and dance, heritage, hospitality, advertising & communications, music media & entertainment. We encourage submissions relating to these topics from a wide variety of perspectives; such as all areas of anthropology, management, economics, politics, history, sociology, psychology, cultural studies and marketing. The contexts of these research papers are also broad in scope covering relevant research form public, commercial and third sector organisations and settings.

Journal Objectives

- Contribute to the growth of knowledge about in the areas covered by the Subject Field, including travel, tourism, sport, music and media, hospitality, events, arts/ heritage and other creative industries.
- Contribute to the growth of knowledge about pedagogy in the Subject.
- Provide a forum for academic debate and academy-industry interchange in the Subject (including organisations from the third sector/ the mixed economy of provision).
- Provide a mechanism for discussion of research that is a work in progress or as yet preliminary and emerging.
- Provide a pathway for the development of young, new, and PhD researchers in the Subject.
- Provide a pathway to bring to wider attention excellent examples of research carried out by LMBS students.
- Contribute to the strengthening of our links with alumni and other practitioners.
- Contribute to the strengthening of our links with international partners.

Editorial Board: Julie Scott, Michael Hitchcock, Tom Selwyn, I-Ling Kuo, Nicole Ferdinand, Milan Todorovic, Ioannis Pantelidis, Robert Lentell, Paul Kitchin

Editorial

Welcome to the first edition of the *The London Journal of Tourism, Sport and Creative Industries*. It is my privilege to be the founding editor of this journal and work with the committed editorial board we have in place. The concept was formulated over 12 months ago and it is satisfying to see that the first edition of the journal has come to life. However it is also important at this stage to explain what the journal is about and to this effect put some substance into the scope which may not be initially apparent to readers. Feedback from some has suggested it is perceived as a journal dealing solely with issues in London. This is partly the case but it is not a comprehensive overview of what we are aiming to achieve. The journal will be a meeting place for scholarly research and discussion on a multitude of topics that encompass the local-global connections that exist within London. To this end this first edition contains articles covering experiences of life, work and leisure in London. Throughout the papers this concept of the local-global nexus becomes more tangible as we witness the various realities of the networks and flows of the city's multi-cultural populous.

In the first article Stevenson and Inskip provide an analysis of the interpretations that some of these populations apply to tourist sites in the London area. The authors use social semiotic analysis of photographic images to extract meaning and interpretation of the subjects' perspectives of the city. Building on the work of previous research [Morgan and Pritchard (1998) and Pink (2007)] the authors contend "the way people make images of places reflects the meaning of those places to them" and in turn is "affected by their experiences, background and values." They go on to present their findings from a structured analysis of the visual data, of which we are fortunate enough to have a sample within the article. Of interest are the varied meanings that can be derived through the images and how these various truths are all legitimate representations of the city.

The widening of the European Union has seen yet another cultural grouping make its way to London in search of new opportunities. Pantelidis and Wrobel provide an analysis of how employers, agencies and academics perceive new and existing populations, their characteristics in relation to work and their integration into the wider workforce. The authors present an analysis of the issues facing hospitality employers and perceptions of cultural barriers to obtaining employment in the field that are harboured by resident populations throughout the region.

Sadd and Jones analyse one of the many issues facing London in its preparation for staging the 2012 Olympics and dealing with the legacy post-event. The authors provide a strong overview of the legacy issues of population relocation from the Barcelona and Sydney experiences before moving onto an analysis of the challenges facing London. The reality of regeneration is the sheer scale and complexity of the operation involving many aspects of development and destruction in order to create an end product. One such area of concern is the displacement of existing communities to alternative regions away from their traditional areas of life and work. They contend that there are major issues for traveller communities as they are facing separation from the area and from their community ties.

Corcoran provides a discussion of the role of social marketing in increasing the health of the populous. She identifies the issues facing sport and health organisations in adopting social marketing and examines why their responses to this approach have been mixed. This piece presents eight elements of social marketing that can be used by these agencies to capitalise on the health/physical activity agenda. In tune with the discussion articles' objectives hopefully this will generate discussion from sport and health practitioners as well as marketers on the suitability of this approach in this region.

Little provides the first of our book reviews starting with *Gold and Gold's Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning and the World's Games, 1896-2012*. Lunt follows this with his analysis of O'Toole, Harris and McDonnell's fourth edition of *Festival & Special Event Management*.

Finally I'd like to express my thanks to Robert Lentell and the other members of the editorial board for their advice and assistance throughout the past 12 months in turning this idea into something tangible (in a manner of speaking). Thanks to Allan Boosey and Events Management Knowledge for their flexibility and courtesy in allowing us a channel for publication. Without this support the journal would have had to rely on existing in email format only. Thank you

also to Demetria Maratheftis and her colleagues in the marketing department for the first-class job they have done on creating the document that you are reading. And finally a warm thanks to the authors who submitted abstracts and full articles for their 'leap-of-faith' in choosing our new journal, I hope you are happy with the format and presentation of your work.

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Visualising London

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Abstract

This research investigates how photographs can be analysed to extract meaning. Two methodologies, visual anthropology and social semiotics, are used to analyse a collection of images and accompanying texts generated by a group of first year tourism students in London. Photographs are categorised into subject areas including iconic buildings, street scenes, people and analysed according to how they relate to the photographers' characteristics, such as age and nationality. A group of images of Big Ben are then analysed using a social semiotics approach, considering both compositional and contextual information to extract meanings. Results and techniques are then contrasted and compared, noting how the complexity of the image makers' experience of the city they are documenting lead to their images having multi-layered meanings, and that combining analytic methods can fruitfully reveal a range of these meanings.

Introduction

This paper explores a collection of photographs produced by first year tourism students to illustrate their connections to London. They are analysed in terms of subject, composition, meanings and the relationships between the images and the image-makers. A multi-layered approach draws from social semiotics and anthropological visual analysis. Visual anthropology is used to explore the relationships between the photographs and the identity and experience of the people who made them. Social semiotic analysis is then used to examine surface and hidden meanings to develop an understanding of what is being communicated by the images, taking into account both their content and context.

The Study Context

There is a growing body of literature on the production and consumption of visual images used to market places as tourism commodities. Morgan and Pritchard (1998) highlight the growing importance of sociological perspectives into varied aspects of tourism phenomena. These broader societal perspectives have been underpinned by both semiotic analysis (Dann, 1996; MacCannell, 1999; Markwick, 2001; Johns and Clark, 2001) and anthropological analysis (Selwyn, 1996; Pink, 2007).

Photographs have played an important role in "structuring the tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002), in terms of images in brochures and postcards and those created by tourists themselves. Urry (2002) contends that photography is socially constructed, highlighting the power relationship between photographer and image and the link between the act of photographing an object and appropriating it. He suggests this process encourages the photographer to become an "amateur semiotician", idealising places and representing iconic images.

Researchers including Collier (2001), Morgan and Pritchard (1998), Pink (2007) and Urry (2002) explore the notion that photographs are perceived to transcribe reality. Urry (2002) contends that they might present "miniature slices of reality" rather than constructed statements about reality. Morgan and Pritchard (1998) argue that experiences of reality are subjective and they perceive image making as an interactive process which reflects our interaction with the environment. Pink (2007) contrasts the realist approach adopted by Collier in 1986, and reflexive approaches to

analysing photographs with the former based on the assumption that reality is visible, observable and recordable; while the latter recognises “that it is impossible to record complete processes, activities or sets of relationships visually and demands attention be paid to the contexts in which images are produced” (Pink 2007:121-122).

Burns and Lester (2005) draw from research by Franklin and Crang (2001) which emphasises the 'embeddedness' of tourism in broader social phenomena and the difficulties in separating touristic and non touristic experiences. These difficulties are illustrated by diversity in this study group, most of whom are not British and have lived in London for less than four years. Many have chosen to live and study in London following experiences as tourists in the City and all have chosen to study tourism. Thus the project is not specifically focussed on tourist images (those produced or consumed by people as tourists) but explores the relationship between a relatively transient group of people and a place which many have experienced as tourists and all now inhabit.

Visual Anthropology

Visual anthropology “is concerned with the use of visual records for the description of the present and past ways of life of specific communities” (van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001:2). An approach drawn from visual anthropology connects images with the human experience that gave rise to them being produced. Visual anthropology enables the consideration of contextual factors that influence image makers in their choice of subject and produces analysis that may deepen understanding.

Pink (2007) highlights the subjectivity of the meanings of photographs indicating that the same picture may be ascribed varied and even conflicting meanings by different viewers. She explains how meaning can change over time and in different social and cultural contexts.

Semiotics

Semiotics is concerned with establishing the meaning of texts (which can be any medium) by the study of signs and the way they are communicated by those texts through representation. Language is a sign system made up of *langue* (language) and *parole* (speech) while photographs are parole which relate to an underlying *langue* of composition. The meaning of a photograph can be determined by the signs within the image itself as determined by the langue or rules of photography. Barthes (1977) discusses how there are two levels of meaning, *denotative* and *connotative*, which are present in all forms of texts at differing levels. While it seems easy to determine the denotative meaning, or the obvious or common sense meaning, of an image (a photograph of Big Ben denotes the clock tower attached to the Houses of Parliament), evaluation and analysis of the connotation requires an understanding of the codes that inform this connotation.

According to Saussure (Chandler, 2002) a sign must be made up of a *signifier* (a material form) and a *signified* (a concept) and it is only by combining these that successful communication may take place. In a photograph of Big Ben, the signifier would be the photograph itself, while one of the signifieds could be related to the importance of the British political system or the start of the TV news. Thus it is through socio-cultural conventions that the meaning of signs, which is arbitrary, is agreed upon and these can vary according to the point-of-view of the producer and consumer of the message.

Pierce introduced a third idea to the signifier/signified model, determining a sign was made up of *representamen* (form of sign), *interpretant* (sense made) and *object* (what the sign stands for) (Chandler, 2002). This highlights the fluid nature of how signs may be interpreted: because the interpretant is not fixed, it is in the mind of the interpreter. There are three modes of relationship within signs: *symbolic* (signifier is arbitrary and must be learned, eg language), *iconic* (signifier resembles the signified, eg a drawing or a model) and *indexical* (signifier is connected to signified, eg photograph, pain). The indexical nature of photography gives it 'objective' meaning, hence its use in documentary reporting, although photography is also simultaneously symbolic and iconic, giving many different possible interpretations of the image and making communication using imagery not straightforward. A war photograph, for example, can be interpreted in many ways depending on the viewpoint of the person looking at the image, and this can vary according to any accompanying text. In a similar way, the photographs under analysis in this research may be of Big Ben, but their meaning to the image maker can only be revealed by examining the composition of the image and the accompanying text.

