

**GOVERNING MAJOR EVENT LEGACY: CASE OF THE GLASGOW 2014
COMMONWEALTH GAMES**

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the emerging importance of planning and governance surrounding the concept of event legacy by focusing on an in-depth case study of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. Given the long-term nature of the concept of legacy, the need for planned and thorough pre, during and post Games management is essential if legacy outcomes are to be monitored effectively. Research method employed for this study consist of in-depth interviews (n=14) with policy makers, organisers, and local community associations who were involved with legacy planning and implementation for the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. The findings present Glasgow's legacy approach as an advancement in the understanding of legacy governance and planning in relation to critical event management. By designing and implementing legacy governance structures at an early stage, each stakeholder role is established and can be monitored while allowing for some flexibility within the legacy management partnerships. In addition, the notion of a partnership legacy can be seen to have grown from innovative legacy governance structures, such as collaborative working and network creation, put in place by Glasgow in the early stages of legacy planning, which can act as a model of best practice for other major event host destinations.

Keywords: Major events, Legacy, Critical events, Planning, Governance

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INTRODUCTION

In the context of major events, permanent or long-term impacts for a host city are often recognised as legacy (Thomson, Schlenker & Schulenkorf, 2013). The Scottish Government Games Legacy Team's (2009) publication suggest legacy is a relatively recent concept in the history of major sporting events, particularly legacy that is broader than economic impact. Areas often included within the legacy rhetoric are potential social, economic, physical, tourism and/or environmental factors (Thomson, Schlenker, & Schulenkorf, 2013). The importance of understanding legacy governance and planning is central to developing critical event legacy research by providing further investigation into how to successfully govern major events across multi-stakeholder partnerships and ensure thoughtful longitudinal legacy planning. The aim of this research is to critically evaluate the approaches taken surrounding legacy governance and planning amongst Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (the Games) stakeholders. The stakeholders interviewed included individuals from the local authority, the Games Organising Committee (OC), a social research organisation, a national voluntary organisation and a local regeneration partnership. The findings from this research suggest the partnerships created for the Games have the potential to create a partnerships legacy that continues to be utilised post-Games. Furthermore, this research builds upon the work of a number of other scholars highlighting the importance of legacy planning from the bid state (Leopkey & Parent, 2012) and establishing governance structures (Christie & Gibb, 2015) to develop advancements in contemporary understanding of this emerging field.

In November 2007, Glasgow was announced as the city that would host the 2014 Commonwealth Games. From the bidding stage, a partnership between Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government made a concerted effort to demonstrate the potential benefits for the host community from hosting such an event (Christie & Gibb, 2015). Therefore, a significant amount of Glasgow's winning bid to host the Games rested on their convincing argument to produce a successful event legacy for the city and people (McCartney, Hanlon & Bond, 2013). Developed by the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council, the bid emphasised outcomes that would benefit the host population, collectively placed under the umbrella of legacy. There has been considerable interest recently in the notion of legacy and its relevance in contemporary major event-led governance (Smith, 2012; Christie & Gibb, 2015; Clark & Kearns, 2015). Aligned with this is the significant growth in the importance of governance and planning outcomes (Coaffee, 2013; McGillvray, MacPherson & Carnicelli, 2015); however, there is little evidence to support the concept of a lasting positive legacy from development associated with mega-events, and what evidence exists is fragmented and contested (Lenskyj, 2002; Davies, 2012). This research makes an original contribution to knowledge about event legacy by focusing on the planning and governance aspects, specifically regarding the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, which furthers understanding about the ways in which partnerships can create greater potential for impactful events legacy.

Emerging research from current major events, such as Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games, suggests improvements in legacy areas including planning and governance (Christie & Gibb, 2015), sustainability (Rogerson, 2016), planned legacy outcomes (McCartney et al., 2013), volunteering (Jones & Yates, 2015), and community regeneration (Clark & Kearns, 2015). From the time of announcement as the 2014 Commonwealth Games host, Glasgow made their legacy

promise clear. Published in 2009, the Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework (GLF) declared the Games would produce a sustainable legacy, and it would be a 'People Legacy' (Glasgow City Council 2009, p. 3). Glasgow's concentrated effort to produce a legacy from the Games provides a timely example to explore the potential to secure such legacy benefits often heralded by host cities without much proof (McCartney et al., 2013). By collecting empirical data aligned with emerging critical event discourses, this study seeks to locate legacy governance as a crucial element of major event legacy planning.

