

Using major events to increase social connections: the case of the Glasgow 2014 Host City Volunteer programme

Despite suggestions of the potential opportunity of using major events to generate wider social connections, most emphasis in event management research continues to be placed on future volunteering as a legacy from event volunteering. This paper examines the impact of a dedicated Host City event volunteer programme associated with the 2014 Commonwealth Games held in Glasgow which sought to use this major sporting event to enhance social connectivity amongst the volunteers. This initiative, designed in response to the perceived failure of legacies arising from recruitment to the main event volunteer programme, sought to leverage social outcomes beyond that of volunteering. Although the quantitative and qualitative evidence gathered at the event time and three years later indicates that the programme failed to realise all its social ambitions, it nevertheless offers valuable insights into policy and practice around how event management can and needs to adapt to help delivery legacies, and to use emerging opportunities to leverage other benefits. This study points to the need for more attention to be given to examine how unanticipated circumstances ahead of events can alter legacy planning and create opportunities for social leveraging.

Keywords: leveraging; event volunteering; social legacy; social connectedness; event management, Commonwealth Games.

Word Count: 4,616

Introduction

There is growing interest by policy makers and event managers in using major events strategically for social, economic and environmental purposes (Chalip, 2014). Event legacies have become a common feature of the rhetoric associated with the bidding and hosting of major events, helping to justify significant investments made to be host and garnering public support for the event (Koutrou et al, 2016; Preuss, 2015; Thomson et al, 2013). Beyond these more direct impacts, events are also increasingly being viewed

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3 as opportunities to leverage additional, less direct impacts (Chalip, 2017) including the
4 generation of social benefits. Such leveraging seeks to utilise the experiences and
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6 liminoid feelings engendered by events to create social outcomes through strategic and
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8 managed approaches. The underlying theory of change is that major sporting events can
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10 help to inspire social change, with the experience breaking ‘down social barriers,
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12 thereby enabling behaviours and social interaction that might otherwise be unlikely or
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14 impossible during everyday life’ (Chalip, 2014, 5).
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20 One element of such leveraging that has attracted attention is connected with the
21 use and management of event volunteers, the often large ‘army’ of helpers who support
22 the delivery of the event. In recent years, opportunities to utilise the event time roles to
23 engender future volunteering has become a part of event legacy (Doherty, 2009;
24 Koutrou et al, 2016). In turn this has encouraged research into how such event
25 volunteering can be managed and delivered to maximise future volunteering whilst also
26 ensuring successful delivery of the event (eg Allen et al, 2014; Auld et al, 2009;
27 Blackman et al, 2017; Farrell et al, 2009). In contrast to this extensive research on
28 volunteering legacies, considerably less attention has been directed towards examining
29 whether volunteering at a one-off sporting event might leverage other social outcomes,
30 including improvements in social connectedness. Further, there has been an almost
31 complete absence of studies considering how the management of event volunteering can
32 influence such social leveraging.
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51 Within the context of such absences, and with specific reference to one event
52 volunteer programme connected with the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow
53 which sought to enhance social connectedness, this article considers some of the
54 practical and policy implications of using major sporting event volunteering to enhance
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3 social connections. To do this, the article is divided into five sections. After a brief
4 review of social connectedness and major sporting events, the discussion is situated
5 within the context of the dedicated Host City Volunteer (HCV) programme, developed
6 for the 2014 Glasgow event as a direct policy response to the failure of traditional event
7 volunteering approaches to engage with those least socially connected. The second
8 section details the origins and characteristics of the HCV initiative examining how its
9 development sought to address concerns amongst civic policy makers that anticipated
10 legacies were at risk without such directed interventions. Third, drawing on empirical
11 research conducted with the HCV volunteers, the paper identifies the immediate and
12 longer-term impacts of their roles on their social connectedness, concluding that despite
13 the initiative providing strong potential for improved social connections, in the longer
14 term these have not been realised. The final two sections discuss the implications
15 arising from this conclusion, first in terms of future event volunteer management
16 approaches seeking to use one off events to foster social connectedness, and then finally
17 the wider public policy rhetoric of anticipating event volunteering to create social
18 legacies.