Analysing Visual Material Using Visual Anthropology and Semiotics

Collier (2001) advocates a four staged approach to explore the connection between image and image maker. Initially the researcher observes the data as 'a whole' and looks for connections or contrasts. Then this is linked into indirect analysis about the characteristics of the image maker. The third stage introduces the image maker's interpretation and is used to provide detailed descriptions. The fourth stage defines images in their context and involves searching for significance and meaning by revisiting the complete visual record. This approach is criticised by Pink (2007) for its overemphasis on process, content and chronology. She identifies the complexities associated with the analysis of visual material in the social world, recognising the connection between the researchers beliefs and experiences and the way they derive meaning from pictures. She contends that in this context meaning is both constructed and arbitrary and suggests that researchers develop more reflexive approaches recognising the partial and subjective nature of their research.

While semiotic analysis of images has been used successfully, it is limited because of its focus on rules which connect signs and their meanings (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). This restricts interpretation to strict codes, which have been established by convention over time, such as the rules of composition and photography. Social semiotics was introduced to evaluate the level of importance the reader attaches to the significance of the signs (Chandler, 2002, p.8). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) proposed three kinds of semiotic work: *representational*, *interactive* and *compositional*. Considering the image of Big Ben, this image represents a well-known building in a particular urban setting. The interaction suggested by the image is that the building is important amongst the other buildings in the photograph (it is tall because it needs to be seen from a distance). If the tower is in the centre of the image and the photograph is taken looking up at the tower then the composition of the picture indicates Big Ben is of central importance to the message and has power over the viewer (it is looking down, like an authority figure). It is likely that the text which accompanies these images will provide useful clues about what the photographer was trying to communicate, and what meaning was being attributed to the symbolic systems contained within the submitted images. Each work has different functions within it, which again contribute to its meaning, as laid out in the table below:

Representational		Interactive	Compositional
Participants	Conceptual	Distance	Information value
	Narrative	Contact	Framing
		Point of View	Saliency

Figure 1: Social semiotic analysis of visual communication (from Jewitt & Oyama 2001)

This descriptive framework, developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) can be used to bring out hidden meanings in images. When combined with other types of analysis it can provide further insights into wider meanings and be used to inform developments in design or communication.

Methodology

This section outlines the practical approach to collating and analysing the data and draws from the conceptual orientations outlined above. In November 2006, forty two students were asked to provide one photograph of London that had relevance to them and was collected by them, accompanied by 100-200 words on their chosen image and their age, nationality and duration of residence in London. Students were given two weeks to provide photographs for inclusion in the project.

The researchers used a multi-layered approach to analysis, starting with analysis of the content of the photographs and then developed to consider the characteristics of the image makers and their written commentaries which explained

why they had chosen the picture. Concurrently semiotic analysis of six images was undertaken and finally a reflexive phase where the researchers discussed the findings arising from their approaches and the varied interpretations of the images.

For the semiotic analysis the framework shown in figure 1 was used as a checklist. The student’s commentary was referred to during this process to provide richer and more detailed understanding of what they were attempting to communicate with the image. Six photographs which featured Big Ben were analysed in depth. Each was examined and notes were made firstly detailing the material and its denotative content. The framework was then used to direct a semiotic analysis of the image, which was broken down into: narrative, conceptual, representation and interaction, composition, modality, and text. The information derived from this analysis was then used to provide rich and detailed information about the reasons behind the choices made by the photographers in the use of the image to satisfy their task.

Findings and Analysis

Which images are chosen to represent London?

The photographs were scrutinized and themed them into broad groups: *iconic buildings and structures*, *street scenes*, *people*, and *other* (including panoramas, green spaces and transport). Where clusters occurred around one particular site or type the groups were sub-divided (figure 2). More than 85% of the images showed structures, places and views with touristic connotations and connections, although they also have wider roles and functions in the City. Twenty-nine percent were focussed on four specific places, two in the *iconic buildings/structures* grouping (Big Ben and the London Eye) and two in the *street scenes* grouping (Covent Garden and Piccadilly Circus). The cluster of pictures in these four locations may be a result of the ‘shared norms’ arising from the photographers’ shared experience of studying tourism in London, or perhaps arise from the students’ assumption that the researchers might expect a collection of tourism images.

People featured as the main image in 19% of the photographs. These were categorised according to whether the image appeared to be focussed on a grouping of people, or a single person who was facing the camera, or whether the pictures were taken of an apparently random group of people.

Broad Group	Sub Group 1	Sub Group 2	Sub Group 3	Sub Group 4	Total
<i>Iconic buildings /structures</i>	Big Ben (6 images)	London Eye (2)	Stadia (2)	Other (3)	13
<i>Street scenes</i>	Piccadilly Circus	Typical street scene	Shops Bars	Other (2)	9
<i>People</i>	Friends and family (6)	Crowd (3)			
<i>Other</i>	Panoramic views (3)	Transport (2)	Parks (1)		6

Figure 2: Images of London by group and sub group

The analysis of the pictures presented some complexities as a number of pictures crossed two broad categories. For example, two pictures in the *iconic buildings/structures* category included people in the foreground. In both cases the researcher categorised the images as iconic building/structures.

The relationships between photograph and image-maker

Morgan and Pritchard (1998) and Pink (2007) contend that the way people make images of places reflects the meaning of those places to them and is affected by their experiences, background and values. These relationships were explored in two ways, initially by considering the photographs in the context of several easily identifiable characteristics of the image makers. These were nationality, length of time in London and age. Then each photograph was examined in the context of the written commentary. This provided detailed and nuanced interpretations of the visual information connecting the image to the student. Three main connectors were identified: home, work and family, and these were considered to identify patterns.

The student group comprise 18 different nationalities but there were no patterns or clusters based on these different nationalities. They had lived in London for between two months and twenty years, with eleven having lived in London for one year or less, twelve for over a year to four years, and fifteen for over four years. Photographs of places with touristic associations spanned all groups. There was only one clearly identifiable cluster with five of the nine *people* images provided by students who had been in London for the longest time (between eight and twenty years). It was difficult to identify any other patterns or clusters around the length of time in London.

The students were aged between eighteen and thirty four with 86% being under twenty five. There were two clusters identified: the eighteen to nineteen year old age group provided seven of the nine pictures of people; and students who were twenty five and over provided pictures of the four specific places identified in figure 2 (Big Ben, Covent Garden, Piccadilly and the London Eye).

By considering the narratives provided by the students it was possible to make further connections and over 60% were specifically related to home, work or family. It was also possible to highlight the differences in the interpretation of the pictures by the researcher and the story provided by the image maker. For example one picture shows an image of the London Eye and includes the photographer's daughter. Although the researcher identified the primary theme of the photograph as *iconic building/structure*, the commentary focussed upon the child and a visit to the London Eye. The primary subject of the image, from the perspective of the photographer, is the child and her central role in her experience of London.

The written information was also used to add depth to the analysis, identifying hidden patterns in the data. For example it was possible to identify more nuanced patterns around the length of time the students had lived in London. The narratives illustrated the fragility of the connection between the student and place: five images produced by those who had lived in London for one year or less made no connection between the photographer and the City, three refer to touristic experiences and two to symbols of the City. Three use an image that reminds or connects them to their 'real' home, which is outside London. This contrasts with the images produced by students who have lived in London for over a year, twenty three of which made a personal connection, either directly by including pictures of friends and family or indirectly by showing a place which had personal significance to them.

The narratives illustrated the complex range of issues that influenced each students associations and interpretation of the City. For example two students chose to present images which contrast expectations as a tourist with their experience of London. The Gherkin is used to illustrate modern London, contrasting with touristic images associated with heritage and conservatism. Piccadilly Circus is used to illustrate the multiculturalism of London and illustrates how this contrasts with the photographer's expectations that London would be full of 'English' people. The students who chose to represent family and friends provided stories about significant events or moments that connected them on a very personal level to London.

What are the patterns and meanings of the images?

Six photographs of Big Ben (figures 3–8) were analysed using the framework in figure 1. They were chosen because it was the most regularly appearing signifier of London as a place and because these images were produced by students with a wide range of experiences of London. They are aged between 19 and 26, have lived in London between 6 months and 20 years, and are from 6 different nationalities.

Narrative / Conceptual

All the images were narrative representations, the narrative determined by examining the vectors, which are usually diagonal lines, created by key elements such as flags, railings, fencing, roads etc. These elements indicated that the *actor* (Big Ben), was highlighted by the vectors which emanated from it, running to the edges of the photograph and then to the viewer. Even in when people featured (figure 3), the vectors did not point at them or involve them in participating with the *actor*.

In most photographs the *setting* of the image was a foreground of road/trees/buildings/water and a background of sky. Figure 4, taken from the London Eye, featured only buildings as background, no sky, because of its high angle.

A number of images seemed to have a hidden structure with elements laid to indicate there was something in common or something about their relationship (conceptual representation). In figure 5, for example, there was a strong relationship between the Big Ben tower and a lamppost with a round globe. In figure 6, the sky, buildings and river all took up equal horizontal thirds of the photograph,



Figure 3

possibly referring to three of the four elements (air, earth, water).



Figure 4

Representation and Interaction

When analysing the gaze of the actor, all images indicate a *demand* on the part of the actor, with its (clock) face which, if humanised, can be imagined to “gaze” at the viewer, demanding their interaction. However the images are all taken from a distance, indicating an *impersonal* relationship between the subject and the viewer, with a *detachment* between them indicated by the oblique angle (figures 4, 6, 7 and 8). The power of the tower over the viewer is reflected by the angle of the camera in relation to the clock faces. Figures 6 7, and 8, were taken from the London Eye and the National Portrait Gallery at

a similar level, indicating equality and figure 4 looked down on Big Ben indicating viewer power. Figures 3 and 5 were taken from the ground level indicating power in the hands of Big Ben, the *represented participant*, and are perceived to generally reinforce the authority of the status quo (which is enhanced further by the commentaries which make links to the Houses of Parliament, and broadcast news).

Composition

It was clear that thought had been put into making the image, reminding the viewer that the image maker has some power over the image. Most images were *centred* compositions, the Big Ben clock face being in the approximate centre of the photograph. Figures 6 and 8 show three elements, sky, buildings and water and figures 4, 5, 7, were *circular* compositions. The strongest circular composition, figure 4, was taken of Big Ben from up high on the London Eye,



Figure 5



Figure 6

indicating the possibility of the experience of circular movement influencing the image. Indeed the *context* should be continually borne in mind in analysing images; the architecture, the weather, and all other circumstances will have some impact on the actions the photographer takes before releasing the shutter on the camera.

The *salience* of the images was strong in figures 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8, with the subject standing out against the sky, directing the viewers gaze and enhancing the power it has over the viewer.

Commentary

The commentary provided by the photographer was found to be revealing. While the commentaries discussed the historical importance of Big Ben, few discussed in any great detail why they felt it was a London symbol, instead, focussing on the meaning the symbol signified to themselves, the 'micro-meaning', perhaps, rather than the 'macro-meaning' ('*It is the place where I work, and I see this view quite often. I remember this view since I came for my job interview and it clearly doesn't let me forget in which city I am living*' (figure 7). However one did discuss how '*Big Ben and Houses of Parliament are symbols of the city. Both are very recognisable and are on the top of 'musts' when you are here*' (figure 8). Barthes (1977) points out the importance of the written text in accompanying press photographs, discussing how the same image may even be used in different newspapers to illustrate opposing points-of-view when read in conjunction with its caption. Without the text we can only appreciate the denotative meaning of the image and it would not be possible to ascertain the micro-meaning of these images without this kind of communication.