For this research, importance is placed on the approach taken specifically in Glasgow by the City Council; however, this is not without regard to the governmental contribution. Specifically, it is worth noting the vital funding partnership created to fund the Games planning and delivery. Final amounts provided by Audit Scotland's (2015, p. 8) post-Games report state that 'The Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council were the main funding providers, committing up to £382 million and £80 million respectively, around 80 per cent of the total Games budget. The Organising Committee was responsible for raising the remaining 20 per cent through private income such as ticket sales, sponsorship and broadcasting rights'.

In the context of the Games, Rogerson (2016, p. 7; Commonwealth Games for Scotland 2007) refers to a table from the Glasgow bid document in framing Glasgow's position within current major event legacy research. Rogerson's (2016, p. 504) findings suggest Glasgow approached legacy from a much more structured angle than previous major events. Emphasised through the integrated approach taken by the host city, where the importance of legacy and its purpose was cohesive in all planning and delivery decisions, this structured approach was initiated from the beginning when planning for legacy was integrated into event preparation with all major partners involved in the Games delivery. Moreover, this approach represented a

considered attempt to ‘ensure that many facets of legacies are well-planned, visible and monitored than has been used in previous mega-events’ (Rogerson, 2016, p. 504). Christie and Gibb (2015) suggest that the structured approach to legacy taken by Glasgow emphasises the need for accountability, access to resources, shared learning and community involvement. This approach was managed through a ‘complex governance network’ (Christie & Gibb 2015, p. 879), which takes into consideration complex dynamics between multiple stakeholders and differing strategies, and overall represents the GLF.

This paper begins by setting the context for governance in event legacy planning through the imprecise concept of legacy. The multiple understandings of what event legacies are, provide a complex discussion on how the notion of event legacy, which has become a major element in bidding and delivery, is to be understood in order to successfully plan, govern, and achieve optimal event outcomes. This paper focuses on Glasgow as the host city of the 2014 Commonwealth Games to investigate the way major event legacy is planned and governed from stakeholders’ perspectives. By doing so, this paper aims to introduce further understanding and guidance for future host cities and governing stakeholders of major events.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overall, while the field of legacy research continues to witness development in many areas, there remain discrepancies in the conceptualisation of legacy. Growth in areas such as community involvement (Smith 2012), legacy governance (Christie & Gibb, 2015), social legacy (Liu, 2014), long-term legacy planning (Rogerson, 2016) and measuring legacies (Preuss, 2007) have all established critical pathways towards understanding event legacy; however, Gratton and Preuss’ (2008) definition of legacy remains a commonly utilised conceptualisation of the notion.

Christie and Gibb (2015) suggest the growth of legacy planning research overlaps with current trends in urban governance regarding collaborative working. By highlighting the need to communicate effectively across multi-stakeholder partnerships, this emphasises the importance for successful network management to promote further understanding of event regeneration and legacy planning amongst all stakeholders (Leopkey & Parent, 2016). Preuss (2015, p. 661) argues that governments 'must start with good city planning, to fit the event into long-term city development'. Likewise, Sadd (2010, p. 266) states that to achieve a sustainable legacy, 'all the objectives of the various stakeholders need to be addressed and holistic approach taken'. Clark and Kearns (2015) argue that clear legacy governance frameworks and structures to aid evaluation have grown in importance and complexity aligned with the expansion of legacy initiative and ambitions. Similarly, Girginov (2012) advises that strong governance systems are required to provide direction towards the collective legacy goals of delivering any social, economic or sporting legacies for various stakeholders involved. However, the addition of newly formed governance structures can be said to add to the already complex management of Games legacy (Girginov, 2012 Stewart & Rayner, 2016).

The post-Games legacy commitment is commonly referred to within literature in various contexts from key strategies (Davies, 2012) to sport development (Frawley & Toohey, 2009) and discrepancies between bidding and delivery (Stewart & Rayner, 2016); however, Solberg (2003) proposes that many organising committees are disbanded within a short space of time after the event concludes. Therefore, it is argued that there must be a sustained commitment of resources from the host city governing bodies to realise legacy ambitions. In the context of Glasgow, Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 877) argue:

‘As part of Glasgow City Council’s (GCC) strategic remit, a dedicated 2014 legacy strategy was launched in 2009: the Glasgow Legacy Framework (Glasgow City Council, 2009), with the same Audit Scotland report setting out the requirements for clear governance structures for legacy delivery. The Glasgow Legacy Framework (GLF) covers a 10-year period up to 2019 and ensures that planning for a lasting legacy is fully embedded into all GCC’s core strategic activity towards 2014. The GLF also committed GCC to the establishment of legacy governance structures to support the implementation of the Legacy Framework, with the rollout and implementation of the city’s legacy strategy across Glasgow following thereafter.’