Volunteering, social connectedness and major sporting events

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There is growing evidence globally that volunteerism encourages the development of
social relationships, networks and social connectedness (Blackshaw & Long, 2005;
Gilster 2012; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001). Social connectedness is a key aspect of
social capital focused specifically on the quality and quantity of social relationships in
networks. It is generally defined as ‘the level of an individual’s integration into his or
her social milieu and the fullness of the resulting associative networks’ (Timpone, 1998:
59), building on Lee & Robbins’ (1995) original ‘social connectedness’ scale. More

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3 recently, it has been measured through indicators reflecting both the number of
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5 gatherings, networks and relationships (Bowling, 1997) and subjective measures of
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7 social contacts, reduced isolation and feelings of loneliness (De Jong & van Tilburg,
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9 2006; Hughes et al, 2004; Russell et al, 1980).

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13 In the context of sport, studies of long term volunteers indicate that their
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15 involvement is positively correlated with high levels of social connectedness (Auld,
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17 2008; Cuskelly, 2008; Doherty & Misener, 2008; Hoye et al., 2015; Kay & Bradbury,
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19 2009; Tonts, 2005; Zakus et al, 2009;). In the UK for example, public policy discourse
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21 since the early 2000s amongst successive British governments has widely argued that
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23 promoting sport volunteerism generates social capital and connectedness (Holmes,
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25 2009; Morgan, 2013) whilst sports bodies argue that sport volunteering has a propensity
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27 to create new connections between volunteers, people and local communities (Sport
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29 England 2017).

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35 Despite this adoption in policy rhetoric, scepticism remains over whether this
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37 exceeds the ability of certain sporting activities and voluntary organisation to increase
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39 social capital and social connectedness (Coalter, 2007; Hoye & Nicholson, 2012) as
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41 well as difficulties in assessing social connections (Dwyer et al, 2000; Preuss, 2015;
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43 Wallstam et al, 2018). This has encouraged empirical testing of these links, with studies
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45 such as Darcy et al (2014) and Welty Peachey et al (2013, 33) finding that volunteers
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47 increase their 'active citizenship and engagement with society, which helped facilitate
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49 norms of reciprocity and giving back to the community'. Others are more cautious, with
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51 Hoye et al (2015: 18) suggesting that although involvement in sport was associated with
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53 increased social connectedness for individuals, 'the measurable effect was small and
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55 can be regarded as much as a caution against some of the more extravagant claims made
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3 for sport's contribution to social "goods" than as a confirmation of them'.
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6 In contrast to the studies of the impact of long-term and regular volunteering and
7 sport, there has been limited research into social connectedness associated with one-off,
8 prestigious sporting events, such as the Olympics, World Cups or Commonwealth
9 Games (Misener & Mason, 2006; Kay & Bradbury, 2009). One exception is Nichols
10 and Ralston's (2012) research with the Manchester Event Volunteers Programme, set up
11 after the 2002 Commonwealth Games in Manchester, highlighting that the volunteers in
12 the city felt that they had gained friends and contacts from their experiences. However,
13 only 30% of their respondents had been volunteers associated with the sporting event,
14 with others recruited subsequently. More recently, studies of the 'Clyde-sider'
15 volunteers at the 2014 Commonwealth Games showed that they had developed
16 friendships and gained in confidence as a result of their experience (Woodall et al,
17 2016), but also concluded that those who had simply applied to be a Clyde-sider and not
18 actually been successful in the process also reported an increase in connectedness.
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37 Beyond such specific examples, Misener & Mason (2006) argue that it is
38 possible to create successful 'community networks' as a result of event volunteering if
39 certain conditions are in place as part of event management. These include
40 consideration of social connections at all stages of the event from planning to legacy,
41 collaborative action to empower local communities to become agents of change, and
42 open communication and mutual learning throughout strategic activities related to
43 events to minimise power brokering.
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54 **The HCV programme**

