City/future in the making: masterplanning London's Olympic legacy as anticipatory assemblage

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Highlights

- The idea of anticipatory assemblage can be used to understand how urban masterplanning performs futures in the present.

- A methodology influenced by actor-network theory can use this concept to follow the career of promises of urban regeneration.

- Use of this approach can demonstrate how the ways masterplanning performs the future can exclude some perspectives while including others.

Abstract

To understand how the legacy of urban regeneration promised by events like the London 2012 Olympics is constructed, the masterplanning process is analysed as an assemblage of heterogeneous elements that construct futures as knowable and actionable objects in the present. Building on recent applications of actor-network theory to planning studies, the value of the concept of 'anticipatory assemblage' is demonstrated. The example of London 2012 masterplanning underlines how masterplanning as an anticipatory activity is performed through networks which are formed through the circulation of expectations and visions as networked 'intermediaries'. Through these intermediaries, ordered processes are set in motion, and requirements for subsequent activities established. Further, it is shown how

this use of concepts of anticipatory assemblages can help understand the political significance of masterplanning in the present, which depends on how organised forms of anticipation re-order social and material relationships in the present, including some actors as participants within anticipatory assemblages and excluding others.

Keywords

Anticipation, assemblage, Olympic legacy, masterplanning, regeneration

1. Introduction

 Planning is about the future – the intentional transformation of past and present. Modernist understandings of planning interpreted such processes of transformation as an expression of the will and imagination of planners and designers. Recently, however, the application of actor-network theory (Rydin 2013) and the related concept of 'assemblage' (Farías and Bender 2010) to urban studies has helped to challenge the primacy accorded to planners and designers as actors in theoretical treatments of their role in urban transformation The active role of a wide range of social and material (technological and natural) elements in planning practice has thus been recognised. This has in turn made it possible to understand how a range of actors may be included in and/or excluded from participation in the planning processes which shape their lives.

This theoretical shift has mean that the significance of futures in planning has become less emphasised. This is perhaps because the modernist foregrounding of human agency is only interested in futures as objects of representation. A different approach, and one more aligned with more recent theoretical developments in urban studies, would be one that examines the future not as a representation but instead as an aspect of assemblages themselves (e.g. van Driessche et al 2017). In this paper, we show how the methodological contributions of assemblage-based approaches can be further enhanced by considering how planning assemblages anticipate futures, and how these 'anticipatory assemblages' (Alvial-Palvacino, 2015) play an active role in extending and reinforcing networks. The anticipatory qualities of different assemblages can influence, we argue, which actors are included within them and which are excluded.

Research within science and technology studies (STS) on the role of expectations in shaping socio-technical change (e.g. Borup et al 2006) demonstrates that the future is neither reducible to the 'not yet', nor to an imagined object. It is also part of the present, insofar as action and imagination in the present *anticipate* the future. The future is not *given*, is not a fact (de Jouvenel 1967). Instead, it is constructed: projected, predicted, told in a multiplicity of ways that stimulate responses here in the present, with the intention of preparing for what may be to come, or of creating it. Anticipated futures become promissory objects around which active coalitions can be built, plans made, and strategies initiated. In this way, the future-in-the-present distributes agentive capacity among networks of actors. In this paper, we explore an approach to understanding this intimate entanglement of present and future *within* planning that traces the formation of anticipatory planning

assemblages using a combination of empirical methods (including document analysis, expert interviews and observation of consultation events), and which reflects the methodology of 'studying through' described by McCann and Ward (2012). We show how assemblages project 'futures-in-the-making' (Adam and Groves, 2007) and thus enact material, political effects of inclusion and exclusion here in the present.

Our case study for demonstrating the value of this methodological turn is the masterplanning process for the Olympic legacy, which has attracted much academic commentary in recent years focussed on different aspects of planning and impact (Girginov, 2011; Allen and Cochrane, 2012; Davis, 2012; Smith, 2014; Evans, 2014; Evans, 2016). Using document analysis, interviews and observational notes from public consultations, we map how expectations articulated within the first major plan for London's urban legacy, the Legacy Masterplan Framework (LMF) of 2008-2009, come to be solidified and reified as requirements for subsequent activities and processes. In particular, we show how futures are constructed during the masterplanning process, how this shapes the ways in which masterplanning includes and excludes, and how differences between formalised and informal participation shape the constitution of legacy itself. Data analysed was collected in 2008-2009, but the aim of our paper is not to present current data relating to the London Olympic legacy. Instead we use material that helps to highlight how the concept of anticipatory assemblages can be methodologically useful in the context of studying masterplanning and urbanism more generally. Our analysis demonstrates that our methodology can help understand how the urban as a collective endeavour of future creation (Amin and Thrift 2002) is constructed through anticipatory practices, and how those actors assigned roles in this

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endeavour as intended beneficiaries of legacy can then be denied the capability to ultimately define its meaning.

2. Conceptual resources: from visions and expectations to anticipatory assemblages

The explicit concern within planning for the future is embodied in the production of imagined futures that are then made to travel between actors, sites and events. This enables more or less stable visions of how places might be transformed to be produced. This process is, as has been widely noted, highly political, given that some visions and not others win out (e.g. Forester, 1988; Hopkins, 2001). The rhetorical qualities of visions can influence these processes (e.g. Hillier, 2007; Eames and McDowell, 2010).