The post-Games commitment to ensure the legacy plans are resourced well and continued is what Solberg (2013) suggests ultimately forms the Games' legacy reputation and successes. Here, the element of time plays a role in what legacy is defined as for a host city, and when it is said to be managed until (Stewart & Rayner, 2016). The success of the post-Games legacy plans is said to depend on the strength of pre-Games partnerships and governance to ensure post-event considerations are fully measured and adequate resourced (Christie & Gibb, 2015).

Research suggests when legacy plans are implemented into wider regeneration strategies, they seem to leave a more positive overall legacy (Davies, 2012; Gratton & Preuss, 2008; Smith & Fox, 2007). This is in contrast with what was implemented in previous host cities. For example, this was found to be the case for Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, where there were delayed regeneration plans resulting from a lack of wider legacy planning (Davies 2012). Furthermore, Stewart and Rayner (2016) suggest integrated legacy planning allows for legacy governance and responsibilities to be decided pre-Games when working between multiple governing and planning bodies. However, Gaffney (2016) suggests integration alone without

thorough forethought and community consultations does not tend to result in a positive event-led regeneration legacy, as exemplified in Brazil from the Pan American Games 2007, FIFA World Cup 2014, and Olympic and Paralympic Games 2016, where post-event usage of facilities has been questionable in necessity and appropriateness for the host community's future needs.

Currently, both the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council's legacy frameworks monitor and evaluate Games legacy until 2019 (Glasgow City Council, 2009; Scottish Government, 2014). The frameworks recognise the importance of the Scottish economy, physical activity, international presence and sustainability as well as accessibility and inclusivity (see Table 1). Crucially, both legacy frameworks highlight the importance of integrated planning and overall legacy governance (Smith, 2012). However, there remains a risk of difficulties in achieving legacy responsibilities due to 'complicated government and political structures' (Stewart & Rayner 2016, p. 171), especially with regard to stakeholder management.

<<<INSERT TABLE 1 >>>

For this research, importance is placed on the approach taken in Glasgow by the City Council; however, this is not without regard to the governmental themes (Table 1). Although these government and council themes were initially separate and align with differing national and local government priorities, through the legacy planning and reporting process, they have become more coherent, enabling the post-Games publication of a single shared report (Scottish Government, 2015).

The GLF, established in 2009, details the legacy governance and leadership structure developed by Glasgow City Council. For the purpose of this study, the production of such a document is essential to the aim of understanding the planning and governance of event legacies. Specifically, Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 880) discuss the 'major consultation exercise'

undertaken by Glasgow City Council to highlight and engage with the community's aspirations and expectations. This legacy agenda presents an aligned approach to recent research carried out by Misener, Taks, Chalip and Green (2015, p. 451), who suggest, 'the emphasis of legacy programmes has shifted to sustainable legacies of events that emphasise broader community benefits'. The commitment to community engagement through the legacy identification process emphasises the importance placed on managing and governing planned legacy to enable a strong chance of creating a sustainable legacy. In addition to the frameworks developed, Glasgow launched the Glasgow Legacy Board. Detailed in the GLF, the Glasgow Legacy Board was established to lead on the development and delivery of the key legacy projects and programmes, in line with the six legacy themes (Glasgow City Council, 2009); therefore, the board provided governance to the events-led economic and social initiatives integrated into the existing city regeneration strategies (Christie & Gibb, 2015).

Also, the Games presented further innovative development by establishing an Engagement and Legacy Team embedded in their structure, an addition which is becoming increasingly common with other large sporting event structures (Misener et al., 2015), but a first for any Commonwealth Games host city (Scottish Government, 2014; Glasgow City Council, 2015). Combined with the launch of the Glasgow Legacy Board, the creation of a dedicated legacy team made Glasgow 2014 OC the first to be held accountable for the delivery of legacy outcomes (Christie & Gibb, 2015). Although suggested by Misener et al. (2015) that the creation of Legacy Team embedded within a Games organisation structure may be becoming more commonplace, the unusual nature of this is worth noting.

The Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council acknowledge that evidence on legacy from major sporting events varies in quality and thoroughness (Scottish Government,

2014; Scottish Government, 2015). However, Misener et al. (2015, p. 457) describes Glasgow's approach to developing legacy planning and delivery as 'forthright in expressing the view that the Games provided a model for future hosts to follow with respect to legacy'. This argument is reiterated in the Legacy 2014 (2015) post-Games report that commends Glasgow's advanced approach of officially including legacy as a factor of the OC's remit. Similarly, despite previous contested evidence heralding the challenges of securing a focused legacy (see Minnaert, 2012; Preuss, 2007; Weed, 2014), Glasgow's effort has been arguably well-received within local businesses (Clyde Gateway, 2016; Legacy 2014, 2015) and research (Misener et al., 2015; Clark & Kearns, 2015).