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57 In this paper, we focus on a specific initiative, the Host City Volunteer programme
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3 (HCV), set up to leverage social connections through management of volunteering at
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5 the 2014 Commonwealth Games. It formed part of the wider legacy and policy
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7 ambitions of the city government (Glasgow City Council, 2009) set within its Legacy
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9 Framework, to use the event to encourage people in Glasgow to participate in
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11 volunteering, including the official event volunteer programme. The City Council
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13 sought strategically to use the unique opportunity of the Commonwealth Games to
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15 target individuals that would not normally consider volunteering, including those facing
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17 barriers to participation in volunteering (eg disabled people, asylum seekers, people
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19 with caring responsibilities) and to use the event to increase the number of people
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21 registered as volunteers in the city. To this end, the Council sought to maximise the
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23 number of Glasgow residents registering to be part of the main event volunteer
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25 programme – the Clyde-siders - and set internal targets associated with recruitment
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27 from the above harder to reach groups.
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34 The HCV programme was created as a direct response to the perception that the
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36 Clyde-sider programme would fail to meet these legacy ambitions. By focusing on
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38 leveraging social benefits wider than volunteering, the HCV initiative contrasts with
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40 most previous event volunteer programmes associated with major sporting events - such
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42 as the Games Makers and Ambassadors at the London 2012 Olympics, and ‘Team No-
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44 side’ at the 2019 Rugby World Cup in Toyko - which anticipate a volunteering legacy
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46 will be a lasting outcome (Harris, 2012; Nichols & Ralston, 2015). The HCV initiative
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48 was also distinctive in that it was created much later in the event management cycle,
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50 sought to target more specific groups of people to be volunteers, and was managed by
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52 locally based civic organisations outside of the main event organising committee.
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58 The initiative was proposed in 2012 as a policy response by two key event
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3 stakeholders, Glasgow Life and Glasgow City Council, to emerging analysis of
4 recruitment to the main event volunteer programme, the Clyde-siders organised and
5 managed by the local event Organising Committee (OC), Glasgow 2014, on behalf of
6 the local and national partners involved in delivery of the event. The recruitment of the
7 Clyde-siders had attracted considerable public interest, with more than 51,000 people
8 applying for the 15,000 roles (later reduced to 12,500); a position that meant the OC had
9 to conduct extensive interviewing to select volunteers. With pressure to ensure delivery
10 of the ‘best Games ever’ and to fulfil their event related obligations, the OC’s selection
11 process resulted in the majority of those chosen to be Clyde-siders had previous
12 volunteering experience, with skills and interests that matched the event-time role
13 requirements.

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Despite shared legacy ambitions set by the local civic partners to use the Clyde-sider volunteer programme to be more inclusive than previous majority sporting events (Glasgow City Council, 2009), the profile of the applicants and the subsequently selection process led to an event volunteer cohort which failed to include generally under-represented and disadvantaged communities in volunteering. In particular, applicants from within Glasgow formed not only a lower proportion than expected (13.8% compared with Glasgow City Council target of 22%), and it failed to reach three key groups. Older people over 60 years of age formed only 9% (against a target of 20%), people with disability 4.2% (compared with target of between 5% and 12%), and people in the most disadvantaged communities forming less than 5%. This under-representation reinforced a key conclusion, identified by the Glasgow Household Survey in autumn 2012, that whilst 88% of Glaswegians believed the Commonwealth Games would be positive for the city only 52% thought it would impact directly and positively on them and their families (Glasgow Household Survey, 2012).