Planning thus brings the future into the present in the form of concrete visions of how things might be different, and these visions not only represent futures but *perform* them in the present, exerting political effects and themselves become the subject of politics, insofar as they are seen as the expression of particular interests. Elsewhere, critiques of spatial planning have shown the close links between spatial imagination and utopianism (Harvey 2000; Raco et al 2008). However, there is another sense in which the future is *within* the present of planning (van Driessche et al. 2017). Visions themselves are products of anticipatory practices, organised modes of social action oriented towards the future. Moreover, such practices are not isolated, but are assembled together through contingent yet coherent combinations of social and material elements. To understand this requires that we connect planning studies to concepts developed in other disciplines concerned with futures.

In recent years, the role of envisioned futures and expectations in socio-technical innovation has been the subject of much interest in STS (Borup et al. 2006; Brown and Webster 2003; Wilkie and Michael, 2009). At the same time, this interest has also broadened beyond the role played by concrete visions of the future to examine how the ways in which practices *anticipate* futures can shape planned change, and also add to its political significance. While the sociology of anticipation is not perhaps as well established within STS as the study of how expectations about the future are produced, travel, and shape the present, it points to a significant emerging theoretical territory. Crucially, this terrain of anticipation includes both explicit representations or visions of possible futures, and what may be called latent or implicit futures, or futures in the making (Adam and Groves 2007; Groves 2017), the emergent future orientations embodied within socio-material assemblages.

The sociology of expectations in STS has long examined how the production of expectations (including visions, beliefs and their affective accompaniments) is a mode of anticipation in this sense, and particularly in the ways it is implicated in socio-technical evolution. Expectations may be embodied in texts and images, e.g. scenarios, projections, cost-benefit analyses, architectural drawings, artists' impressions of planned developments, and so on. It has shown how the dominance of some expectations influences how social coalitions form in support of particular innovation pathways.

The sociology of anticipation is somewhat broader in scope (Anderson 2010). Not only does it focus on the circulation of representations of possible futures, it also examines how institutions, their practices and the technologies which are a necessary element of practices are oriented towards certain forms of future-oriented activity.

That is to say, the sociology of anticipation is concerned not only with representations but also with the 'more than human' material aspects of how action is organised in the present to both anticipate and produce futures in particular ways. Anticipation, as a generalised capability, is thus conceived of as inhering in assemblages of representational and non-representational elements.

This more than human aspect evokes the perspective of Actor Network Theory (ANT), which has – as noted earlier – already been exploited in planning studies (e.g. Rydin 2013). ANT understands socio-material reality as produced through heterogeneous assemblages of representational and non-representational elements, including technological devices and practices in ways that, it has been argued, are directly complementary to assemblage approaches more generally (e.g. Müller and Schurr 2016). The sociology of anticipation has attempted to combine its focus on anticipation as a collective capability with ANT, resulting in the concept of anticipatory assemblages (Alvial-Pavalcino 2015; Groves 2017). This positions anticipation as a collective achievement dependent upon networked practices, technologies, actors, institutions, documents, and so on. Together, such assemblages perform the future in the present, making it possible to construct futures as representable and actionable objects, some of which then become themselves requirements for subsequent anticipatory work. As Alvial-Palvalcino (2015) argues, anticipatory practices – such as bureaucratic routines for carrying out cost-benefit analyses or planning inquiries, decision algorithms, public exhibitions of designs, and so on – add concrete content to these expectations. Effective agency is then connected to the carrying out of such practices, to the capability to bring the future into the present. Assemblages of

anticipatory practices form between actors engaged in them, creating spaces in which expectations are evaluated, tested and governed, and through which they circulate.

This general framing of the concept of anticipatory assemblage can be further fleshed out through certain central ANT concepts which, as Yvonne Rydin (2013) has argued, are particularly applicable to planning studies. In particular, Rydin singles out the concepts of intermediaries, obligatory passage points (OPPs) and black-boxes. Intermediaries are elements (such as planning documents or consultants) which allow an assemblage to form new connections between practices or consolidate old ones. OPPs are elements within the network that serve the function of temporally organising processes dependent on an assemblage by enforcing irreversibility (Latour 2005; Rydin, 2013), as in the case of consultations or consenting processes. OPPs provide 'arenas of expectations' (Bakker, Van Lente, and Meeus 2011), in which expectations are tested for qualities necessary for attracting support, such as plausibility and desirability (Selin 2011). Assessment of the aesthetic effects (Eidinow and Ramirez 2016) of expectations (e.g. whether an artist's impression excites hope or enthusiasm) as well as the pedigree (Grunwald 2014) of the information contained in them (e.g. the extent to which they show the imprint of appropriate expertise) shapes whether or not expectations become 'sticky' enough to act as influential intermediaries and help to catalyse change. OPPs also often enforce formalisation on a network. As Lieto and Beauregard put it (2013: 12–13), processes of formalisation 'mediated by juridical norms, official standards and cultural codes' are enacted via such passage points, simultaneously distinguishing 'informal' processes or assemblages from these formal, more legitimate processes.

Formalisation can thus be manifested in processes of governance. It also often results in 'black-boxing', where elements of an assemblage are made to travel in ways which also obscure the processes that went into their production. This is often, for example, the case with individual forecasts, designers' impressions of developments, scenarios and vignettes. It can also be true of whole packages of individual components aligned as broader futures visions, as in the case of waterfront regeneration (McCann and Ward, 2012). As such elements travel, they become intermediaries that seed new coalitions and network connections around the expectations they embody.