If we take the text into account, the images can be successfully read as saying that 'London' rather than 'Big Ben' is beautiful, magical, busy, historical, and romantic. 'London' connects the photographers with their home land, families, teachers and friends. It is possible to understand the message, although it is subject to 'noise' from, for example, misunderstandings, language problems, and a mismatch between the viewers and the creators conflicting cultural codes.



Figure 7



Figure 8

Multiple Meanings

Following the analysis the researchers met to discuss the photographs and commentaries, comparing notes and discussing the differences and similarities of their interpretations of the data. This was designed to bring more reflexivity into the process, recognising that the approaches chosen meant the researchers would derive meanings in different ways and that both approaches were likely to produce understanding that was both partial and subjective (Pink, 2007).

The discussion considered the broad themes used to categorise the photographs themselves (the major themes being iconic buildings and structures, street scenes and people). The first interpretation of meaning drew from visual anthropology and looked for connections between those themes and the characteristics of the photographer. Images with touristic associations spanned all groups. There were two clusters with the youngest students and those with the longest residence in London photographing people.

The second interpretation was derived from detailed semiotic analysis of six of the images which was initially focussed on the photograph. While it was possible to generate ideas about their connotation from the images alone, it was clear that this was substantially enhanced by the written text. Taken at face value, all we could be sure about figures 3-8 was that they were photographs of Big Ben taken at a certain time of day or night, and, because of the instruction for this project, they had something to do with London and had some meaning to the student. Analysing their composition using the semiotic framework led to some ideas about the roles of the elements and meaning of the image. For example this confirmed the subject of the photograph and offered some insight about its relationship to the photographer.

However this approach does assume the photographer is 'composing' a picture rather than taking a photograph without being aware of the agreed rules of composition. It assumes these rules have been agreed by society and can be interpreted in a general way. Although analysis of the content of the image can lead to some valuable insights it is only through comparison with the accompanying written text that the meaning of the image in this context can be more accurately evaluated. In figure 3, for example, much can be read from the image itself about the relationship of the couple to Britain through the narrative, representation, interaction and composition of the image. These were confirmed and expanded by the text, but a different text could have led to a completely different meaning of the image. The close matching of the semiotic reading of the image and the text analysis indicate the photographer was following agreed rules and successfully communicated a complex story about the participants.

The third interpretation was developed from the commentaries of the photographers and connected to the experiences, memories and feelings connected with their image. It was clear from the commentaries that the majority of students provided copies of "treasured" or "favourite" photographs, connected with first or memorable experiences of London. For example figure 3 shows a student's parents when they first arrived in London, figures 4, 5 and 8 were taken by students as they first encountered London as tourists. The commentaries also refer to links with the students' homes by stories told by their parents or teachers, reminding us of the mobilities and global connections that link London's cultural icons such as Big Ben with memories of other places and people.

The fourth interpretation was perhaps the most interesting as it made connections between the first and second approaches. While the photographs illustrate the students' experiences of London the meanings and connections of those photographs are not clear from the image alone and remain hidden to the viewer until they read the written material. In some cases the commentaries also presented contradictions between the image presented and the meanings attributed. For example the commentary for figure 6 focussed on the 'busy' nature of the City '*It shows a busy London, with people moving looking busy*'. Notably, in this image, it is not possible to identify moving or busy looking people. This part of the experience is in the photographer's memory as he recalls memories of the time when the photograph was taken but is not clearly visible to the viewer.

Conclusions

This research explores the images that a culturally diverse and highly mobile group of students use to illustrate their experience of the City. It reflects the complexities and mobility of human/social life experiences, highlighting the varied and complex connection between people and places. The photographs considered in this study are largely focussed on buildings and street scenes and which are symbolic or represent the traditions of London or people with whom the photographers share experiences of London. Commentaries focus around first, good, or significant experiences in the

city which often related to touristic experiences in the City. This illustrates the “embeddedness” of tourism (Burns and Lester, 2005) in the experience of place and the difficulties in identifying boundaries between tourist and non tourist activities.

The research investigates a rich variety of images and stories that illustrate how a group of students make sense of a complex and multi-faceted city and the things that matter to them as they collect images. Two approaches to analysing visual data are used to uncover three sets of meanings, which, although sometimes overlapping, can not be drawn together effectively without losing important nuances and detail. This highlights the subjective nature of meaning and led to the decision to present the three sets of meaning in their varied forms in an attempt to encourage reflexivity.

This paper presents a layered conceptualisation showing differences in meaning ascribed by the image maker and the researcher/viewer when using different approaches. By presenting the findings derived from the different approaches separately it illustrates intricacies associated with reading and understanding visual material and enables the researchers to present and explore multiple meanings of visual data. It also illustrates the difficulty of analysing visual material without written information to explain what the photographer was trying to show. The researcher who initially considered the images on their own interpreted the images one way but the commentaries presented a nuanced and different story.

The paper illustrates an exploration into how different approaches to data analysis might be combined to analyse commentaries and photographs in order to develop and nuanced interpretations of the connections between people and place. It has been designed as a way of exploring multiple and layered connections between people and place through the analysis of visual material and text. It is intended to present the complexities and varieties of meaning, acknowledging the variety of ‘truths’ rather than a singular truth.

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London's Hospitality Workforce: Cultural Diversity a Choice or Necessity?

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Keywords: Hospitality, London, Employment, Cultures

Abstract

The paper explores employers attitudes to British and migrant workers in hospitality. The number of hospitality operations in London, establish the capital as an interesting case study in exploring employer's perceptions. A number of hospitality managers, academics and recruitment managers were interviewed and the findings suggest that they perceive that hospitality as not favoured as a primary career option amongst traditional British populations. An overwhelming number of immigrants are employed in London's hospitality organisations both at entry level and managerial positions. The findings suggest that employers perceive a cultural barrier in the way employment in hospitality is viewed by British nationals. Employers and academics will need to double their efforts to ensure that the industry is not so poorly perceived by future generations of workers.

Introduction

London is one of the most culturally diverse cities in Europe. The UK capital plays host to a multicultural and multinational society, offering a wide range of job markets and employment possibilities. The city is characterised by high migration and high labour turnover (Dench et al. 2006; Evans et al. 2005; Johnson 1981; Lucas and Wood 2000; Mars's et al. 1979; Palmer 1977; Salt and Millar 2006; Spence 2005; Turner and Stout 2005). It is a home for over 2 million born outside of UK (Evans et al. 2005, p. 6). Migrants count for 35% of London's population and 29% of its working population. Especially striking is the high proportion of recent migrants (45% of the total number of migrants) who have arrived in the city since 1990 (Spence, 2005). The hospitality sector in London is dominated by an equal proportion of migrants from Eastern Europe and Africa. Poland had the highest proportion from Eastern Europe and Ghana from among the African countries (Evans et al. 2005, Home Office 2006).

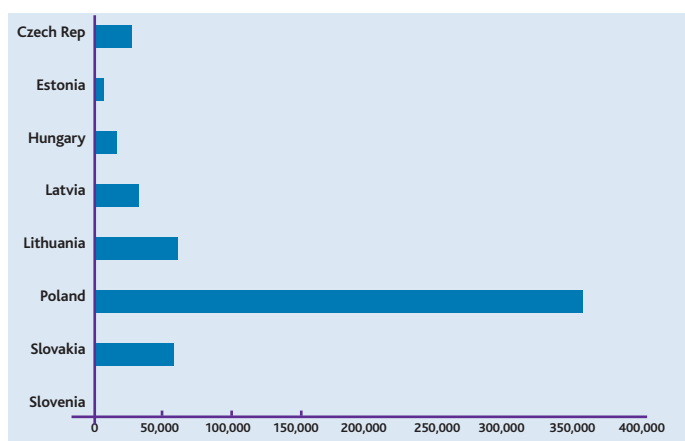


Table 1: Registered workers, Nationality of applicants, May 2004 – December 2006

Source: Home Office 2006

London's hospitality industry depends mainly on non-UK nationals. Employers are happy to recruit migrants, as they are "harder working, more motivated and committed than domestic workers" (Dench et al., 2006), however employers are not initially looking for non-British staff "they simply had to employ people from the pool of labour available to them" but they became dependent on migrant workers, especially in low-skill sectors. Furthermore "...without migrant workers, their businesses would not survive" (p. 4) and even the disadvantage of having staff with language difficulties became a problem that could be overcome.

Overall, migrants self-identified as hard-working, low-paid and often highly exploited workers carrying out work that no one else would do (Dench et al 2006, McIlwaine et al. 2006). "Migrant workers in hospitality in London apart from receiving a low pay often suffer very hard working conditions; leading to illnesses, humiliation and abuse" (McIlwaine et al., 2006, p. 12).

In May 2004 the UK allowed free movement and rights to work for the new 10 countries that joined European Union. More than 80,000 workers from the 8 new EEA countries registered for employment in the hospitality sector between May 2004 and December 2006. As seen on the table 1 the highest amount of accession workers comes from Poland (65%), followed by Lithuanians (11%) and Slovak (10%) (Home Office 2006). The UK's hospitality sector currently employs over 250,000 migrants as stated by Labour force data for April-June 2006. This is equivalent to about 22 percent of total employment in the sector (Matthews and Ruhs 2007). As Lashley (2001) suggests the UK hospitality is an industry that employs large numbers of groups who are disadvantaged in the labour market, and are confined to less skilled and less well paid positions.

This paper aims to explore the reasons why there is such a high non-British employment in London's hospitality businesses, from an employer's perspective. The reasons might be very obvious; as stated by Palmer (1977) "the demand far exceeded the supply of indigenous workers willing to tolerate long hours under bad conditions for low salaries". However such a situation would simply be perpetuated if the industry does nothing to change the way it is perceived by young people in the UK.

Employing the Right People

Hospitality has been mainly defined by two main trails of thought. Cassee and Reuland (1983 p. 144) describes hospitality as a home feeling provided for guests, Lashley (2001 p. 3) also, describes hospitality as "mutuality" (well being) exchange between a host and a guest. Tefler (2001) argues that hospitality is not only about giving a food, drink and accommodation, it is also host's responsibility for the overall welfare of his guests. Brotherton (1999, p. 167) however criticises such definitions and suggests that hospitable behaviour is not to be confused with hospitality which should be seen from a more commercial or economic perspective. Tideman (1983) and Pfeifer (1983) also describe hospitality as a supply of goods and services, suggest a definition from an economic perspective.