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3 Faced with this disconnect, consultations by Glasgow Life with local and
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5 national agencies suggested that a range of barriers had been constructed (often
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7 unintentionally) discouraging participation from under-represented and disadvantaged
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9 groups. Some of these barriers were formed by the recruitment process, including: the
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11 encouragement to apply online; setting a minimum age of 16 at application; requiring
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13 specific documentation for security screening, and indicating a minimum time
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15 commitment to roles. Others were created by applicant perceptions, including those on
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17 welfare benefits worried that by volunteering their benefit entitlement might be
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19 affected, as well as more general issues of self-confidence and self-efficacy to fulfil the
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21 roles. Taken together, the evidence suggested a high risk of failing to meet declared
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23 national and local (city) legacy goals to increase volunteering and community
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25 engagement set out in the Legacy Framework.
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32 Against this backdrop, the HCV programme was created to harness the
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34 anticipation, excitement and momentum of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games in
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36 a different way to that adopted by the OC. Management of the HCV programme was
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38 coordinated by Glasgow Life and involved delivery partners in the city, and was
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40 discrete from the Clyde-sider programme. It was a three year programme running from
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42 December 2013 through to December 2016, with its central focus on event time
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44 volunteering in July and August 2014, but including pre-event training and post-event
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46 celebrations and support.
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52 Its core event time activity paralleled aspects of the volunteering structures of
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54 2012 London Olympics where local Ambassador volunteers, who like the HCVs were
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56 located in the areas surrounding venues augmented the official volunteers, termed
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58 Games Makers (Nichols, 2012). The HCV initiative sought to recruit up to 1500
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3 volunteers from target groups under-represented in the Clyde-sider programme, to train
4 and support them to have event time ‘wayfinding’ roles, and to create learning material
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7 to assist the volunteers to know about their city. After the event, the programme also
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10 would develop, coordinate and integrate pathways for the HCVs to volunteer for
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12 cultural and sporting events in the city. For the participants, there was an expectation
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14 that the event volunteer role would improve their confidence, knowledge and skills to
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16 take part in volunteering, generate an enhanced sense of pride in their city, and make
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18 them feel more socially connected to the city and their communities. It would also
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20 provide further opportunities to feel connected with, and have an active part in, delivery
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22 of the Games.
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27 A dedicated team was set up within Glasgow Life to recruit Host City
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29 Volunteers from across all communities in the city, primarily using existing networks to
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31 reach into communities. There was not an open public call for volunteers, and HCVs
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33 were either personally invited or encouraged by local organisation leaders to apply.
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35 Glasgow Life staff provided training for Games time roles, whilst the organisation also
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37 provided logistical support and volunteer welfare services during the event. The
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39 volunteers were organised into teams and deployed across the city to welcome and help
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41 direct visitors and spectators to and from venues. Volunteers were supported in their
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43 roles by an orientation day in May 2014, and information packs during the event. There
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45 was flexibility in the number and duration of volunteering sessions expected of each
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47 volunteer, allowing them to select what worked within their own lives. During the
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49 Commonwealth Games, the HCVs were allocated roles within the city centre, the
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51 pathways to the sports venues, and at the main sites across the city where cultural events
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53 were being held. They were organized into small teams of 8-10 people, with a trained
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55 team leader, with duties indicated at the start of each shift, and each team having the
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3 opportunity to meet other HCVs at the management centre within the Glasgow Life
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5 headquarters.
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9 After the Commonwealth Games, HCVs were encouraged to contribute their
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11 memories and stories to a public exhibition housed in the People's Palace museum, with
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13 the showcase material co-designed by Glasgow Museum staff and HCVs. Contact by
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15 email was maintained by Glasgow Life with those HCVs who gave permission to offer
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17 information about other volunteering opportunities, primarily supported by the City
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19 Council, for the year after the Games. Thereafter Glasgow Life directed HCVs to the
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21 long established Volunteer Glasgow website, offering information about volunteer
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23 development and volunteering opportunities in communities.
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28 This targeted approach resulted in those recruited including 31% who reported
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30 that they had never volunteered before, 15% identified as disabled, 11% were aged 65
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32 plus and 38% were considered "hard pressed" according to their Acorn CACI profile
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34 (Sly, 2018).
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38 **Methods: Investigating social connectedness**