While the advancement of legacy planning is apparent (Cashman & Horne, 2013; Christie & Gibb, 2015; Leopkey & Parent, 2016), some authors have begun to question the number of organisations involved and their purpose. Muller (2015) states that mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, are partly categorised accordingly to their large number of stakeholders. Difficulties in managing a group of organisations with different interests can result in implications for the host city such as lack of engagement from stakeholders (Brown, Hoye & Nicholson, 2012), changes in priorities (Stewart & Rayner, 2016), and managing a diverse range of demands (Müller, 2015). Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 57) analyse this issue as 'somewhat bewildering alphabet soup' and provide an example of organisations from the London 2012 Olympic Games (London 2012) legacy and regeneration planning. There are 10 organisations cited, these include, but are not limited to, the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA), The Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)/Government Olympic Executive (GOE) and Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group (OPRSG) (see Cashman & Horne, 2013). The wide range of stakeholders and organisation involved in the legacy planning of London 2012 is a main

reason Cashman and Horne (2013) question the ability of a successful legacy due to the varying remits and concerns. Similarly, these concerns are echoed by Davies (2012) and Stewart and Rayner (2016), who present potential implications from the complexity of governance such as time pressure due to the lengthy and time-consuming processes involved in multi-stakeholder decision making, stakeholder agreement and communication. Brown et al. (2012) suggest one response to the number of stakeholders involved in legacy governance is the emergence of overarching games boards to provide a structure promoting partnership and collaboration.

Within major event legacy implementation and planning, London 2012 is widely acknowledged as a turning point (Girginov, 2012; Rogerson, 2016; Weed, 2014). Likewise, Rogerson (2016, p. 4) states, 'recent research, largely but not exclusively around the London 2012 experience, has cast the spotlight on the need for deeper understanding of the processes through which event legacy is articulated and planned for in advance of the event'. This more recent research can be seen to build upon Taylor and Edmondson's (2007) pre-London 2012 study concerning the emergence of legacy planning and the accompanying importance placed on legacy plans from both governing bodies and bidding teams. Similarly, as discussed by McGillivray, McPherson and Carnicelli (2015), debating the most appropriate legacy approaches for before, during and after the Games is a very current conversation. The authors state that sporting and cultural events are a useful tool to encourage transformations and change city perceptions of host cities and countries; however, the use of events is disputed and questions are often raised about the significance of such events and who the real beneficiaries are, if not the people and places impacted by their delivery (McGillivray et al., 2015).

Rogerson (2016, p. 4) suggests that while there are differences amongst event governing bodies and the scale of major events, 'the broad approach has become increasingly similar'. He

states parallels can be drawn at each stage of the event from pre-Games bidding, pre-preparation Games delivery and post-Games evaluation. Essentially setting-out an event legacy formula that sees cities anticipating legacies to strengthen their bid, providing legacy preparation deadlines up to the Games start-date and detailing how potential identified legacies will be measured post-Games. By highlighting this in a Commonwealth Games context, there is a suggestion towards an advancement in legacy planning within a Commonwealth Games scale to similar terms of those previously discussed in Olympic terms (Veal, Toohey & Frawley, 2013). Also, the range and number of stakeholders is aligned with Davies (2012) stating that to increase the likelihood of a positive legacy, multi-level stakeholder governance is required whilst pursuing the overall legacy ambition collectively. Christie and Gibb (2015) recognise Glasgow's involvement in the advancement of legacy planning and governance through several policies specific to legacy generation to encourage collaborative partnerships from the bidding stage. In terms of regeneration, Glasgow's approach echoes a familiar horizontal partnership relationship; however, this approach for wider Games-related legacies has, to date, been credited as exemplifying successful partnership working (Audit Scotland, 2012; Commonwealth Games Federation, 2012). A characteristic of its distinctiveness has been the bringing together of a range of complex partnerships into one governance structure. This also speaks to the extent to which new partnership structures have been successful or limited by the Glasgow context, historical and other place-specific factors and is arguably important to understanding the constraints facing partnerships more generally (Christie & Gibb, 2015). Despite the potential contextual specifics that cannot be replicated in any host city, this paper draws from literature adding to the critical commentary on governance within event legacy exemplifying that understanding the importance

of efficient collaboration pre- and post-Games can not only achieve a successful approach to legacy, but also foster partnerships that can be utilised post-Games within the host city.