Black-boxed expectations can, once created and signed off by a range of actors, become not only promissory visions but also become performative, insofar as they serve as requirements or starting points for further processes, naturalising some future possibilities and making them appear inevitable (Rip and Kemp 1998). This can render them increasingly obdurate and difficult to question. This brings us to the question of how bringing together the sociology of anticipation and ANT can give us a perspective on the politics of planning futures which is distinct from a modernist reading while also pointing beyond previous efforts to employ assemblage thinking in this context.

The sociology of expectations alerts us to the ways in which some visions of potential futures and not others become objects of collective concern through impersonal processes that are not reducible to individual interests. Combining the concept of anticipatory assemblage with ANT concepts shows us how this power is exercised in socio-material networks via the production of intermediaries, involving OPPs together with subsidiary processes of formalisation and black boxing. We propose that this combination of concepts can allow us to understand how

assemblages come together through practices which produce expectations, and how

these expectations then recursively help distribute and consolidate across these

assemblages additional anticipatory capabilities. Expectations help enrol actors and

their capabilities within coalitions convoked around images of the future, which can

then enhance the power to perform, consolidate and govern visions of preferred

futures. At the same time, the distribution of capabilities they promote is unequal.

Imagining the future differently, but also in ways that can facilitate the emergence of

coalitions of actors, is a capacity that is, for many, inaccessible and instead limited to

'just imagining'. Even this imaginative activity may only be possible within the

constraints established by dominant visions.

This analytic insight takes us beyond thinking of future visions as expressions of

clashing visions and interests. Instead, we propose that the political effectivity of

planning can instead be understood through genealogies of how such visions take on

enough legitimacy to seed assemblages, and of how this legitimacy is conferred

through anticipatory machineries of discourses, practices and technologies that draw

on expert knowledges in order to construct expectations in the shape of plausible and

desirable representations of possible futures. In examining planning futures, the use of

the concept of anticipatory assemblage enables us to explore how the capacity to

imagine and enact the urban differently is therefore unequally distributed as an effect

of technologies of anticipation. Differences in degrees to which this capability is

available to different actors is at the core of what has been identified as the urban

'commons' by Amin and Thrift (2002). This concept, which McFarlane (2011a) calls

(drawing on Lefebvre) 'the right to urban life', reflects Hardt and Negri's earlier (2009)

discussion of the commons as a collection of practices of care and cohabitation. Roy et

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al (2015) give an excellent example of how the circulation of visions of 'regeneration' demonstrate how the urban commons in this sense is unequally distributed. They show how regeneration, packaged with images and practices of 'self-help' represented as a legitimate future form of community agency, formalises urban poverty reduction as a set of practices that legitimise specific, partial expectations about how a less deprived urban future would look. The power to effectively imagine and represent 'regeneration' as a vision is thus shown not to be possessed equally by all: it is therefore necessary to ask 'whose regeneration'?

Combining the idea of anticipatory assemblage with Rydin's ANT concepts can therefore enhance, we suggest, assemblage-based approaches to urbanism and planning, as formulated by including Farías and Bender (2010), Anderson and McFarlane (2011), Brenner et al (2011), McCann and Ward (2012, and McFarlane (2011a, 2011b). These show how the urban is a contingent gathering of social and non-human elements (Ranganathan, 2015) that,across space and over time, connect material forces together with meanings (Dovey, 2013). Methodological practices of 'studying through' (McCann and Ward 2012) enable the work of different elements (such as planning documents and visions of future developments) that become intermediaries for a network to be followed through sites that act as OPPs and arenas of expectations. In the case study presented in the following section, we show how the alignment of elements over time and its political effects can be better understood by following the ways in which anticipatory practices project futures in the present.

3. Methodology

The site of the 2012 Olympic Games, now the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, lies at the intersections of the London Boroughs of Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Newham, and Waltham Forest, all of which are situated within the boundaries of Greater London. The Legacy Masterplan Framework (LMF) was initiated in January 2008, four years before the opening of London's 2012 Games. Three planning/design firms — Allies and Morrison, EDAW (Eckbo, Williams, Dean and Austin; since renamed as AECOM) and KCAP (Kees Christiaanse Architects and Planners) – were appointed by the LDA as a consortium to develop it in tandem with the detailed design and construction of the Olympic Park

Between 2008 and late 2009, the masterplan proceeded according to the Royal Institute of British Architect's work stages from 'appraisal' Stage A to pre-planning, concept Stage C (RIBA, 2007). During this period, two major iterations of the masterplan were produced, known respectively as the Output B and Output C LMF. The Output C LMF, subtitled as 'People and Places: A Framework for Consultation', confirmed that the role of the LMF was 'to set out the scene for the legacy development of the site of the Olympic and Paralympic Games', a process of regeneration across a large site anticipated to unfold over several decades (LDA, 2009: 1).

Our research involved extensive document analysis, fifteen semi-structured interviews with experts involved in the process of constructing the LMF, and attendance at fourteen public consultations related to the Outputs B and C LMF. The interviews were conducted with senior urban planners and architects working on the LMF and managers at the LDA and Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA). We use this

material to map how expectations come to be solidified and reified as requirements for subsequent activities and processes. This enables us to examine how the practices and technologies that produce these expectations create and bolster the agency of some collective actors while obstructing the formation and/or recognition of other potential collective actors.