Perhaps understanding hospitality both from an economic perspective as well as an emotive allows a better understanding of the customer-employee relationship and what may be the characteristics of the right person for the right job. Whether the customer wants to feel like at home or not, his well being in hospitality organisations depends on the skills of the employees of that organisation. This is why "Identifying, recruiting, developing and empowering individuals to be hospitable will be essential in building a sound base of loyal customers" Lashley and Morrison (2001, p. 14).

Even with contradictory definitions, one area that all academics seem to agree on is the service element of the industry. Hogan et al (1984) points that for service oriented organisations, employees should exhibit characteristics such as courtesy, consideration, tact, perceptiveness, and good communication skills. Turner and Stout (2005) suggest two categories of recruitment difficulties in hospitality industry: Applicant availability and suitability to the role. They go on to suggest that managers are the key. A manager's skill to motivate and mentor their employee is paramount. However finding managers with the required skills and experience becomes more and more difficult. When organisations employ managers who are not fulfilling the required job skills, or are promoted from within too quickly, high staff turnover issues are perpetuated. Rowley and Purcell (2001) argue that hospitality has been identified consistently as

an industry with poor employment practices. According to a report by People 1st (2007) there is serious lack of skills in UK hospitality labour market. The report suggests that 54 percent of managers do not possess the minimum level of qualification required for a manager. Furthermore 63 percent of employers believe their staff customer service skills are not sufficiently proficient to meet their needs. Whilst 40 percent of chefs do not possess a qualification at level 2, the minimum required to prepare and cook from scratch.

This lack of skilled employees forces employers to look for people outside the workforce available to them from within the UK. Lukas (1995) describes the industry as one that employs a high proportion of staff from ethnic minorities and migrant staff especially in least skilled jobs. According to Salt and Millar (2006, p. 335) there were 1.505 million foreign migrants working in the UK in 2005, 5.4 per cent of the UK employed population. The foreign workforce generally is employed in more highly skilled occupations than the domestic. This paper attempts to identify possible reasons as to why that may be so.

Hospitality Human Resource Issues

Human Resource Management practises in the UK hospitality industry have been studied in the past (Guerrier, 1987; Price, 1994 and Watson, 1996) and academics have noted that HRM in hospitality is rather underdeveloped and not sophisticated enough (Kelliher and Johnson 1997, Price 1994). HRM practices in the UK may be of better quality than that of previous years, but in London in particular, this increase in quality is not happening at acceptable rates (Hoque 1999). According to Lockyer & Scholarios (2004, p. 127-128). "Hotel recruitment context, labour market constraints and selection decisions makers vary according to size and ownership/management structures" They go on to suggest that recruitment activities are involved in replacement rather than creating new positions.

London hospitality employers rely mostly on unstructured application forms and interviewers when hiring for front office or direct customer contact positions (Popleton, 1989). The recruitment in hotels tends to be informal, simple and reactive (Kelliher and Johnson, 1987). Front staff is usually employed on permanent basis. Many hotels in London outsource their staffing utilising agency staff or casual basis staff, which are working usually in housekeeping or banqueting departments. According to Lai and Baum (2005 p97) "hotel managers are in favour of using agency staff to cover excess workload in order to pursue greater cost-effectiveness" and agency staffs are generally non-UK nationals. The following UK hospitality industry issues can be directly linked to poor HRM practises within the industry:

- Relatively low productivity (People 1st 2006).
- Low wages (ONS (2005) around 70%of the national average; Lucas & Wood 2000).
- High turnover rates (currently estimated to range from 30% to 50%, People 1st 2006, Lucas 2005).
- Very low trade union density [4.3% in hospitality, compared to 26.7% for the economy overall (LFS, 2005)].
- Persistently high vacancy rates, with more than a third of vacancies considered "hard-to-fill", (People 1st 2006)
- Young age of workers (Guerrier and Adib 2001, p. 259). About 18% of workers are under 19 years of age and only two percent over 65. A greater proportion (26%) is in the lower 20-29 age group than in the higher 50-64 group (16%) (BHA 2006).
- Bad conditions at work (McIlwaine et al. 2006, Dench et al. 2006).

Factors Influencing Decision on Selection

In the literature there are a number of factors influencing employer's recruitment selection, these are:

- Personality characteristics (Dench et al., 2006, Hogan et al., 1984).
- Migration and labour turnover (Lucas 1995, Palmer 1977, Salt & Millar 2006, Evans et al. 2005, Spence 2005, Mars et al. 1979, Johnson 1981, Turner & Stout 2005).
- Employer's preference over British workers (Dench et al. 2006, McIlwaine et al. 2006, Hochschild 1983)

A report by Matthews and Ruhs (2007) demonstrates different concepts of understanding employers demand for labour in the hospitality sector: maximizing profits in segmented labour markets; reducing the indeterminacy of labour through recruiting workers with the appropriate social, tacit, and aesthetic qualities; and managing labour mobility.

Methodology

This aim of this paper is to explore employers perceptions and attitudes to British and migrant workers in hospitality. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were utilised with twelve managers who are directly responsible in recruiting employees in hospitality. Additionally three managers of recruitment agencies and three university academics were interviewed in order to investigate if professionals who are not in the operations shared similar perceptions with that of operations managers. The choice of a qualitative approach versus a quantitative was mainly because of the need to achieve a deeper understanding of the issues involved. A quantitative approach could perhaps yield more easily generalised findings but the findings would not be as detailed. Furthermore there is already in the literature enough quantitative analysis of the subject (e.g.: Home Office, 2006; People 1st , 2006) and the authors identified an opportunity to explore deeper the reasons behind the relatively lower number of British nationals employed in hospitality organisations in London. Using the Mintel classification of the industry's subsectors the authors targeted the hotel and restaurant subsectors as the more representative based on number of people employed. The authors then utilised convenience sampling to approach managers of such organisations with a minimum of five years managerial experience within London. The Interviews took place during May and June of 2007.

The four criteria as proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1981) for evaluating qualitative findings and enhancing trustworthiness were analysed. That is the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the interview data was evaluated. Although the credibility, dependability and confirmability of the data could be accepted, due to the nature of London as a capital city receiving higher levels of immigrants compared to the rest of the UK the transferability of the data is questionable. In order to avoid cultural bias and stereotyping, quotes that are unfavourable for a particular nationality were considered only if the interviewee was of the same nationality

From the hotel sector three general managers and five heads of departments were interviewed. Each manager was from a different hotel. The sample included one budget hotel, one boutique hotel, three four star hotels and three five star properties. Hotel room numbers ranged from 75 to 350 rooms and average room rates ranged from £55 to £215. From the Food and Beverage Management, three Restaurant Managers and one Pub Manager were interviewed. Restaurant sizes varied from 80 covers to 180, two restaurants were independent and one restaurant and the pub were part of a chain. The three academics were employed in higher education institutions lecturing in hospitality management and all three have previous industry experience in the UK. The academics were deemed an appropriate addition to the sample as they could provide insight to student recruitment nationality percentages in hospitality management and related courses. Finally the three recruitment managers are from major recruitment agencies based in London. Considering that a large proportion of hospitality operations recruit a large portion of their workforce through recruitment agencies it was deemed important that recruitment managers views were included in this study. After content analysis of the interview scripts the findings were organised into three sections to match the themes discovered through the secondary research. First any findings relating perceptions of specific factors influencing recruitment (such as personality, attitude, skills). Second characteristics of the industry coming into play when recruiting. And third perceptions of nationality or culture as a factor influencing recruitment.

The main limitations of the sample is that it is a convenience sample and that it does not include all the subsectors of the industry although it does highlight some key areas in hospitality recruitment and in some cases verifies the findings outlined in the literature review.

Findings

Recruitment in hotels in London is rather a simple procedure. "Hotel recruitment context, labour market constraints and selection decisions makers vary according to size and ownership/management structures" Lockyer and Scholarios (2004, p. 127). In London hotels usually for the front office or direct customer contact positions employers rely mostly on unstructured application forms and interviewers (Poppleton, 1989) and recruitment in hotels tends to be informal, simple and reactive (Kelliher and Johnson, 1987). The size of the hotel often is related to the presence or role of the personnel person. In larger hotels 41% had at least one human resources employee, while in the smaller hotels only 7% (Lockyer and Scholarios, 2004, p. 129). The findings of this research support this with most head of departments conducting their own interviews and most human resources functions or in the cases of smaller hotels, the accounts department becomes responsible for the paperwork and payroll. For restaurant managers this is even more so as

restaurant managers of independent restaurants do not have a human resource department to rely on for support with recruitment activities. As a Front of House Manager of a five star hotel puts it; *"I have the first word. The General Manager likes to be around, I influence him but he loves to meet people before we hire them especially for the Reception Manager positions"*.

Key Factors Influencing Recruitment

Personality was one of the factors keep turning up in the interviews with all the interviewees. Managers suggested this as a primary factor and even academics suggest there is a difference in personalities with students studying hospitality as opposed to generic business studies.

"In housekeeping, even in Reception you don't need a huge amount of skills, you look for personalities... it's all about people, it is not about certain skills; you learn skills as you go along" Operations Manager of a Budget Hotel

"Hospitality students are often very passionate, and seem to have more outgoing personalities when compared to our business management students" Senior Lecturer, University.

"In this kind of job I look how this person will be keen on working within a team, it's more about personality, it doesn't matter for me if they have any experience" Head Concierge 5 Star Hotel

"We are looking for outgoing people with great personalities but ones that can also read the customer and use their common sense, we often have business people eating and the last thing they want is someone been too friendly" Restaurant Manager, Chain restaurant.

Other factors that emerged were approachability, warmth and friendliness especially in front of house jobs.

Industry Characteristics and Choosing Hospitality

Low wages, long and unsociable hours are the main reasons for not going into hospitality as a career, according to all respondents. *"Hospitality jobs are not seen as a profession they are seen as second class jobs"* Front desk Manager 5 star Hotel.

Bad conditions at work are also the reasons for such a high labour turnover in hotels in London. People generally tend to stay in one place for a year or even just few months in order to get some experience or to improve the language and then they usually look for better paid job often in a different sector. *"In restaurants often people get minimum wage and many count on tips, this can really put people off if you also think of the long hours and hard work involved"* Restaurant Manager. *"Split shifts, low wages long hours... you can see why it is not everyone's cup of tea"* Pub Manager.

Interestingly academics seem to share the view that often hospitality students may go for a placement and then return one year later having been put off by their experience in the industry.

Culture and Nationality

The findings suggest that quite often there is a clear distinction between British and other nationals when it comes to how they view hospitality. According to the majority of interviewees British people don't see a hospitality job as a professional career, the "serving" other people is the repelling factor. *"British nationals associate hospitality with long and unsociable working hours they do not regard it professionally and often view it as a stop gap to another career. However those that are following it as a career are very passionate and tend to do well, they are dedicated and love what they do"* Recruitment Agency Manager.

With the exception of one interviewee all others pointed out that it is not the wages but the type of job that is not attractive to British Citizens. Other causes mentioned were: very hard and demanding work and bad conditions at work; *"Hard work is not particularly a strong skill of British people"* General Manager, Boutique Hotel

The findings suggest that the low interest in working in hospitality among British people may also be attributed to culture. *"Hospitality is not a career, it is a lifestyle"* Operations Manager, Budget Hotel. *"This country doesn't have such a big tradition in serving other people"* Head Concierge, Luxury Hotel.