Furthermore, Rogerson's (2016, p.12) research presents 'three key elements of an innovative approach to legacy creation' from Glasgow's method of legacy planning. Outlined by the author, a key element to Glasgow's approach was that the responsibility for managing the build was placed upon Glasgow City Council. This allowed for a long-term, holistic view of legacy planning to be designed for the city and enabled a level of local ownership over spending. More commonly amongst major events, the legacy leadership role is combined within the organising committee's remit or contracted to a specific development organisation. Leopkey and Parent (2012) highlight the outsourcing of legacy planning as an issue for post-Games legacy planning since organising committees are a temporary structure quickly disbanded post-Games, and legacies require a much longer time to evaluate. Therefore, unlike the approach taken by organising committees in London 2012 or the 2010 Delhi Commonwealth Games (Girginov, 2012), Glasgow's method demonstrates original thinking to aid future legacy evaluation and design.

METHODS

This research examines the Games as a current example providing successful insights into legacy governance. Qualitative methodological approaches inform the case study. This research emphasises the diverse range of stakeholders within a Commonwealth Games host city linked to the potential to create legacies. To achieve this, 14 in-depth interviews were conducted ranging from 45 minutes to 80 minutes in length with key Games-related organisations from December 2014 to June 2016 usually conducted at the interviewee's workplace. It was pertinent to this research to gain access to a broad range of stakeholders to analyse varying perspectives.

Creswell, Hanson, Clark Plano, & Morales (2007) state key informant interviewees are 'gatekeepers', often deemed well-informed and are able to provide opportunities leading to new information. For this research, the interviews provided an opportunity to put legacy in a local context and explore key insights into Glasgow's legacy imperative. This type of interview draws vital information from a variety of people who have relevant expertise and experience of their respective situations; therefore, the intention behind this method was to gain key stakeholder insights into legacy planning and implications for Glasgow as a host city.

Therefore, to gain in-depth data for the proposed study, the interview participants (n=14) were from programmes or organisations associated with legacy programmes and planning, and community engagement. These include organisations such as the OC, Glasgow City Council, Clyde Gateway Regeneration Agency, Glasgow Centre for Population Health, Sports Scotland, Volunteer Scotland, Community Learning Campus, Council Legacy Hub Coordinator and Glasgow Life (See Table 2). As this paper is part of a larger body of work, the findings reflect the participant voices which are most relevant and helpful for focusing on governance.

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Each interviewee was engaged throughout the conversation, providing key insights based on their expertise into their role and experience of Glasgow's approach to hosting the Commonwealth Games. Guided by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill's (2007) research phases of thematic analysis, the author then categorised the data into the themes through making notes and highlighting appropriate sections. The interview questions asked were based on the importance of legacy planning (the planning process pre, during and post Games), partnerships involved (working partnerships, engagement with other stakeholders including the local community and community groups) and Glasgow as a host city (regarding perspectives on both Glasgow City

Council and Glasgow 2014 OC). Throughout this process, the emerging relationships between the data were recognised and used to develop overall conclusion relating to the theme and research objectives. Thematic analysis is known to be used in situations where there is a lack of previous research in the subject area and therefore, code categories are derived straight from the text data itself. For this research, the notes and transcripts were word-processed and the data analysis software NVivo 10 was used. The software enabled greater development and connection while making the whole analysis process faster and more efficient (Bryman, 2012). The themes emerging from the data collected identified three key areas: conceptualising and understanding what legacy means, planning legacy, and the implications for stakeholders of legacy planning. Overall, the interviews provided an opportunity to situate legacy in the local context of Glasgow.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

(Mis)understanding Legacy

There is enormous variation of so-called legacies within the literature from sports events. However, although often used, the concept of legacy is rarely defined within academic and non-academic literature (Chappelet, 2014; Gratton & Preuss, 2008). The beginning of this analysis provides an examination of how legacy is understood by the stakeholders interviewed before closer examination into the impact this has on understanding legacy planning and governance. With regard to the Games, Glasgow City Council (2009, p. 6) and the Scottish Government produced a Legacy Framework five years pre-Games defining legacy as:

‘Legacy is the set of benefits left behind well after a major event, like Glasgow 2014, has ended. Lasting benefiting will be both tangible (e.g. job opportunities; business opportunities; new infrastructure investment), and less tangible (e.g. enhanced image; civic pride; improved health; improved community engagement).’