Our analysis focuses on showing how this methodological approach, as an example of McCann and Ward's 'studying through', can track the performative effects of LMF masterplanning as an anticipatory assemblage. First, we draw on our document analysis to identify how a variety of formalising practices create anticipatory documents and thus make the future knowable and actionable through the expectations encoded in these forecasts, design drafts and the like. Second, we explore how institutions are enrolled in the governance of the LMF by these intermediaries, creating a complex arrangement of social actors and institutions. Third, we show how LMF governance positions local citizen participation as an obligatory passage point through which the plausibility and desirability of expectations are evaluated. Finally, we consider the performative effects of these events themselves, drawing on detailed records of participants' reactions to them. Overall, the analysis shows how the exclusionary effects of masterplanning are a consequence of how it (as anticipatory assemblage) creates expectations about future legacy, and are specifically a consequence of the processes of formalisation involved in masterplanning practices. In particular these effects are felt through how masterplanning restricts access to 'the urban commons', the capacities needed to effectively imagine the collective urban future (Hardt and Negri 2009; McFarlane 2011a).

4. Analysis

4.1 Constructing the future

The LMF's legacy was anticipated to be a future for East London better than that which could be offered by any other development process. This better future is defined as legacy that will transform the site's social and material inheritance, as a place where communities 'have historically suffered from significant levels of deprivation and neglect', where chaotic, poorly-controlled development had predominated, and which had 'yet to achieve its full potential' in terms of the quantum of development it could accommodate as an acreage of urban real estate (LDA, 2009: 17-21).

The practices on which the development of the LMF relied include both 'calculation' and 'imagination' (Anderson 2010), in order to map tensions and problems pervading the present but also to project idealised solutions to them. These practices included quantitative research (in conformity with professional standards) on existing housing need and provision, on the existing 'capacities' of land (within the Host Boroughs, the Thames Gateway and at city-level), together with projections of the anticipated trajectory of the housing market and forecasts of population growth in London. From this collected knowledge, a scenario model for the Olympic site's future population up to 2028 was developed. Calculative practices thus provided a pedigree of plausibility (Grunwald 2014) for a modelled distribution of land uses, tenures, and

social infrastructures — libraries, schools, hospital beds and the like — together with forms of employment.

The work of calculation is intended to provide understanding of delicate relationships between human, physical and environmental forces that are expected to contribute to shaping the future. 'Like agriculture', the authors of the LMF write, 'urban development responds to markets, consumer trends and statutory controls by embracing the ambiguities and uncertainty of places where change is either in progress or anticipated' (LDA, 2009, 91). This positions masterplanning as creating assemblages able to anticipate markets, trends and the like, but also as able to recognise the inevitable contingency of both nearer and more distant futures. The Output C LMF thus constructs the future as open (Adam and Groves, 2007: 199) but also as 'indeterminate' (Anderson, 2010: 781), a response to present conditions as mapped via calculative practices. At the same time, it also creates expectations that this openness means the future may become 'perfectible' through regenerative action (Anderson, 2010: 780).

Regeneration requires the development of a long-term strategy predicated on guiding development towards determinate goals, driven by the various 'legacy commitments' formulated by the Mayor of London (GLA, 2007) as by concepts of 'urban renaissance' promoted under the Labour Government of 1997-2010 (see, for example, CABE, 2004). The meaning of regeneration relies on various 'black-boxed' pre-existing requirements taken from elsewhere, including measures of deprivation, precedents from other similar projects globally, and widely-circulating ideas of what Olympic legacies should look like (Allen and Cochrane, 2014). To serve as an effective intermediary to which the expectations of a wide range of actors can be aligned, a vision of regeneration has to

do more than just fit calculations into a spatial framework and then extrapolate trends from the present. It has to provide strategic guidance for negotiating an indeterminate future, which requires a more complex 'synthetic' process involving the use of creative skills in assembling calculative but also many other forms of knowledge — client ideas, policy and regulation, site-related data, experiences and perceptions, taste, precedents, consultation feedback and the like — and in translating them aesthetically into a set of expectations inscribed within a broader spatial vision. This involves the production of drawings that are both technical and imaginative, that rely on particular techniques rooted in spatial design disciplines, that are often scaled to represent reality with dimensional accuracy and yet which involve multiple steps, choices and decisions through which the information to be presented is selected. In relation to these multiple steps of selection, questions about 'whose regeneration' is being imagined could of course be raised.

The LMF's vision of regeneration emerges from a negotiation between quantitatively-based projections of the future and aesthetic renderings of a 'better' future that aim to resolve the challenges of the present together with anticipated future challenges of providing homes, employment and services for a shifting and growing population. Both practices of calculation and practices of imagination work to construct a 'possibility space' (Miller 2006) from within which particular possible outcomes are then selected in order to produce a vision. In the first part of the LMF, diagrammatic plans articulate regeneration as a story of change with a leading thread that extends out of the site's industrial past, through to the challenges of its post-industrial and borderland condition in the late twentieth century, before resolving these challenges in the form of six spatial concepts of regeneration legacy involving the

creation by the 2030s of a well-connected 'Water City' encompassing five compact, mixed-tenure neighbourhoods (LDA, 2009: 41-91).

Part of this negotiation between calculation and imagination is recognising that translating an open future into determinate expectations risks reifying what remains a provisional, unrealised vision of a still-uncertain future. Consequently, further and more detailed development of these plans is presented in the LMF as a development scenario. This is represented as reflecting the client and masterplanners' 'preferred' (LDA, 2009: 42) organisation of uses across the site, while at the same time being the most plausible given the goal of regeneration and the extent of available knowledge (Figure 1a). Therefore, the scenario, in theory, reflects the limitations of the anticipatory practices that have produced it, while also rendering the future more concrete. It embodies expectations designed to excite aesthetic responses and seeking to present a hopeful vision, yet one embedded in the past and present of the site.