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41 A fundamental element of the HCV programme was a desire to leverage the
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43 volunteering experiences of those involved to engender greater social connectedness,
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45 breaking down some of the barriers that discouraged citizens from engaging in local
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47 volunteering and equipping them to connect more within their communities. The impact
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49 of the initiative in these respects has been investigated through quantitative and
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51 qualitative approaches conducted in the immediate aftermath of the event, and three
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53 years later, by the authors.
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58 Nine hundred and ninety-three (993) of the HCVs were invited to respond to two
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3 surveys, having given consent to Glasgow Life to take part in the research. The first
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5 survey, conducted in September 2014, sought to identify the overall experience in the
6
7 role as HCV and their intentions in relation to future volunteering, asking each
8
9 respondent to reflect on the benefits of being a HCV. The second survey, conducted in
10
11 October and November 2017, asked questions relating to the HCVs' feeling of
12
13 connection with their community. As well as indicating whether they felt more
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15 connected to their local community more than prior to the Commonwealth Games (i.e.
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17 before July 2014), each respondent was asked to assess whether they talked more to
18
19 neighbours, met up with people more, and were able to influence decisions in their local
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21 community more. They also indicated their involvement and frequency of engagement
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23 with social groups and clubs in the last 12 months and 3 years ago. Recognising the
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25 importance of framing questions in an appropriate manner (Downward, et al, 2005), the
26
27 majority of questions were adapted from those used in the UK General Household
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29 Survey. Two hundred and eight (208) HCVs responded to the first survey and three
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31 hundred and thirty-three (333) HCVs responded to the second. While for privacy
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33 reasons individual respondent data could not be matched with data from the earlier 2014
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35 HCV study - as is suggested as the ideal by Dickson et al (2015) – the profile of
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37 respondents was generally representative of the HCV population.
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45 A second, qualitative stage of the research brought together two different groups
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47 of HCVs. In 2014, 26 people were interviewed before, during and after the
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49 Commonwealth Games, representing a cross-section of HCVs in terms of age, ethnicity,
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51 disability and previous volunteering experience. The interviews were designed to
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53 encourage reflection of the HCV experience, the role and expectations, as well as some
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55 discussion on future plans. In 2017, following on from the second survey, 15 different
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57 respondents joined three focus groups, clustered by reported changes in their social
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3 connectedness and levels of volunteering. The primary aim of these groups was to
4 identify more intangible changes that the survey may have been unable to capture, and
5 in particular to explore more deeply the reasons for change in their social
6 connectedness. The discussion focussed on connections with their local communities,
7 with family and friends, and with the city of Glasgow. The impact of being a HCV was
8 then explored in relation to such connectedness, and to their formal and informal
9 volunteering roles.

20 **Results and analysis**

23 Research conducted with the HCVs immediately after the Games suggested that their
24 event volunteering had the potential to assist them to build social capital, and pointed to
25 achieving Glasgow Life's desire to generate a legacy through maximising opportunities
26 for local people to feel connected with and play an active part in delivery of the Games
27 (Glasgow Life, 2013). The vast majority of the volunteers found the experience very
28 positive (89%), likely to inspire them to become more active citizens, and left with a
29 feeling of being more connected to the city. Amongst the respondents there was a strong
30 feeling of being proud of being a HCV (95%), satisfaction with their role (89%) and a
31 willingness to be involved in future events if asked (88%). For this majority of
32 respondents, the descriptors frequently used to capture their enthusiasm were
33 'unforgettable', 'fantastic' and 'enjoyable'. This survey also revealed that the majority
34 felt more confident (76%) and more valued (73%) as a result of being a HCV (Rogerson
35 et al, 2015).

54 The most frequently mentioned benefit from the role was that of 'meeting
55 people' identified by 78% of respondents, with 'feeling part of Glasgow', 'helping
56 people', the 'atmosphere of the city', and 'being part of the Games' also considered
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3 strengths of the role. The 2014 interviews reinforced the perceived positives from being
4 a HCV, captured by one of the disabled HCVs: 'I definitively developed during the
5 CWG, that experience itself, it just gave me so much confidence, more understanding in
6 myself.... I never understood that before that so it definitively encourage me to do
7 more.'