The framework expands upon legacy to incorporate the potential for social and economic change through inspiring and motivating individual, communities and stakeholders to be involved in Games-related opportunities (Glasgow City Council, 2009, p. 6). The pre-Games discussion surrounding the concept of legacy suggests movement towards defining legacy within industry documents; however, there remains a slight ambiguity due to Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government both producing differing, although similar, legacy themes. Dickson, Benson and Blackman (2011) suggest that the lack of any initial, satisfactory definition has led to the increase in legacy themes or categories. The documentation concerning the Games seems to present this dilemma; therefore, rather than produce a legacy definition, Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government produce Games-specific ambitions and themes. These conclusions are aligned with Leopkey and Parent's (2012) examination of the increasing use of themes within hosting documents from the Olympic Games. The authors suggest themes are becoming progressively interconnected and overlapping to achieve an overall legacy goal; similar deductions are evident from the suite of official Glasgow 2014 documents due to the themes being used to describe an overall legacy vision for Glasgow and Scotland. The majority of interviewees mentioned some confusion around defining or quantifying legacy. For example, an interviewee from a Games OC member commented when discussing what can be attributed to legacy:

'There's that knock on legacy, again how to quantify it, that's the problem with legacy it's difficult to quantify' (IP3).

Similarly, an interviewee from a voluntary sector employee suggested that to conceptualise legacy, the Games in question need to undertake clear assessments and have Games-related targets:

‘Where maybe it’s a little greyer is that I don’t think there has been a realistic assessment of what actually can a Games bring about, and what can you actually nail to the Games’ (IP2).

Here, the data collected agree with Cashman and Horne’s (2013, p. 50) issues surrounding legacy governance and ‘the problem of legacy assessment’. The authors suggest that while legacy governance has progressed, current issues facing successful legacy planning include monitoring, policing and research legacy management (Leopkey & Parent, 2012). Cashman and Horne (2013) also present the issue of the lengthy descriptions and variety of legacies. An interviewee describes the difficulties surround the diffuse nature of legacy:

‘I think the term legacy causes some confusing and the branding of legacy, I think it helps to describe it as something already exists and show how it works already ... explaining this is what happens and it’s called legacy what you are actually doing ... From my experience as soon as you mention the word legacy they think it’s something new’ (IP11).

This demonstrates a pathway taken within a community setting to avoid confusion through legacy terminology; moreover, it also provides insight into a real-life example of explaining what legacy is in the context of the Games.

Findings from this study suggest that, despite developing legacy themes from a core vision, stakeholders still struggle to understand the concept of legacy, especially at a local community level. Confusion appears evident from the outset in terms of defining what legacy will mean for local people, with data suggesting that interviewees did have a grasp of the notion of a successful legacy, but were not entirely sure of how that related to their lives nor the details of how that would change things for them. For example, they saw improvements being made to their local area, but did not readily link those positive changes with Commonwealth Games legacy. Specifically, this suggests the

concept of legacy is not yet easily accessible to those who are arguably a target audience - the host community.

Legacy Planning

Examined in the literature review, planning for legacy is an emerging area of event legacy research (Christie & Gibb, 2015). As a means to evaluate event-led regeneration legacy governance, Christie and Gibb provide six crucial elements for securing effective partnerships: 'the pooling of resources and shared agendas, leadership, community engagement, mutual learning, accountability and trust' (2015, p. 883). The authors summarise their findings by presenting Glasgow as example of successful event-legacy planning and governance to educate future host cities. This section critically analyses the data collected for this study as evidence to further inform legacy planning governance and delivery. For example, an interview with a voluntary sector employee stated:

'I think from the outset, I'd like to commend the Scottish Government for having the foresight to have Shona Robinson as a dedicated minister for the Commonwealth Games and she saw that through and gave personality and political weight behind how important these games were. So that personal spearheading of things and her influence over sport Scotland and young engagement, she really gave meaning to legacy in a way that London never came close to actually. So, we've had this twin track thing about delivering the games but also genuinely delivering a legacy as well' (IP2).

Here, the interviewee credits the innovative approach to legacy planning of appointing a Commonwealth Games and Sport Minister, thus emphasising what the Commonwealth Games Federation now acknowledge as the Glasgow approach (see Rogerson, 2016). The notion of

legacy accountability was present in the data, notably from an interview with Glasgow Centre for Population Health regarding their thoughts on regeneration legacy:

‘I think it’s been exceptional, really, really good and part of that is from having champions which were really bolshie and pushy and keep getting in people face and asking what have you done about this so there is some sort of accountability for different partners and they may not like it that much but it gets it done’ (IP8).