To act as an effective intermediary for a complex masterplanning consortium and the public bodies governing the process, the LMF had to frame the relationships between past, present and future in a particular way. As one architect put it, the LMF was not a 'blueprint for change' but rather an 'open city' framework, containing ground rules for regeneration based on black-boxed ideas about it imported from other contexts, while also providing ideas that could be realised in different forms in negotiation between planners, site developers and existing communities (Senior Project Architect, Allies and Morrison, March 2009). Scenario design acknowledged the contingency of the distant future on dynamics that could be anticipated only imprecisely. At the same time, it drew on established ideas from elsewhere and data

characterising the site in order to construct a preferred future that could be considered legitimate and defensible.

Design practices produced not only orthographic projections of architecture, but also perspectival collages and computer-generated renderings (often referred to as CGIs) (Figure 1b). These show not only possible future cityscapes, but also position imagined end-users of regeneration within this envisioned future. One masterplanner explained that the LDA required depictions of future users to reflect the existing population to an extent — including ethnic makeup — while also envisioning an environment without material deprivation. Here again, combining imaginative representation with quantified research requires negotiation, in order to represent not just any possible future. A 'better', 'preferred' one is presented, but at the same time desirability and plausibility jostle against each other. Presenting the future as too certain or predictable risks undermining the scenario's plausibility, which will reduce its effectiveness as an intermediary. Simultaneously, anticipatory practices are necessarily selective. Images of desirable legacy need to be plausible, but the practices that create them perform acts of inclusion and exclusion to make them so (cf. Wilke and Michael 2009).

We now go on to look at how the possible futures and preferred futures represented in the LMF served as an intermediary for constructing a broader masterplanning assemblage via the governance framework put in place for the 2012 Olympic legacy. We show how this governance framework forms part of this assemblage thanks to processes of formalisation and black-boxing.

Figure 1: : a) Scenario plan showing the anticipated final arrangement of the site circa 2030; b) Draft illustrative perspective of the area near Pudding Mill (Both produced for the Output C LMF, LDA, 2009).

4.2 The Governance of the LMF

The complexity of the masterplanning development network shown in Figure 2 could be seen merely as a reflection of the sheer scale of the project. At the same time, however, the complexity here is also an effect of how certain intermediaries, anticipatory texts or practices, help to produce an anticipatory assemblage out of relationships between actors. In particular, the production of the LMF development scenario by KCAP, EDAW and A&M is conditioned by other intermediaries which lend consistency to the relationships between network actors. This process can be understood by examining how these intermediaries help to construct the future as knowable and actionable.

On the one hand, the LMF is subject to governance through a broadly hierarchical arrangement (Figure 2). The LDA, one of the former Mayor's functional bodies, managed from

above the involvement of a vast range of networked experts, authorities and activities. Yet at the same time, the emerging arrangement of governance actors requires the integration and coordination of a host of 'voices' (LDA, 2009: 27) including various tiers of government along with representatives of the six designated Olympic Partner organisations (Figure 2). Making the governance more horizontal in this way allowed inclusion of potentially conflicting interests in shaping future visions. In this way, the LMF's governance structures, as well as the LMF itself, came to embody an orientation to the future as open, complex and indeterminate.

Playing a key role as an intermediary in helping constitute these relationships among actors was the LDA's Code of Consultation (CoC). The CoC mandated inclusion of 'stakeholders' (including public, private and civil society actors) in helping govern and 'influence' (ODA/LDA, 2008: 6) the emerging masterplan. The goal was to enable different forms of knowledge and visions for legacy to enhance masterplanners' understandings of existing contexts and possibilities. But it was also intended to build the legitimacy of the project among stakeholders, to attract market interest that would help to '"de-risk" East London (Smith, 2012) and build local community support. 'Multi-level' governance (Tewdwr-Jones et al, 2006) and the use of consultation can of course both be seen to reflect broader rhetorics related to public-private 'partnership' and community empowerment (Imrie and Raco, 2003; Edwards, 2008). However, they also carry a specific anticipatory value here, aligning actors towards an open, indeterminate future that could nevertheless be 'tamed'

(Adam and Groves 2007) through governance structures that are inclusive of diverse