The findings suggest that in London the percentage of British nationals applying for such jobs may be far smaller than

the current statistics suggest. The proportion of British people applying for the jobs in hotels is very low and the results showed that in one case from about seventy applicants five were British, in other hotel about 15%, and one respondent said there is only 1% British people applying and in the same hotel from about 70 employees – 3 are British Citizens. On average from responses of all interviewees the figures of British in hospitality organisations are quite low from 1% to 10% for entry level increasing to 15% to 30% at management level.

"I think if all the non-UK nationals suddenly walked out then a lot of hotels would have to close, cause there aren't enough English people working for them" Reception Manager, Luxury Hotel.

"Without the Polish and the rest of the Eastern Europeans I have no idea how some of our restaurants would function..." Restaurant Manager, Chain restaurant.

The research found out that often interviewees attributed different set of skills to different nationalities. The respondents agreed that some people have different attitude to work depending on where they come from. For example, people coming from countries with a high unemployment rate are happier to get a job therefore they work harder to keep it.

"British people think if they don't get one job they can always find another one so they don't appreciate it as much" also *"A lot of hotel people are quite lazy if it comes to recruitment and foreigners are kind of easier to give jobs to because they are easy to find"* Reception Manager Luxury Hotel

"British students seem to like their 9-5 job and it is not likely they will stay in hospitality" University Lecturer.

According to the findings employers perceptions are that Polish, Lithuanians, Italians or Spanish adapt to the business requirement very well, they don't mind working extra hours or to do something that is not in their job description. Another theme that emerges from the interviews is that of hospitality graduates not continuing working in the industry soon after they graduate. To summarise one respondents personal experience, from the 48 students graduating in his year only 6 persons were still in hospitality. Most of the other 42 chose to pursue a career in retail or banking. In his view British may study hospitality management but will then pursue careers into different sectors equipped with transferable skills from their degree; *"For many people it is an easy way to get a degree and then to look for another job"* Operations Manager Budget Hotel

The academics interviewed also seem to support the notion that British view hospitality unfavourably. From the three institutions the figures of British taking hospitality classes are very low with an average of only 23% for the 2007 cohort although the figure fluctuates from 20% - 30% for past cohorts. One academic noted an influx of students from Bulgaria studying hospitality. The major cultures that see hospitality favourably according to the majority of the interviewees are Mediterranean, Eastern European and Asian.

Conclusions

The primary findings of this paper mostly agree with the relevant literature. Employers seek people with the right personality and attitude when it comes to employing someone for the hospitality industry. However it has become apparent that there already is a trend towards migrant workers being looked upon more favourably than their British counterparts. In London there is a major deficit of local workforce within the industry. Although there is a good number of other Europeans ready to work in the industry, considering that London is heading towards the Olympics and will require a vast number of employees, both industry and academia should strive to change perceptions of the industry amongst the young population of the UK. Employers seem to believe that the curriculum delivered in hospitality related degrees allows for easy transferability to other sectors whereas academics believe the industry tends to give a bad image to young employees wishing to join it. Addressing the major issues associated with the industry, such as the low wages and bad working conditions would be a good step towards a better image of hospitality. Overall based on the findings it could be argued that employers tend to be more favourable over migrants and this may well affect their final decision in the hiring process. Although currently this is more of a necessity due to the fact that migrant workers outnumber British ones, the findings imply that as perceptions over different nationalities are formulated, choosing migrant workers over British may become a matter of choice. It then becomes increasingly difficult to shift perceptions formulated over a number of years. In the long run it should be considered if it is sustainable having a workforce that is mainly from abroad and the effects of this to the rest of the economy.

Suggestions for further research

Considering the limitations of the data, it would be worthwhile to investigate employer's perceptions of migrant workers further into all subsectors of hospitality as well as further education establishments (not just higher education). A survey of young British students aged 12-15 would be a good indicator of perceptions of hospitality amongst the British population. Triangulating the qualitative findings with quantitative ones from the surveys as well as secondary data from the existing literature would give a clearer picture of the situation.

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Implications and Issues of London 2012 for the Sites' Residents

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Keywords: Olympics, London 2012, Legacy, Social Impacts, Residents, Relocation

Abstract

The Olympic Delivery Authority have agreed to undertake in the process of organizing the London 2012 Games, one of the biggest urban regeneration projects seen in Europe for many years, destined to create a new town the size of Exeter once the Games have finished (ODA, 2006). Through examining past Olympic Games, this paper explores some of the soft legacy implications of the London 2012 Games and in particular the fate of the only 'residents' being relocated from the Olympic Site, twenty-one traveller families. The paper concludes with a discussion on how legacy can be sustainable and for the benefit of the whole community rather than particular sections.

Introduction

The awarding of the 2012 Olympic Games to London is cited as being the catalyst for one of the biggest urban regeneration projects seen in Europe for many years, destined to create a new town the size of Exeter once the Games have finished (ODA, 2006). Whilst the media focus is on the development of the hard infrastructure needed to host the Games, it is the softer legacies and their long term implications that are often overlooked, and whilst previous Games have discussed the social implications of housing issues in relation to communities (Lenskyi, 2002, Hughes, 1993) there has been little written in the past regarding other communities/businesses that are relocated because of the Games' infrastructural requirements. This paper sets out to explain the fate of the site's current 'residents', what is happening to them at the time of writing, and what the plans are for their future. There are a wide variety of businesses/activities including a community church, cafes and scrap metal merchants yet there are only two residential communities in the area currently being developed, the Waterden Crescent travellers' site in Hackney and Clays Lane travellers' site in Newham. This paper will focus its attention to the relocation issues of the travellers from the Waterden Crescent site by examining the social implications of the relocation of this community and also highlight the unexpected and exceptional costs involved in the relocation processes. The paper will conclude with important lessons for London from the experiences of past Games, especially Barcelona (1992) and Sydney (2000).

Event Legacy

Research on the social impacts of events, although limited, is becoming increasingly important (e.g. Waitt, 2001, Fredline et al, 2003, Cashman, 2006). Although such impacts are difficult to quantify, they are often examined through the residents' perceptions of the impacts (Fredline et al, 2003). Such impacts include developing a sense of place and community pride in conjunction with quality of life (Ritchie and Smith, 1991, Cashman, 2006) and the enhancement of social capital, vital in maintaining a productive and lively society. It is often assumed that if the economic benefits of an event are positive, it should therefore follow that the social impacts will also be positive. However, Malfas et al (2004) argue that whilst events may seem attractive through the positive economic benefits they accrue, the social impacts can be negative, particularly when residents are forced to leave their publicly funded housing projects to make

way for event infrastructure. They highlight the case of the Atlanta 1996 Olympic Games when 9500 units of affordable housing were lost and \$350 million in public funds diverted from low-income housing and the social services to fund the Olympic preparation.

Olympic Event Legacy

An International Symposium on Legacy of the Olympic Games (1984–2000) was held in 2002 in Barcelona to discuss and explore the various aspects of Olympic Legacy at all levels. One of the findings was that legacy in Olympic terms is crucial in the organization and the final evaluation of Games but that in attempting to define legacy, there are several meanings of the concept. This is especially true because of different translations of the term within the various languages and cultures of the Olympic family [Hiller (2000), for example, prefers to use the word outcomes instead of legacy].

The symposium agreed that legacy is multidisciplinary and dynamic and evolving constantly, therefore whilst being difficult to define *it is a local and global concept existing within cities, regions and nations as well as internationally*. (IOC, 2003, p.1). The symposium also discussed and explored various aspects of Olympic legacy at all levels and agreed that there has been insufficient attention given in the past to the outcomes of legacy and identified a great need for research into legacy and in particular that legacy building must start with the decision to bid for the games, (Ritchie, 1987; Cashman, 2006).

Sustainable development is paramount within legacy planning in order to protect the environment, and the infrastructure for the games should be beacons of environmentally friendly development, thus satisfying the IOC's third dimension of environmentalism. In April 2007 press cuttings (Harrison, 2007) reported that the UK bid was beginning to suffer through the lack of guidance and control from a central 'Legacy Tsar'. The regeneration opportunities would not be maximized until such a role was appointed as *"too many agencies and government departments are currently involved with no clear leadership"* Clear leadership is required for the 2012 legacy for it to maximize its potential positive benefits and impacts, yet for this to happen it needs to be centrally coordinated.

Social impacts

Traditionally legacy denotes something that 'kicks in' as a result of something related happening as it is pre planned to happen at a certain time in the future. Volrath (2005) argues that legacy relates to the aims, motives, meanings and impacts of the Olympic Games but more specifically the results, effects and long-term implications. There are various types of legacy, yet it is only economic and to some extent environmental, physical and technological legacies that can objectively be measured. Psychological, social, cultural and political legacies are more subjective and therefore more difficult to quantify and therefore accurately measure. The social and psychological legacies are sometimes the most valuable (Ritchie, 2000), those that will 'enhance the long-term well-being or lifestyle of destination residents in a very substantial manner – preferably in a way that reflects the values of the local population (p. 156).

Ritchie (2000) writing after the Calgary and Salt Lake City Olympic Games, suggests that events can provide a short term period of intense excitement for residents of host cities and even nations and long term awareness of the host destination in tourism markets, yet without the proper strategic planning it can be difficult to justify the immense expense involved. He further believes that legacy planning in respect of the Olympics can lead to the attainment of long-term benefits to host destination residents. The city transformations that can be undertaken as a result of hosting mega events depend on the quality of the planning and this will therefore include any housing issues. For a sustainable legacy, all the objectives of the various stakeholders need to be addressed and a holistic approach taken to the development and management of the Olympic facilities. The regeneration dividend should become a blueprint for future Olympic cities.

Olds (1998) writes about the Canadian case studies of Expo '86 in Vancouver, 1988 Calgary Winter Olympic Games, and the rejected proposal to host the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Toronto by focusing on the event organizers having to deal with event related housing impacts through forced evictions. He purports that for an effective community force to be heard an organized, strategic and resourceful coalition of community –based groups is vital in order to have the capacity and knowledge base to deal with the complexity of the situation, to act forcefully at whatever level and to formulate diverse strategies in order to take advantages when they arise to seek to achieve common goals. A similar situation also developed in Sydney, with the issue of how best to deal with the homeless population prior to the Games'

commencement. In addition, many people suffered above inflation rent increases on their properties from unscrupulous landlords in order to force them out their homes to capitalize on the money to be made from the Games (Beadnell, 2000). Special powers were invoked by the Olympic Authorities through Sydney City Council Rangers who were given the powers to remove anyone deemed a nuisance. Hamilton (2000) wrote that Sydney's newest Olympic Sport was the 'rent race', and McWilliams (2000) wrote at the same time that some tenants who had lived for 20 years in the same building were given 60 days notice to move out. According to Hall (1997) the creation of 'desirable' middle-class living conditions is often a precursor for higher property prices and increased rents. In addition there is also the risk of a breakdown in communities' structure as seen in Barcelona 1992 with the relocation of many of the indigenous communities from the waterfront to several separate sites around the city. For the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul, 'undesirable' communities were either relocated away from the Olympic Torch relay route, so as to avoid being filmed by the media and in some places hidden behind a new wall specifically built for this purpose.