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16 Despite this event legacy, the principal conclusion from the follow on 2017
17 survey conducted 3 years after the event was that the majority of the HCVs experienced
18 little change in their social connectedness since the Commonwealth Games. Most felt
19 the same levels of social connection to their communities and continued to have the
20 same levels of involvement with organisations and clubs. Across the indicators of social
21 connectedness relating to how they engaged with neighbours or connected with their
22 local community (Table 1), between 49% and 76% of HCVs suggested there was no
23 change in their behaviour.

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38 There was a similar pattern in relation to involvement with social groups and clubs. As
39 Table 2a illustrates, 73% continued to have the same involvement, or for 22% lack
40 involvement. For those actively involved, 28% increased their frequency, and 21%
41 declined, but most continued with the same frequency of involvement since being a
42 HCV (Table 2b). For them their role as HCV, whilst memorable and positive, had not
43 resulted in significant change in their own behaviour and engagement with others
44 through formal organisations. In this respect, the leveraging anticipated through the
45 role was not achieved.

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3 Nevertheless, a sizeable minority (22%) signaled they were more connected. In
4 asking each respondent to elaborate on why they felt this many pointed to an increase in
5 confidence and open-mindedness, better knowledge and information to help them
6 connect socially, and most connected this to their HCV volunteering roles. Typical
7 comments were ‘I am a more open and confident person’, ‘I can talk to people more as I
8 got confidence doing the Games’, and ‘I think I am more connected now than 3 years
9 ago is that I am not afraid to open more and trust the people who are my friends’. Other
10 noted ‘I have been inspired to do other things that I would not have done before’,
11 ‘volunteering has made me more aware of other people’ and ‘(I am) more aware of
12 neighbours and what is going on’.
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27 For this cohort, their time as a HCV had brought positives, often expressed in
28 terms of changing outlooks on life, which in turn enabled them to engage in more social
29 activities. Typical were these three comments emerging from the focus group
30 discussions:
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37 *‘It made a huge difference. It gave me confidence. I have joined some local groups and*
38 *I have been looking after my health and trying to maintain my fitness. I also enjoyed so*
39 *much about my city and meeting lots of different people. It was a wonderful and*
40 *enjoyable learning experience for me and I would love to be involved again in any*
41 *capacity’.*
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49 *‘It has given me a different outlook. I had just been widowed and was retired from*
50 *work. It helped me to get out and meet new people. I loved the feeling it gave me, giving*
51 *visitors to our beautiful city help and information. I also made many friends whom I*
52 *have met in other volunteering roles since.’*
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3 *'It was a very positive experience, and I was very glad to have done it and been part of*
4 *the positive welcome to our city. It gave me more interest in 'having a go' and trying*
5 *new things. I have since been volunteering at a children's community group ...'*
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11 While the HCV experiences were influential, increased levels of social
12 connectedness also reflected changes in their personal circumstances not directly related
13 to the event roles. 'More opportunities have arisen in my area for activities I am
14 interested in', 'I have moved to Glasgow and my neighbourhood feels much more
15 friendly than where I lived 3 years ago' and 'I have more time now and go to more local
16 groups' typifies explanations offered. Changes in personal circumstances were also key
17 factors amongst the 8% who indicated a reduction in social connections, including their
18 own health, those of the family, or new jobs and changes in employment circumstances,
19 and a movement away from Glasgow.
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32 **Discussions and Implications**