knowledges.
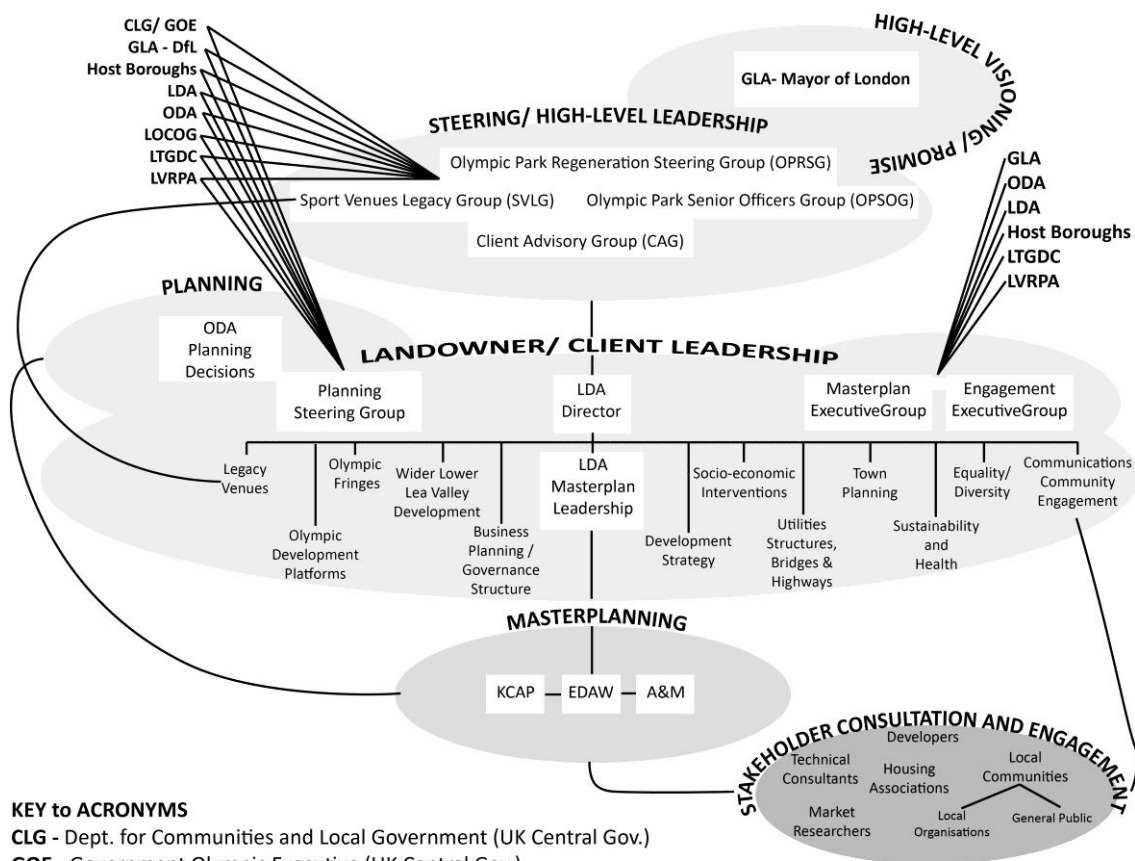
KEY to ACRONYMS
CLG - Dept. for Communities and Local Government (UK Central Gov.)
GOE - Government Olympic Executive (UK Central Gov.)
GLA - DfL - Greater London Authority - Design for London (London City Gov.)
LDA - London Development Agency (quango)
ODA - Olympic Delivery Authority
LOCOG - London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
LTGDC - London Thames Gateway Development Corporation
LVRPA - Lea Valley Regional Park Authority

Figure 2: Governing the future through masterplanning (author, 2017)

But intermediaries like the CoC do not simply stimulate the weaving of a web of relationships. They also condition when actors can interact and under what terms. The resulting 'trajectory' for development and decision-making (Groves, 2017: 34) helps align actors towards the future by conditioning the duration and timing of their participation within it. This trajectory sets up a temporal order within the process of governance via consultation, preparing OPPs and moments of formalisation through which some products of the process will become black-boxed and then positioned as 'requirements' for subsequent participation (Rip and Kemp 1998). Masterplanners explained the ordered flow of decision-making as necessary to keep to a structured timetable required to achieve final planning approval of the LMF by late 2011, in time for legacy development to begin straight after the Games. The CoC adds to the governance of the process by aligning multiple actors towards an open future, while also prioritising, temporally speaking, the contribution of certain kinds of knowledge over others. Economic data and actors able to produce it were enrolled in the process early on, with this. As one masterplanner put it:

There's a complex overlay of like… there's the grass roots public consultation of you and me and everyone. And there are groups which are better organised, which manage to kind of raise their voice - much more professional – with the

people who, in the end, make those decisions. And then there's the layer of, like,

the whole political game of London Mayor versus the local mayors [of the Host

Boroughs]. And then there is the economic rationale, the whole developer world. I

think these three [latter] forces are the one we are dealing with and, to an extent,

anticipating. But this whole soup underneath, I think, is absolutely meaningless

(Senior Project Architect at KCAP, November 2008).

The temporal priority accorded to economic data cements its place in a

knowledge hierarchy that operates across the masterplanning assemblage, making this

data into a required starting point for subsequent participation. Imaginative design

work but also wider public participation are then positioned as processes which have

to respond to this data. Moreover, economic data modelling is dependent on

processes of formalisation that further ensure the results of modelling effectively

become 'black-boxed' (Rydin, 2013). As requirements, these elements of the

masterplanning assemblage act as intermediaries both for the production of other

elements within the LMF (such as designed futures).

At the same time, the CoC also constructs the future as open as part of its

contribution to the governance of the LMF. Economic data provide a 'baseline'

assessment of the economic viability and thus the plausibility (within expert

discourses) of any envisioned 'better' future. While the data serve as necessary requirements for 'responses' to the LMF, space is cleared for the 'soup' of public consultation. But as the quotation above makes clear, these events were expected to be unruly and harder to interpret. Openness to a plurality of voices went along with a lack of clear channels within the process for representations from those voices to have clear effect on the LMF. Participation events where positioned at the culmination of Stages A-C as additional OPPs, but crucially ones unaccompanied by well-defined processes of formalisation for feedback. While the CoC constructed the future as open, as an object of consultation, it did not require or set out formal modes of governance through which data gathered through consultation could be codified and then made to produce required elements for subsequent stages within the design process. We turn now to the actual practices of consultation to further explore their role.