Examples from Barcelona 1992 and Sydney 2000

The planning of the Barcelona Games of 1992 became part of an overall strategy developed in the post-Franco era of the 1970's in order to give the city back to the people after years of dictatorship rule and especially to stop the city 'turning its back on the sea' (Gold & Gold, 2008, MacKay, 2000). Influential politicians began an extensive programme of opening up spaces and transforming former industrial land into facilities for the Catalan people. One such influential local was Juan Antonio Samaranch, who encouraged Barcelona to apply for the hosting of the Games to compliment the plans already in place. The plan was to decentralize the games around the city by upgrading existing sporting facilities and spreading the facilities over four distinct areas. The main site being Montjuic where there was already a stadium, built in 1936, and a swimming pool constructed in 1972. The Diagonal was an existing sporting precinct and Parc de Mar and Vall d'Hebron also had existing facilities (Cashman, 2006). This conscious decision to spread the facilities around meant building a completely new Olympic village within the city, but away from the sporting facilities. The decision was made to develop the housing on derelict land close to the waterfront which had only limited light industrial use and was large enough to accommodate the building required. Rather than build the minimum facilities required various Spanish architects were commissioned to build blocks of apartments all with different designs that would be suitable for local people to move into post Games. As part of this overall project the opening up of the seafront again, away from industrial use, was completed but not without having to relocate a community of gypsies who had made their home along the waters edge in shanty towns, especially Somorrostro and Camp de la Bota (Walker and Porraz, 2003). The majority of the gypsies were rehoused in apartment blocks on the periphery of the city and whilst many have remained in these blocks some have returned to living in shanty towns in other parts of town as the only way of life they understand and also through disputes with other residents who disapproved on the gypsies moving in. However the developments in Barcelona continue to this day and rather than the Olympics being a catalyst for urban change (Chalkey and Essex, 1999) they have helped to accelerate plans that have been progressing for the last 30 years. There were no plans post the games to keep any of the newly created housing for social housing, but the city has recognized this need now and in its new developments are stipulating, in some cases, that approximately 25% of new units are available as social housing to be rented (Walliser, 2004) rather than forcing these renters to live on the periphery of the city and thus being socially segregated and polarized (Beckhoven et al, in press).

For the 2000 games, Sydney, in contrast to Barcelona, opted to develop a large urban project on the western edges of Sydney, despite there being many existing sporting facilities around other parts of the city. The original site selected in Moore Park was rejected by the residents, therefore for the 2000 bid Homebush Bay was selected so all the facilities could be contained in one site, with a few small exceptions. The land was similar to that used in Barcelona in that it was derelict with a few small businesses remaining but with no residents who would need to be relocated. The land had been identified for urban renewal in the 1970's and in the intervening years many businesses including a large abattoir was relocated, losing the local council of Auburn rental incomes of nearly \$1m, which has resulted in cuts in budgets to facilities provided by the local council to their citizens (Cashman, 2006). The development of the facilities for the Games was closely monitored by Greenpeace and therefore became known as the 'green games', thus satisfying the IOC's third dimension of environmentalism. However, the properties that are now residential suburbs are built on former contaminated soil and the local waters are still polluted, yet they obtain premium prices on the open market. Further extensive developments have taken place around the park thus alienating the poorer social classes even further,

but none of the properties have been kept for key workers thus having integrated housing. There was little post games planning for the facilities and whilst the games gave great hope to the local residents of the nearest suburb of Auburn; they have gained very little from being the nearest community to the Olympic Precinct. Here the local council did not have an open relationship with the Games organizers and thus their role as stakeholders within the pre and post planning stages was largely ignored (Curtin, 2007). Felli (2004) argues that partnerships in the organizing of the games will only succeed if three basic principles are adhered to; a clear understanding of each parties defined contributions; mutual confidence and understanding through effective monitoring, early identification of problems and risks, sharing information, use of previous games experience, transparency, and commonality of language and competent collaborators sharing common values. Searle (2002) argues that the attraction of new world-class sporting facilities in a country so sports orientated helped gain public support for the new infrastructure developments.

The London Legacy

When London won the bid to host the games on 6th July 2005, the London 2012 games vision was underpinned by the themes of delivering the experience of a lifetime for the athletes, leaving a legacy for sport, benefiting the community through regeneration and supporting the IOC and Olympic movement. The regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley will involve the regeneration of an entire community for the direct benefit of everyone who lives and works there at present, involving significant social and economic advancement. The bid committee believe this model of social inclusion will open up opportunities for education, cultural and skills development and jobs not just across the London area but also across the whole of the UK (London 2012 Candidate File, 2005a).

The Lower Lea Valley area earmarked for the Olympic Development is derelict and polluted land that has suffered from decades of under investment. The developments will become the biggest regeneration project in Europe in 150 years. The intention within the games legacy is to plan a network of restored waterways and new wildlife habitats to complement the physical infrastructure (London 2012 Candidate File, 2005b). The landscape is industrial and the surrounding communities are some of the most deprived in the country with 40% unemployment in the 5 Olympic boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Newham, Greenwich, Hackney and Waltham Forest, for example, 50% of children live in poverty in Newham (ODA, 2006).

The ODA (2006) say the games will result in a new town the size of Exeter being built in the Lower Lea Valley including 40,000 new homes with priority assigned to key workers, new schools, community and health facilities. New transport links including new roads, enhanced train services, line extensions and new stations in conjunction with improvements to utility infrastructure, including a new and improved sewage system will help to provide sustainable growth and development. The ODA's intention is to 'leave a lasting legacy for generations to come, improving lives and changing the face of London for ever'.

The Egan Review of April 2004 sets out the guidelines for sustainable development and demonstrates how Olympic regeneration benefits are interlinked with Sustainable Communities Plan (Vigor, et al, 2004). Governance will be a key element with clear rules and accountability being essential before any benefits can be accrued. The Mayor of London has therefore been given Olympic-specific powers eg overriding some existing planning laws. '*The LDA is the Mayor of London's agency for sustainable economic growth and is working to build a thriving economy for London's communities and businesses*' (www.london.gov.uk/londonissues).

The economic benefits are to be realized by The London Development Agency especially in their mission to acquire the land necessary for the building of the Olympic Park. This will include relocation of those businesses and other residents from the site of the park, including the Travellers Park in Waterden Road, The Evangelical Church and the East London Bus Depot. Other players involved within the regeneration programme include the Lee Valley Regional Park Authority, The London Thames Gateway Development Corporation and the 5 London Boroughs.

London Site Residents Experiences to date and Future Plans

It is the London Development Agency (LDA) who are responsible for acquiring and clearing the site for the 2012 games. They are working very closely with the people who currently live and work and run businesses on the Olympic Park. Within the designated area for the Olympic Park site developments there are two licensed Traveller and Gypsy sites one of which is Waterden Crescent in the London Borough of Hackney. The LDA has been working with Hackney Council

and the traveller families to relocate those families affected to new sites within Hackney that are as close as possible to their old site, particularly in relation to the children from the site and their getting to and from school safely. In total there are 20 families to be relocated and they have lived on their present site, which is licensed by Hackney Council, for 13 years.

Under the Race Relations Act, Travellers of Irish and Romani Gypsy heritage are officially recognised as ethnic groups. The Housing Act 2004 and Department of Communities and Local Government Circular give Councils a duty to assess the needs of the travellers and provide appropriate new accommodation alternatives. However, regrettably for the travellers there is no site large enough for them to relocate on mass and therefore three new sites have been offered which means splitting the families up. One proposed site is the Millfield Road Depot in the Lea Bridge area which is presently a domestic waste and recycling depot. Before any work can begin on this site it is necessary to gain permission for a change of use even in spite of the special Olympic compulsory purchase laws that were introduced specifically for Olympic development. The council have to go through the correct procedures and consider the views of the local residents. Then it will be necessary to relocate the waste and recycling site before the ground can be prepared for the travellers to have their new facilities constructed. This whole process has to take place before the construction can begin for the Olympic facilities. This then needs to be repeated for the two other gypsy sites plus for all the other businesses that have to be relocated from the Olympic park area. Currently, there is no confirmed timescale for the process, and efforts to identify a clear timescale have proved largely unhelpful, for example Guy Nicholson, Cabinet Member for regeneration and the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, whilst being interviewed by the travellers himself, suggested that *"I can't tell you exactly when you'll be moving because it's tied up with all sorts of things happening, least of all getting your new homes ready for you. But, rest assured, everybody is talking to everybody about it"*.

Each new pitch for each family will consist of an amenity block (kitchen, living area and bathroom), outside area, space for two caravans (as they still wish to have the option to travel especially for special social celebrations), parking and landscaped grounds. Guy Nicholson, suggested;

It's going to bring forward new homes for you and your families: new places to live for the future. What we've tried to do— and I think it will happen – is make sure that these new homes are better than the ones you currently live in, and are better places for the future... As a council we've asked that these sites are built to the highest standard. And that's not just about the home and the facilities, it's also about landscaping what's around your homes: the plants and the trees and the shape of the ground. We want to use the Olympics as a real opportunity to invest in your homes and to do it properly. The council also want to make sure the site is managed properly. They want to make sure the bins are emptied and the services work – electricity and water. So what we're doing is preparing properly so when we bring forward the new services for you in your new homes it's in the best possible way (Headliners 2007).

The issue also remains regarding the management of the relocation of gypsy families. Again, there is evidence that no clear planning at the local level currently, exists, as evidenced by Guy Nicholson's response to questions regarding the relocation process, noting that;

So far, what's been happening is that everybody's families have been talking to each other. And one would hope that it would be through that process that everybody would decide who they will live with (Headliners 2007).

The total cost of this exercise is unknown but is no doubt contributing to the rising costs of the whole Olympic Park project. Relocation is also subject to legislation that has in the past designated Metropolitan Open Land spaces, upon which this development encroaches so appeals and counter appeals are also taking place.

Even the gypsies themselves have voiced concerns through their Waterden Crescent Residents Group (WCRG), especially on issues such as schools, health and other local services. Circular 01/2006 of Hackney Council draws attention to the social, economic and environmental needs of the traveller community and the impacts on the community in general. It seems that the Olympic Legacy may both satisfy the needs of the travellers in providing for a new and improved site to reside (London Development Agency, 2006), however perceived impacts are not entirely positive. One comment in response to the frequently asked questions released by the London Development Authority suggested that;

The author [of the page] realizes that the relocation of the travellers will bring no benefit to the local

community. So instead of answering the question the author has put in some totally irrelevant propaganda about the Olympics (Gamesmonitor.org, 2008).