This interviewee presents the need for major event hosts to have a visible point of contact for legacy decisions, both for the communities affected and for the purpose of ensuring each stakeholder takes responsibility for their part in Games delivery. Additionally, the data in this study reinforce the importance in community-centred legacy planning. Interviewees from each organisation contacted spoke of the importance placed in community development and support pre, during and post Games. The data from this study further emphasise that this was a crucial decision for the majority of interviewees in advancing the field of major event legacy planning and delivery.

From the data collected, the majority consensus was in support of the approach Glasgow had taken to ensuring pre, during and post Games evaluation and measurement. An employee from a voluntary sector organisation commended the governmental leadership’s planning for legacy outcomes:

‘Another strength I would say is the interest from the Government and ensuring there was a proper measuring framework for what legacy would be. That has been really excellent, there was very thorough work done on what evidence of legacy had there been in other places and that fitted into the programme for Government around welfare and healthier, smarter, so it was good alignment with that and there’s been a

lot of notable successes that have already happened, e.g. the sporting legacy hubs in Scotland and also Clyde Gateway and investment there' (IP2).

Here, the data in this study support Preuss' (2007) recommendation that cities deciding to bid must complete thorough research in advance in order to identify gaps and inform strategic plans. Following from the example set by London 2012 as a preeminent instance of legacy planning, Glasgow and the Commonwealth Games extended the development of legacy planning to now include post-Games elements in the bid stage. Despite London 2012 facing criticism that a number of the promised legacy elements were compromised due to funding decisions, the element of legacy evaluation at the bid stage was said to help win the bid for the city (Scott, 2014). Similarly, the data in this study suggests the lessons to be learnt from the inclusion of legacy at the bid stage are crucial to the development of this field of research. This supports Leopkey and Parent's (2012, p. 938) statement, 'The change from thinking about legacy post-Games and post-bids to planning for it pre-Games is one of the most significant evolutionary adaptations in the governance of legacy within the modern Olympic Games'.

DISCUSSION

This paper provides an insight into the development of legacy planning for major events and the emergence of a partnership legacy from stakeholder perspectives. Focusing on understanding legacy, planning for legacy and legacy implications, the three key themes emerging from thematic data analysis were: 1) the issues presented in understanding the concept of legacy across all stakeholders; 2) the importance and development of legacy planning and governance for the Games; and, 3) the impacts Glasgow's approach to legacy has had on stakeholders. A key conclusion from this is the notion of a partnership legacy can be seen to have grown from innovative legacy governance structures put in place by Glasgow in the early stages

of legacy planning. When considering lessons learned for Glasgow from an interviewee from the local authority, there is an emphasis on the potential impact for the city from stronger working relationships and partnerships:

‘For me, having a better understanding of partnership working. So, legacy for me is I now know how we can do things better by having a multi-agency approach than just organisations coming together as and when necessary. That’s for me a real lesson learned’ (IP1).

Here, the real future implications for Glasgow’s event hosting approach is aligned with the growing body of research highlighting the importance of strong collaborations and networks (Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008; Smith, 2009; Swart, Bob, Knott, & Salie, 2011; Christie & Gibb, 2015). The multi-agency approach mentioned in the above quotation mirrors the research by Bornstein (2010), which suggests the practicality of such an approach to manage complex projects. While research suggests a mixed history in realising promised benefits despite building networks between stakeholders (Sadd, 2009; Davidson & McNeill, 2012), the data here agree with Christie and Gibb’s (2015) conclusion that Glasgow has produced a successful example of partnership development and sustainability, therefore, informing broader working relationships city-wide. It is suggested that the building and maintaining of such partnerships from a major event has the potential to initiate an additional type of social partnership legacy between communities, organisations and individuals.

The challenges facing forward-thinking host cities, event professionals and governments when considering legacy planning and implementation are unsurprising considering the mixed legacy conceptualisations and typologies (Leopkey & Parent, 2012). Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 50) provide a much-needed review of ‘legacy-management processes that have emerged in the

last decade'. Preuss (2015) states that changes associated with legacies are apparent from the time of an event being awarded; therefore, it is imperative legacy is planned. The data collected in this study across all 14 interviews were in agreement for efficient and flexible legacy planning. Cashman and Horne (2013) suggest that the methods of planning and managing legacy remain in the developmental stage with gaps and weaknesses apparent such as ensuring planning is a central component, securing a long-term focus and relevant evaluation, and managing stakeholder outcomes and resource challenges. Arguably, this is due to the recent emergence of this research field and differences in priorities from organising bodies (Stewart & Rayner, 2016). Data from this study suggest this is an area Glasgow approached from the bid stage by setting out clear legacy evaluation timelines and methods.