4.3 Positioning participation

Two consultation stages took place. The Output B LMF passed through a B-stage consultation, from which feedback was intended to be input into the formulation of the Output C LMF. On the production of Output C, C-stage consultation workshops took place. At both B and C stages, three kinds of workshops were held with those

defined as local stakeholders through the CoC. 'Issue-led Workshops' were targeted at voluntary sector organisations and community groups with local knowledge relevant to specific themes: Environment, Transport, Social Infrastructure, Parklands and Public Realm, and Housing. 'Local Workshops' were aimed at Olympic Host Borough residents. Additional road-show events presented designs in public spaces rather than designated consultation venues, using interactive tools such as large jigsaw-plans.

The Stage B and C LMF travelled to the workshops in the form of a 20-25 slide Powerpoint presentation that distilled elements from calculative projections and the synthesized development scenario into an executive summary of the LMF's vision of legacy. Although presenters emphasised the aim of 'learning from you', the events positioned presenters as active, unrolling the content of pre-prepared visions anchored to a baseline of black-boxed calculations, using expert language to do so. This linearity of event structure was even more evident at the road-shows, where engaging with the jigsaw puzzles led to a single "right" answer.

Presentationally, the tension between a black-boxed vision and an indeterminate future that flows through the LMF assemblage was resolved at these events into two juxtaposed possibilities. On the one hand, the LMF vision was unrolled in a linear way through the Powerpoint presentation. On the other, it was announced that the future depicted in the illustrative, preferred scenario would 'probably not look

like that,' though why was not explained. The workshops did not negotiate between these two poles by, for example, allowing participants an opportunity to explore alternatives in a structured and substantial way. The presentation suggested everything it contained was contingent, yet without offering any rationale, resources or pathway for challenging its vision. In presenting some expected near-term benefits, the presentation pushed away the promise of regeneration further into the longer-term future. Here too, an acknowledgement of uncertainty and openness positioned the audience largely as spectators waiting for benefits to arrive.

Operations of formalisation made this positioning materially effective within the events themselves. Presenters dealt with angry responses from audience members by taking them aside and requesting that they wait for subsequent break-out sessions. In these strictly time-limited break-out sessions, discussion focused upon generic questions only. Such tactics have been widely observed in participatory planning processes (for example, Forrester, 1998; Wright and Fung, 2003). Here, the selectivity of the anticipatory practices which characterise the assemblage of masterplanning is reinforced by formalised strictures that channel consultation towards certain concerns and away from others.

The meaning of whatever data consultations would produce was already anticipated. In interview, consultation managers suggested that though local people

possessed valuable knowledge of the present and past of the area covered by the LMF, they lacked the capacity to comment on long-term strategic goals, future needs, or drivers of change (cf. Cotton and Devine-Wright 2010). In contrast to the formalised filtering of economic and demographic evidence for the initial LMF into requirements for subsequent activities, data from consultations were passed over to the design team to interpret largely at their own discretion.

Overall, the anticipatory practices of consultation thus positioned local stakeholders as waiting for a regeneration legacy to be delivered as a gift (one that might not arrive, but could nonetheless plausibly be expected to). Presentation of the LMF was designed to 'instil' the masterplanning vision, performing an aesthetic of inclusion to help local stakeholders feel 'like it's their patch and they can use it on a daily basis and they look forward to using it, and they can make *good* use of it' (Senior LDA Consultation and Engagement Officer, 2009).

4.4 Performing legacy, performing exclusions

Constructing consultation as an OPP through which the already packaged LMF had to pass was done, we would suggest, in a way that excluded particular concerns

and voices. Observational data from consultation events underlines how the selective construction of regeneration legacy via the LMF was received.[1]

Our 'studying through' approach has shown how the LMF implicitly constructed the future both as controllable (and indeed perfectible) but also as indeterminate and contingent. At the same time, consultation events provide no tools for constructing alternatives comparable to those already legitimated from within the masterplanning assemblage. Attendees noted that there was no formal way to register claims of need on behalf of specific groups, or as individuals – as allotment holders or cyclists, religious leaders or business owners, for example. The LMF's formalised (though 'contingent') future represented instead an abstract conception of the 'public interest' at a level of quantitative and imaginative abstraction within which a multiplicity of sometimes conflicting interests and contested understandings of need could simply be dissolved rather than recognised. One particular area in which this was reflected was in discussions of the legacy parklands and whether these could include cycle club trackways, allotments and a range of other particular uses. Though often positive about the idea of a park, many people found the lack of any way for specific groups to lay claim to pieces of it frustrating.

Criticisms from audiences often focused on what had been 'left out' of the LMF. But at the same time, these same criticisms focused on the process of masterplanning

itself. Ultimately, they touched on what masterplanning as an anticipatory assemblage – by being constituted in a particular way – was lacking and, as a result, how it undermined their own capability for engaging in imagining alternative futures. Several examples follow. Some people felt masterplanners hadn't understood East London's "realities" as a basis for formulating their preferred future. These realities included practices people had used, across decades, to mitigate the effects of urban change in East London. The outmigration of East End residents from the host boroughs since the War– a process often blamed instead on immigration from overseas and the collapse of traditional industries – was discussed in these terms.