Perhaps supporting Monbiot's views that;

Democratic processes can be truncated, compulsory purchase orders slapped down, homes and amenities cleared. The Olympic bulldozer clears all objections out of the way. There can be no debate, no exceptions, no modifications. Everything must go (Monbiot, 2007).

Although such claims have been refuted, the perceived, as well as actual impacts need to be carefully managed.

Important lessons to learn and recommendations

Haynes (2001), comments on the International media reporting on the issues involving the Indigenous population in Australian, namely the aboriginal people. It could be argued that the Games themselves provided the impetus for reconciliation over past differences and that the games became a symbol of such reconciliation. This issue may arise in London but for an entirely different sector of the population, the travellers who have a permanent site on the area to be developed and also the largely diverse ethnic communities that live around the park.

For a sustainable legacy, all the objectives of the various stakeholders need to be addressed and an holistic approach taken to the development and management of Olympic Park. The regeneration dividend from London should become a blueprint for future Olympic cities but only through learning from past Games and the best practices that have emerged through studies of the social impacts of these Games. In particular, the positive and negative lessons from Barcelona, first with the relocation of the gypsy communities by putting them into high rise blocks without considering their cultural needs being a negative impact and more benevolently through making the games part of a city wide project for the benefit of all residents. In Sydney with there being no planning within the park for a mix of social housing, thus not benefiting the community at all and also having little post games planning for the facilities within the park thus precluding the local community from engaging with these facilities post games as being negative impacts. These are all lessons London can learn from and this paper has highlighted just one group of residents who have their own social impacts to be considered within the Games planning. This paper has also highlighted the complex dimensions of the projects needed in order to clear this site before construction can begin with the associated costs involved never being fully transparent.

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How can social marketing be used to promote sport?

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Keywords: Health, Social Marketing

Abstract

Levels of sport participation and physical activity remain low in the UK. One way of encouraging participation is through the use of social marketing. Social marketing concepts have been used to promote a range of health related area with some success and could be applied to the successful promotion of sport and physical activity. This article examines areas of social marketing that could encourage and increase participation in sport and physical activity.

Introduction

Sport England's vision is that England will become the most active and successful sporting nation in the world (Sport England, 2004). This is an admirable goal and no doubt fully supported by the fans of sporting events who like to see their team 'win'. The importance of sport and physical activity is also reflected in policy documents that highlight a reduction in morbidity and mortality from disease and illness with increased sport participation (see Sport England, 2004). However the reality is that sport participation in England is low, and participation rates in sport are decreasing. In 2002 the General Household Survey indicates that 59% of adults had taken part in sport or physical activity in the last four weeks. If you exclude those who walk, this leaves only 24% of the population who have taken part in sport or physical activity in the last four weeks. Of these the most popular activities were swimming, yoga/keep fit, cycling and cue sports (Fox & Rickards, 2002). In addition men are more likely than women to participate in sport and sport and physical activity levels decrease with age, with highest participation being in the younger age groups. So when faced with these statistics how will we become the most active and successful sporting nation?

A variety of organisations in England currently promote a range of sport and physical activity interventions, and yet these interventions are not increasing the general population's intake of physical activity in adequate numbers. There are a number of reasons why this might be, including the lack of facilities and structural barriers to sport participation. Coalter (2004) in addition suggests cultural attitudes and health promotion initiatives (among other areas) will dictate the future direction of sport and physical activity. To echo Coalter, this article proposed that health promotion initiatives are of major importance but their design is often the major stumbling block to success. For example encouraging people to take the recommend 30 minutes of physical activity five or more times a week (DH, 2004) is easier said than done. In addition the messages that promote sport and physical activity are often lost as they compete against a vast array of other media messages. Most people would find it difficult to recall a recent media message that encourages them to take part in a sport or increase their physical activity levels.

Possible Solutions

One possible solution to increase participation in sport might be through the use of social marketing. There is a growing interest in the use of social marketing to promote health and the UK Government in its white paper 'choosing health: making healthy choices easier' (DH, 2004) highlights the role of social marketing in changing health behaviours. In addition the use of social marketing has also been considered in the wider context of sporting behaviours as part of the World Anti-Doping Agency to try and eradicate doping from sport (O'Reilly & Madill, 2007).

The ideas behind social marketing stem from those in commercial marketing which has a major impact on behaviours of the general population. Stead et al (2007) draw attention to studies that demonstrate how tobacco advertising influences children's uptake of tobacco, alcohol advertising encourages sustained drinking, and food advertising

influences preference of food and consumption behaviour in children. After all if advertising was shown to be ineffective why would major corporations spend millions of pounds a year in designing evocative campaigns to promote their product? Hastings (2007) in his amusing editorial 'ten promises to Terry' proposes that one of the reasons why we have so many binge drinkers, smokers and unhealthy eaters is because the corporations pushing these behaviours are so much better at advertising than we are. It doesn't take much to verify this if you think about the products that you buy. At least one of your choices will be influenced by advertising in some way either from past experience or present exposure. As commercial marketing successfully influences all the unhealthy behaviours health practitioners are working to curtail social marketing may just hold the key to the promotion of healthy behaviours.

Social marketing applied to health is 'the systematic application of marketing concepts and techniques to achieve specific behaviour goals relevant to improving health and reducing health inequalities' (NSMS, 2006). The frameworks and principles that social marketing uses have proved to be adaptable to a variety of health contexts and its ideas can be fully integrated into a wide variety of health related interventions including tobacco, drug use, diet, family planning and physical activity. Social marketing follows a clear framework and this makes it easier to identify constraints and enabling factors to performing behaviours (Corcoran, 2007).

Research indicates that physical activity interventions that utilize social marketing can increase levels of physical activity and can have a positive association on increasing aspects of behaviour change such as self efficacy (Gordon et al, 2006a) and psychosocial outcomes (Stead et al, 2007). If this is the case then why are sport and physical activity interventions slow on the uptake to apply social marketing to interventions? Social marketing has the ability to offer practical and reliable principles that can be implemented in physical activity promotion interventions (Dearing, 2006), yet we are still reluctant to use the research and evidence base that has been building in recent years.

Social marketing has a wealth of potential, and the success of social marketing is based around a variety of features that can be adapted for sport and physical activity interventions. So what can we use from concepts of social marketing to promote sport? Below is an outline of eight elements of social marketing which can be applied to sport and physical activity interventions.

Firstly social marketing advocates a clear planning process. Thackery et al (2007) proposes that marketing begins with product development and consumer orientation, thus the customer is considered first in relation to product development and the strategy will be how the customer engages with the product. This is different to usual health promotion and education interventions that often start with a top-down design, implementation and evaluation strategy. Social marketing in sport should therefore examine the behaviour (i.e. football), and look at how this will be of benefit to the consumer alongside how will they engage (or participate) with this behaviour. This can then form the basis of the planning process.

Secondly social marketing uses a marketing mix known as the four P's. These are product, price, place and promotion/positioning. The product is the characteristics of the product (or behaviour) i.e. attractiveness. Price is the cost, value and importance of performing a behaviour (actual and imagined) including social, economic, psychological costs. The place is where the product (or behaviour) is available. Promotion/positioning is where the product is sold including publicity, message design and distribution. In addition the marketing mix questions posed by Kotler (see Kotler et al, 2005) takes these concepts further as he asks: Who is the product aimed at? What benefit will they expect? How do they plan to position the product? And what advantage does this product over others? A sport example of the application of the 4 P's might be, promoting a women's only weekly volleyball class in a local park. The product is the weekly volleyball classes and those participating. The price includes benefits, time, appropriate clothing or money for the class. The place is a local park. Promotion would be how this is advertised i.e. local newspapers and positioning is how the key messages are framed, for example 'meet your sporty neighbours', or 'enjoy volleyball in your local park'. In addition the promotion/positioning needs to be seen as 'advantageous' over other products (in this instance not partaking in physical activity).

A third aspect of social marketing is audience segmentation. Audiences in commercial marketing are divided into specific groups, and social marketing works in the same way by identifying a target group and their 'consumer orientation'. Populations can be divided by demographic characteristics i.e. geography, alongside social characteristics ie age and psychological characteristics i.e. motivation to play sport. Interventions can then be targeted towards these characteristics. Therefore an intervention to promote the uptake of female trampolining classes in a local school, would

not have one message targeting the whole school, but a series of messages (and possibly interventions) targeting specific groups within that school, such as 10 year old Asian girls who enjoy listening to bhangra music, want to exercise with friends and currently have low levels of physical activity.

A fourth aspect of social marketing is consumer research. This is the concept that what the consumer wants and needs should form the basis of a social marketing strategy. This means researching the targets groups needs, preferences, opinions, beliefs and other areas that impact on behaviour. As with the ideas around a clear planning process, social marketing places the consumer at the centre of an intervention. If a target group therefore wants tennis lessons at a local park at 7.00 on a Wednesday, with free refreshments and free racket hire, then this should form the basis for the strategy.

A fifth element is competition, and something that is often neglected in current health promotion and health education efforts. In sport interventions it is therefore important to identify conflicting messages that compete with healthy sport and physical activity ones, alongside examining other health messages that are being marketed. The challenge here is to ensure your behaviour (i.e. track athletics) is chosen over the competition for example non participation due to other competing interests (television watching, going to a nightclub etc), and develop strategies to address the competition accordingly.

A sixth element is exchange theory. To some extent traditional health promotion and education theoretical models include this element. It is proposed that when a consumer buys a product they will weigh up pros/cons or benefits/costs. The product chosen will therefore probably be the one with the greatest benefit at the least cost. These costs can be financial, time, enjoyment or other costs. In application to physical activity the benefits of the behaviour need to be considered alongside recognition of the costs. For example playing golf could be something that a person enjoys and uses as stress relief (the benefits) versus the costs (financial, not wanting to play by oneself).

A seventh element is the flexibility of social marketing to adapt to different target groups and settings. Social marketing can applied and implemented in a variety of settings, including workplaces, educational establishments and community based areas. In addition because the intervention is based around the target groups needs the intervention is flexible rather than static.

Finally an eight element is the monitoring and evaluation process. All good interventions will have a way of monitoring how the intervention is evolving and a way of evaluating the intervention for success and unexpected outcomes. Social marketing uses evaluation from the start of the planning process to the end and this ensures that the intervention evolves over time. Therefore the use of feedback is an essential part of the social marketing process, and a continual process throughout the intervention. As the target group is part of the process from start to end, this may mean aspects of the programme changes as the intervention evolves.

It is important to note that social marketing is not without its critics. Predominately criticisms are centred on the fact that individuals are the main focus of an intervention, and wider determinants of health, such as social conditions can be ignored (Grier & Bryant, 2005). This however can be addressed in the planning stages of sport related interventions, as if 'costs' identified through the 'exchange theory' include access to facilities or financial barriers, then these should be addressed as part of the overall strategy. For example there are numerous research papers citing barriers to sport and physical activity indicating that if these barriers are not addresses sport participation is likely to remain low. This is something that needs to be adequately addressed in any sport and physical activity intervention.