Misener, Darcy, Legg, & Gilbert (2013, p. 239) defines legacy planning as 'developing enduring, long-term positive benefits usually on a regional or national scale because the funder is typically a government agency'. Rogerson (2016) advocates the importance of a strategic management approach to legacy planning; however, he cautions that 'even careful planning may not be sufficient and one of the key lessons emerging from the London experience has been the limited action towards legacy in the years leading up to the event' (Rogerson, 2016, p. 4). Thus, this provides further recognition of the importance of legacy governance and management pre-event to realise and sustain ambitious legacy outcomes; hence, supporting the findings in this research claiming Glasgow recognised the need to consider legacy responsibility and governance into the pre-Games structures.

While one example of major event legacy planning and governance cannot be taken in isolation, previous research and the findings of this study suggest innovative developments within legacy generation and major event management such as embedding a Legacy team within

the organising committee of a Commonwealth Games and employing a Minister for Legacy and Sport. Furthermore, data collected from a local authority interviewee suggests that the scale of these Games for Glasgow allowed partnerships to be created city-wide. By establishing a robust, working relationships across organisations, communities and individuals, a real and powerful sense of ownership is achievable, as witnessed within Glasgow's approach to legacy planning. While legacy research highlights the potential for unplanned legacies, in the case of Glasgow, the findings in this research highlight the potential within host cities to create a partnership legacy that is wide reaching through new and established network development. Consistent with Leopkey and Parent (2016) and Christie and Gibb (2015), this research proposes Glasgow has the potential to create a partnership legacy grown from innovative legacy governance, collaborative working and network creation. The element of building such stakeholder relationships can be considered as a legacy in itself for the future of the host city.

CONCLUSIONS

When considering the planning element of legacy, this research confirms the need for strong legacy planning to realise overall legacy aims. Furthermore, this research proposed Glasgow has the potential to create a partnership legacy grown from innovative legacy governance, collaborative working, and network creation. Aligned with the key themes emerging from the data collected, conclusions can be drawn regarding the importance of establishing clear legacy plans pre-Games. Furthermore, the significance of Games-time stakeholder partnerships must be acknowledged as a possible legacy for the host city. It also is suggested from this research that sufficient time and integration strategies are vital to build an informed legacy agenda to ensure all stakeholder responsibility and governance is well communicated. Importantly, this paper frames the legacy discussion in the understanding of legacy planning and

governance, which highlights the need for impact recognition pre-Games to create longevity towards legacy achievement.

A further conclusion drawn from this research emphasises the importance of the notion of a created partnership legacy from hosting a major event. Notably, advances in major event planning are evident in a number of areas including venue access, integrated legacy team, bidding awareness, community engagement and partnership creation from Glasgow's approach. Further research is needed to examine the links between increased social capital and games partnership legacy; however, findings from this study present encouraging results as to the impacts of creating trusted, strong relationships within a city. Lastly, to further legacy understanding and analysis, it is recommended further research focus on the evolution of event legacy from different major event perspectives, such as other sporting events (e.g. FIFA World Cup, Rugby World Cup), in order to identify current games governance structures and the implication said structure have on legacy planning, implementation and evaluation.

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Table 1
Legacy frameworks

Glasgow City Council Legacy Themes	Scottish Government Legacy Themes
Prosperous Glasgow	Flourishing
Active Glasgow	Active
International Glasgow	Connected
Greener Glasgow	Sustainable
Accessible Glasgow	
Inclusive Glasgow	

(Glasgow City Council, 2009; Scottish Government, 2014)

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Table 2
Interviewee by job role and representative organisation

Interviewee by participant number	Organisation category
Interview Participant 1 (IP1)	Local authority
Interview Participant 2 (IP2)	Voluntary sector organisation
Interview Participant 3 (IP3)	Games Organising Committee
Interview Participant 4 (IP4)	Local author partnership organization
Interview Participant 5 (IP5)	Community organisation
Interview Participant 6 (IP6)	Community organisation
Interview Participant 7 (IP7)	Sport governing body
Interview Participant 8 (IP8)	Social research organisation
Interview Participant 9 (IP9)	Community association
Interview Participant 10 (IP10)	Volunteer programme Glasgow 2014
Interview Participant 11 (IP11)	Local authority Legacy Hub
Interview Participant 12 (IP12)	Voluntary organisation leader Glasgow 2014 / Volunteer
Interview Participant 13 (IP13)	Public sector organisation
Interview Participant 14 (IP14)	Public sector organisation

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