When a diagram illustrating different examples of what masterplanners saw as 'good practice' according to the London Plan (with its emphasis on compact city development) was shown in one housing-focused session, a participant angrily rose up and explained that the choice many families were making was to move to the Essex coast precisely to not have to live in 'high density housing' which they associated with dislocations of working-class communities from slum-clearances in the twentieth-century.

People also responded strongly to visualisations containing depictions of the future users of legacy. In one break-out session, one participant described how 'I can't see myself in these drawings'. She and others commented that the future inhabitants

depicted in collages didn't seem representative of the existing population of much of East London, being predominantly white and affluent. Some (white) attendees feared that, to the extent that legacy would be a local legacy at all, it would prioritise the needs of immigrant communities over those of 'indigenous' East Enders, recalling Dench et al's observation (2006: 230) that these latter groups had become set against 'political modernisers and the minorities who they regard as favoured by them'.

Experiencing herself as a spectator presented with the LMF as a black box, one participant likened the LMF to the 'O2 arena' as another instance where the future had been 'done for them [local people]'. She went on to describe a feeling of being deprived of 'the right to imagine' her own future, of being asked to acquiesce to a process within which she has been assigned a meaningless role. This led in discussion directly to questions of the purpose and value of consultation conducted according to the CoC.

Across different events, negative evaluations of the LMF saw it as neither a plausible nor a desirable representation of the future. Many of these judgements were rooted in the 'feel' of the presentation, with its aesthetic of improvement experienced instead as one of erasure. The concreteness, solidity and final quality of the translation of quantitative evidence into imagined form sat awkwardly with assurances that 'things could be different'. Audiences reacted by voicing a disparate collection of

alternatives: '[a] hotchpotch mix of uses along the same road as is typical of the East End, for example a factory next to a house, next to a local shop, next to a small park', as a 'village feel, but in the middle of the city feel', 'a Spitalfields type feel' or the 'lovely quality of Neal's Yard in Covent Garden [which is] slightly hidden and warren like'. These alternative imaginations of legacy evoked other historical London contexts, not the one-dimensional history of transition from industrial wealth to post-industrial ruination which planners and designers would make "better" but one related to forms of vernacular urbanism to which they felt attached (Selin and Sadowski, 2015).

5. Reflections: the politics of anticipatory assemblages

BY 'studying through' the career of the LMF through several obligatory passage points, we have explored, using a combination of the concepts of anticipatory assemblage and key ideas from ANT, how masterplanning as an assemblages of processes and practices is constructed. Our analysis has shown the utility of this methodological approach for showing that the construction of visions of legacy can actually shape how capabilities for imagining the future differently are distributed in the present.

The LMF presented legacy in three forms: as a concrete, solid vision rooted in expertise and data, as an indeterminate future which 'could be otherwise', and as a gift which people could look forward to. The practices, networks and governance structures that produced it performed legacy in the present that created limited inclusion but also created exclusion. While the governance of the LMF process enacted through the CoC brought stakeholders in, the aesthetics of the vision designed to resolve past developmental trajectories in a preferred future reinforced the sense audiences had of a process that passively acknowledged contingency without giving a wider range of stakeholders the opportunity to respond to and reshape it.

Outside the masterplanning assemblage, residents of the Olympic legacy boroughs are already involved in anticipatory practices of their own, as evidenced by the various ways in which local people have sought to mitigate the effects of urban change. Their ideas about urban aesthetics are also anticipatory, sketching what the urban future might be like in ways influenced by a range of experiences of the urban and by aesthetic, emotional and imaginative responses to them. It is not that people cannot imagine and strategically anticipate the future. Rather, consultation attendees found the means of building effective anticipatory assemblages were not made accessible to them in a way which enabled collective action.

A key point made by our methodological approach here is not that some visions – in the shape of texts of one kind or another – can leave out values or other elements which, when they go unrepresented, provoke claims about lack of voice and other forms of injustice. Rather, it is that anticipation, as a capability, is shaped and distributed differentially among actors thanks to the socio-material machineries through which the future is constructed to bear certain valences (hopeful, indeterminate, postponed, imminent etc.) and acted upon accordingly in the present. Such machineries or anticipatory assemblages, we have argued, are comprised of diverse heterogeneous elements (such as calculative practices, professional standards, codes of conduct, consultation events) with signifying as well as material elements. These elements circulate among actors in such a way as to create processes or networks, bringing them into relation and aligning them towards the future according to the valences it bears. These assemblages convoke in the present potential for action through the production of obligatory passage points and the processes of formalisation which add new elements, some of which later become requirements for subsequent activities. But the convocation of potential is also a selection of potential futures in the making. Nowhere is this invoked more clearly than in the quotation we gave from an architect who expressed the distinction created by the LMF process between meaningful input and a meaningless 'soup' of uninvited opinion.

Exclusion of one form or another may be a long-term result of legacy planning. But it is already felt in the present, through the reconfiguring of the anticipatory capacities to which different actors have access. The performance of regeneration futures is a partial, perspective-bound selection from the virtual possibilities of the urban commons, the collective potential for re-imagining and recreating collective life (Amin and Thrift 2002) that is constituted out of shared practices and webs of concern (Hardt and Negri 2009). Feeling unable to find oneself in the masterplanned future is not just the *ex post* effect of legacy. Instead, it is a specific affective impact of finding oneself positioned within collective anticipatory practices in which participation is performed not with but 'for you'.

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[1] The findings contained here cannot be seen as representative of the communities of the Host Boroughs.