A second common criticism is that the philosophy of social marketing is 'manipulative'. Marketing techniques can be used to 'persuade' people to be healthy, rather like advertising persuades people to buy food products or washing powders. This argument however can be remedied by using consumer research before campaigns are undertaken so the target audience defines messages and therefore dictate what they want. Involvement of the target group means they will be buying a product created from their own ideas, and therefore cannot be classed as 'manipulative'.

While we try and achieve the goal of becoming a successful sporting nation and encourage participation in sport and physical activity the possibilities of social marketing should not be overlooked. Social marketing has a growing evidence base and a growing reputation, and those working in health, sport and physical activity fields need to ensure they explore the possibilities of social marketing to compete successfully in an increasingly competitive world.

Recommendations

- All sport and physical activity campaigns should work towards including current evidence of effective practice.
- Undertaking pre-research and including the target group in the design of campaigns is essential to foster a more effective campaign.
- The inclusion of social marketing concepts in the design, implementation and evaluation of physical activity and sport related health promotion projects, policies or campaigns deserves attention.
- The continuation of collation of research around the effectiveness of social marketing in physical activity and health promotion campaigns.

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About the Author

Nova Corcoran is author of 'Communication and health: implications for health promotion' (Sage 2007). She works as a Senior Lecturer in Health Promotion and Public Health at the University of East London. Her background is in Health Promotion work in particular the planning, design and delivery of health campaigns and programmes in a wide range of healthy lifestyle areas. Her research interests include communication and campaigns in health promotion and health promotion theory.

Reviews

Book Review: Gold, J. & Gold, M. (2007) *Olympic Cities: City Agendas, Planning and the World's Games, 1896-2012*. London: Routledge.

Reviewed by Charles Little: London Metropolitan University

When London hosts the Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2012 it will involve far more than just staging 29 days of sporting competition. Instead it will mark the culmination of one of the most significant urban transformation projects in the city's modern history, involving far-reaching impacts in areas as diverse as sustainable housing, transport and the cultural representation of the contemporary city. As its subtitle suggests, it is these realities of the urban agendas and planning surrounding staging the modern Olympic festival that lie at the heart of *Olympic Cities*.

The volume is structured around three key themes; the city's role in *staging* the Games, the agendas that underpin each city's involvement, and, finally, the *planning* processes that aim to deliver upon these aims. Part One begins with a comprehensive examination of the development of the Olympic City, tracing their evolution from the modest efforts of Athens, Paris and St Louis through to the mega-event of today. The authors also put forward a seven stage model for conceptualising the development of the relationship between the Games and host cities, which many will find helpful for stimulating further analysis.

Most previous studies of Olympic cities have focused almost exclusively on the Summer games, so it is pleasing that Winter Olympiads are given due attention in this work. Stephen Essex and Gary Chalkley contribute a valuable overview of the growth of this event and the changing urban impacts that they have contributed to their host communities. The chapter is rather short, perhaps reflecting the paucity of source material, but should serve as an excellent stimulus for further research into the topic. In light of this promising inclusion, however, the lack of any winter host amongst the city-specific case studies Part Three of the book feels like somewhat of a missed opportunity.

A particularly positive feature of the work are detailed treatments of both the Paralympics and the Cultural Olympiad, which are increasingly becoming integral aspects of staging the Olympic festival but which are not always given due attention in studies of this nature (by contrast, in this work the chapters are accorded equal billing and status to those on the Summer and Winter Games). The chapter on the Paralympic Games, which is a particularly welcome addition to the literature on the topic, begins by providing an excellent concise history of the development of the Paralympic movement, which many will find useful as a general introduction to this relatively neglected topic. It then continues with a detailed analysis of the impacts that staging the Paralympics has had on a range of hosts, identifying how existing traditions of disability rights and access (or the lack of them) have shaped the legacies of the Sydney, Athens, Turin and Beijing Games for the disabled citizens of those cities.

Part Two is billed as focusing on issues surrounding the planning and management of the Games. Aside from a useful initial chapter on the financing of the contemporary Olympics, however, the remaining contributions in the section come across as either somewhat mis-titled or out of place. Thus, the chapter billed 'Promoting the Olympic City' is in actuality an analysis of the strategies employed by cities during the bid process, and 'Accommodating the Spectacle' focuses much more on urban governance and security issues than on the notion of 'spectacle', whilst the concluding chapter on 'Urban Regeneration and Renewal' covers much of the same ground as the editors initial chapter in Part One. This criticism should not be taken as a negative reflection on the quality of these individual chapters, but rather reflects the fact that they do not quite gel within the overall context of this particular collection.

The book regains its stride in Part Three with a series of case studies of six past hosts (Berlin, Mexico City, Montreal, Barcelona, Sydney and Athens) and the two forthcoming summer venues (Beijing and London). Rather than simply providing overviews of each Olympiad, which already exist in other works, the strength of this section is that each contribution generally focuses on one specific aspect of staging each edition of the Games. Thus, for instance, the chapter on Berlin concentrates on the urban planning issues surrounding Berlin's stadium, Mexico City on modernity and Mexican nation-building and Sydney on cultural policy and planning. Olympic scholars will find the chapter on

Athens invaluable as one of the first in-depth academic analyses of the most recent Summer Games, whilst the two concluding chapters serve as excellent introductions to the forthcoming Beijing and London events.

Of all the chapters in Part Three, Daniel Latouche's contribution on Montreal stands out as being particularly memorable. Whilst acknowledging that the 1976 Games are deservedly notorious for their financial mismanagement and the legacy of debt that they bequeathed to the host city, Latouche asks whether the Games as a whole deserve their poor reputation. Pulling no punches in his analysis, he argues that the economic failings have only served to overshadow a litany of failures surrounding the Games. These were encapsulated in the fact that the only major infrastructure legacy of the Games, the new international airport at Mirabel, was itself such a failure that it was closed in 1992 after less than fifteen years in operation, whilst there were almost no overall benefits to sporting facilities and housing. Dubbing the games "an urban catastrophe", Latouche leaves little doubt that these games truly deserve their unenviable reputation.

Overall, this volume is an excellent addition to the literature surrounding both the Olympic movement and the planning agendas surrounding contemporary cities. Olympic scholars will find much that will stimulate and provoke, whilst the work boasts an accessibility that makes it an excellent teaching text for students. The book should also appeal beyond the sporting market, providing an excellent introduction to the Olympics to those from other academic disciplines.

Book Review: Allen, J. O'Toole, W. Harris, R., & McDonnell, I. (2008). *Festival & Special Event Management (4th ed)*. Milton: John Wiley & Sons.

Reviewed by Tom Lunt: London Metropolitan University

The fourth edition of *Festival & Special Events Management* continues the previous edition's benchmark for excellence. As such the book represents a significant contribution to the body of event management knowledge, incorporating knowledge from a variety of other disciplines including marketing and project management.

The authors draw on a wealth of professional and teaching experience. Johnny Allen, Rob Harris and Ian McDonnell are based at the University of Technology, Sydney and together set up the Australian Centre for Event Management while William O'Toole is the Director of the project management graduate programme at the University of Sydney. All four authors have worked on a variety of corporate, public and tourism related events in many countries. This fusion of professional and academic competences is what makes *Festival & Special Events Management* such an authoritative publication.

The book's eighteen chapters are divided into four parts. The format is clear and well organised providing a practical guide to the discipline of event management. Each chapter is prefaced by a set of learning objectives and concludes with a summary and questions designed to help the reader to apply the concepts and ideas to their own context. Event case studies are provided to illustrate the themes of each chapter and there are questions for the student to consider or the teacher to use in class. The case studies have been updated from the third edition and are drawn from a variety of country contexts which gives the work a cosmopolitan feel and helps to counter any suggestion that the authors' Australian base leads to a parochial approach.

In 'Event Context' the first part of the book, additional material is offered to an already comprehensive overview of the events industry. Chapter 2, Perspectives on Events is completely new and provides insight into the agendas of statutory, corporate and community bodies *vis a vis* events and discusses the implications for event managers planning processes. The chapter's case study 'Up... the Musical' gives a valuable commentary on the genesis of a corporate event. In particular the study offers the reader an opportunity to see how an initial client brief asking for a team building event to fire up staff at all levels of the company, masked the real requirements for the event to get individuals working together in order to achieve the first quarter's sales figures.

The second and largest section of the book, 'Planning' has been reorganised in a more logical format than in previous editions, for example the chapter on strategic planning is now dealt with before event conceptualisation. Furthermore new material has been added for instance, the organisational structures models have been related to actual events such as the Roskilde Festival and 2006 Commonwealth Games rather than hypothetical models.

The book describes a strategic planning process that, "...involves an event manager moving through a number of sequential and interrelated steps" (p.91). However, the authors could perhaps have developed a more comprehensive model of the strategic event planning process than that of Grant (2005). This model seems deficient in several areas not least in that if an event bid is rejected no opportunity for feedback and reflection is suggested. Furthermore, very little attention is given to strategic planning for existing events when in fact most events will have some history that should be factored into the strategic planning process.

The book has responded well to the criticism that earlier editions paid little to environmental issues with a new chapter entitled 'Sustainable Development and Events.' The history of the Olympic Games response to sustainability issues is examined. The chapter then focuses on Waste management and useful material on waste reduction is included. In particular the Waste Wise Events Toolkit developed by EcoRecycle Victoria (now Sustainability Victoria). Other environmental initiatives such as those of the US state of Wisconsin have also been covered. However, the very recent British Standards Institution's Environmental Event Management system is not mentioned. Drivers of the sustainability debate such as cost, corporate public relations, consumer concern and pressure groups are also considered.

Event Operations and Evaluation, the third section of this book gives helpful insights into venue choice, theme and health and safety affect the event manager. The science of Logistics is applied to events and evaluation techniques are also covered. Once again, the case studies bring the theoretical concepts to life, often in amusing ways for example the description of language difficulties and the weather at the Kuala Lumpur International Buskers Festival will draw a wry smile from any event manager involved in cross cultural collaborations!

The final section of Festival & Special Event Management looks at legal issues and risk management. While the authors take a predominantly Australian perspective the general rules are applicable to all event contexts. The authors definition of risk is comprehensive, "...event risk is any future incident that will negatively influence the event." (p.588) The authors warn against defining risk too narrowly as those issues at the event and suggest that fraud and misrepresentation of the event by inaccurate marketing materials can also be just as much of an issue as finance and health and safety.

The fourth edition of Festival & Special Event Management will be welcomed by students and teachers alike for its thorough, current and comprehensive treatment of Events Management knowledge. The authors state in the preface to the fourth edition that the book, "attempts to capture and refine this emerging body of knowledge, and to document it in a useful form for both researchers and practitioners in the field" (p. xiv). They have very much achieved this aim.

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Call for Papers – LJTSCI Volume 1 Edition 2 Autumn 2008

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