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36 For most sporting mega-events, the focus of a legacy directly attributable to the event
37 itself (i.e. not leveraged through other initiatives aligned with the event) has been placed
38 on developing post-event volunteering. Echoing Kodama et al (2013), the HCV
39 initiative indicates that it is possible to use event strategically with appropriate
40 management to recruit and encourage volunteers at major events to foster their social
41 connectedness. Such leveraging is, however, likely to be limited where volunteers are
42 already well connected into their communities, including undertaking activities in social
43 and organisational settings. It is much stronger where the event volunteering provides a
44 first and first-hand opportunity to engage with others, to build self-confidence and to be
45 supported by others, including other volunteers. It remains to be researched whether any
46 event volunteer programme needs to have a mixed profile of well and poorly connected
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3 participants to achieve this, or whether a more targeted approach to recruit primarily
4 those least connected will be effective. Despite their ambition to achieve such a profile,
5 the HCV initiative had a more mixed profile.
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11 Most success in enhancing social connectedness is likely amongst smaller, more
12 targeted groups recruited from those areas of society that traditionally are least likely to
13 have social capital and to be involved in event volunteering roles. Those HCVs from the
14 economically deprived areas and those with disabilities were the main beneficiaries.
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16 While a one-off event may not be able to transform the lives of all those involved,
17 directing human and financial resources to the recruitment, training and support of such
18 key groups can have greatest longer-term impact, enabling them to gain the confidence,
19 knowledge and experience required to increase their social networks and connections.
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31 The HCV programme also illustrates that adopting particular event management
32 and planning tools may increase the likelihood of leveraging social outcomes. Such
33 tools acknowledge that the event volunteering role is a new experience for the
34 participant, requiring opportunities to learn about being socially connected, and being
35 agile enough to respond to the consequences of such learning. Thus, building the HCV
36 programme around organisational structures that encourage collaborative roles, such as
37 team working with trained team leaders, supported and encouraged social connections
38 amongst the volunteers. The flexibility to move HCVs between roles, rather than
39 allocation to particular tasks for the duration of the event, assisted the HCVs to build on
40 emerging strengths and interests, and to view the experience as one of continuous
41 learning.
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57 For future research, the HCV programme underlines Byers et al's (2019) call for
58 greater attention to be paid to the fluid nature of legacy and legacy planning. By
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3 viewing legacies as being constructed around planned, pre-determined objectives there
4 is limited scope to investigate the unexpected, unvalued and unplanned legacies (Byers
5 et al, 2019). This absence is reinforced by the operationalisation of legacy primarily as
6 'outcomes' to be measured following the event (eg Bauman et al's (2015) analysis of
7 whether the 2000 Olympics in Sydney increased physical activity in adults) or more
8 generally through empirical testing (Moss et al, 2019), narrowing the focus onto those
9 areas predetermined in event planning. More attention needs to be given to how legacy
10 (set out as ambitions and frameworks) can be realised (Bocarro et al, 2018; Thomson et
11 al, 2018) or influenced by event planning and management (Kassens-Noor et al, 2015).
12 The formulation of the HCV programme points to a need to explore how event
13 management adapts in response to *emerging* evidence ahead of the event, especially
14 where this suggests that event legacy ambitions might not be realised. In this respect, it
15 underlines Rogerson's (2016) call for redefining the temporal framing of event legacy,
16 offering further opportunity to explore how event leveraging and legacy can be inter-
17 connected and legacy is a process as well as an outcome.

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For Peer Review Only

Table 1: Feelings of social connectedness amongst the Host City Volunteers

% respondents		More	Same	Less	Don't know	Blank
<i>Talk to your neighbours</i>		14	68	4	3	11
<i>Meet up with other people</i>		22	57	7	3	11
<i>able now to influence decisions affecting your local area</i>		19	49	7	13	12
<i>feel more connected to your local community</i>		18	55	7	8	12

Table 2 – Involvement with social groups or clubs amongst Host City Volunteers.**(a) Changes in involvement**

	<i>Involvement in last 12 months</i>		
<i>Involvement prior to 2014 Games</i>	Yes	No	Total
Yes	165	34	199
No	35	72	107
Don't know	9	9	18

(b) Changes in frequency of involvement

	<i>Involvement in last 12 months</i>						
<i>Involvement prior to 2014 Games</i>	3-4 times a year	Once a month	Several times a month	Several times a week	Daily	No response	Total
3-4 times a year	2	1	5	2	0	0	10
Once a month	5	7	11	5	0	0	28
Several times a month	1	8	49	20	0	1	78

Several times a week	4	14	0	25	1	1	45
Daily	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
	12	29	65	54	1	3	165

Note: based on those in Table 2(a) who continued to have involvement over time.