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**Social Legacy of Mega Sport Events:
Individual, Organisational and Societal Implications of
the London 2012 Games Maker Programme**

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B.S. (Hons), MPA**

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis was focussed on volunteering as a social legacy of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games (London 2012). The study identified a research gap with regard to the details on the processes through which the volunteering legacy can be achieved, for whom, in what circumstances and over which duration. Therefore, the overall purpose of this research was to explore the processes by which the London 2012 Volunteer Programme (the Games Maker Programme) was used to deliver a desired social legacy in the historical context of sport event volunteering in the UK, such as the XVII Commonwealth Games in Manchester (Manchester 2002), their Pre-Volunteer Programme (PVP) and Manchester Event Volunteers (MEV). This was done by means of examining volunteering experiences and volunteer management practices in the context of the Olympics as the least explored form of the Games-related legacy.

The uniqueness and strength of this research was in its empirically grounded and historically informed case study with an embedded single-case design with multiple units of analysis, where the case was the Games Maker Programme and units of analysis – different aspects of the Programme. The study employed critical realism and interpretative constructivism as the basis of its philosophical framework. It used a ‘realist’ approach drawing on the basis of realist evaluation: *context + mechanism = outcome* (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). Elements of the Programme became the *mechanisms* activated under certain conditions (*contexts*) to trigger certain *outcomes*. A two-layered theoretical framework was applied to help study volunteering in the context of the Olympics. The research utilised the *Legacy Cube* by Preuss (2007) as an outer layer of the framework to help identify *positive* and *negative*, *planned* and *unplanned*, *tangible* and *intangible* structures associated with a social legacy and analyse them at specific *time* and *space*. The *Volunteer Process Model* by Omoto and Snyder (2002) served as an inner-layer of the framework that helped explore more in-depth personal attributes of London 2012 volunteers (Individual level), processes, experiences and consequences of their involvement, as well as the ingrained nature of volunteering in the institutional and cultural environments (Organisational and Societal levels).

Longitudinal time horizon and mixed methods were used to collect a richer and stronger array of evidence to address the research aims and questions. Qualitative evidence included various documents, in-depth semi-structured interviews with volunteers (before and after London 2012) and managers (after London 2012), as well as participant observations carried out by the researcher

before and during the Games. These qualitative elements were supplemented with an on-line survey of a broader cross section of volunteers. Thematic analysis was used to make sense of the large volume of data and provide foundations for the results and a subsequent discussion.

The findings revealed that the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy had multiple stakeholders and aims, from running an excellent Games-time Volunteer Programme to creating a sustainable social legacy. Competing demands, poor coordination, the confusion over who is responsible for what outcomes, the lack of specific plans on *how* to achieve these outcomes and external factors related to changes in political environment and worsened socio-economic conditions in the UK contributed to a legacy not being realised to the extent it was hoped for. Therefore, declared commitments to *Excellence, Equality and Diversity, One Games, UK-Wide, Exchange, Legacy and Partnership* were limited in their capacity. Ultimately, the need to deliver the Games took a priority. Although the Games Maker Programme appeared to achieve its target to recruit, train and manage 70,000 volunteers to work in 3,500 Games-time roles, organisers were not always effective in providing volunteers with the best experience, which largely depended on volunteer roles, placements and a management style of immediate managers and team leaders. It came across as a surprising outcome, given that the successful organisation of the Games was largely in hands of volunteers. Therefore, *if* the commitment is to have an exemplary Games-time Volunteer Programme, then a priority should be to make those who freely devote their time and effort feel valued and provide them with an array of opportunities and benefits that encourage positive experiences. This, potentially, can contribute to a sustainable volunteering legacy beyond the Games.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Galina Nedvetskaya, who has never-ending faith in me. Without her I would not be who I am today, and this PhD accomplishment would have not been possible either. She provided me with invaluable foundation, support and inspiration to embark on this intellectually challenging and life-changing journey, shared all the dark and bright moments along the way and gave me strength, either in presence or from a far distance, to not give up. Thank you for your love and patience, Mum!

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I am indebted to volunteers who agreed to take part in this research. Thank you for your contributions to this research, and for your enthusiasm and commitment to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games! My appreciation goes to senior and lower level managers for sharing their valuable insights.

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Author's declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature _____

Printed name _Olesya Nedvetskaya_____

Abbreviations

CMOCs	Context + Mechanism = Outcome Configurations
CRSV	Collective and Reflexive Styles of Volunteering
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
Games Maker	London 2012 volunteer
GLA	Greater London Authority
HRM	Human Resource Management
IOC	International Olympic Committee
LDA	London Development Authority
LOCOG	London 2012 Organizing Committee
London 2012	London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games
Manchester 2002	Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games
MEV	Manchester Event Volunteers
MVC model	Conceptual Model of Volunteer Commitment
MVS	Motivation to Volunteer Scale
NAQ	National Authority for Qualification
OCOGs	Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games
OGI	Olympic Games Impact Study
Olympics	The Olympic and Paralympic Games
OSOs	Olympic Sport Organizations
OVMS	Olympic Volunteer Motivation Scale
PB	London 2012 Personal Best Programme
PVP	Manchester 2002 Pre-Volunteer Programme
SEVMS	Special Event Volunteer Motivation Scale
SEVs	Selection Event Volunteers
VFI	Volunteer Functions Inventory
VMS-ISE	Volunteer Motivations Scale for International Sporting Events
VPM	Volunteer Process Model
VSTM	Volunteer Stages and Transitions Model

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Overview

There is increasing competition across the globe to host so-called ‘mega’ sport events such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games (referred to as the Olympics). Massive financial, human and organisational investments are required to prepare for and stage such events. Not surprisingly, the decision to bid for and host them attracts controversy as well as criticism (Baum and Lockstone, 2007). While the rationale for hosting these spectacles varies with the country and agendas of its political elites, it is clear that these short-lived occasions bring long-term consequences with which host destinations have to cope after the Olympics leave town (Smith, 2006). The nature and duration of event legacies are debatable and, therefore, are the subject of increasing scholarly attention.

Since the 1990s, a substantial and growing body of research has been undertaken to investigate mega sport events. However, whereas infrastructure development and economic returns tend to be well-documented, this is not the case with less tangible social impacts and legacies (e.g. Hall, 2001; Brown and Massey, 2001; Coalter, 2007; Preuss, 2007, 2015; COHRE, 2007; Smith and Fox, 2007; Clark, 2008; Gold and Gold, 2011; Minnaert, 2012; Leopkey and Parent, 2012). It is argued that the limited evidence is due to the complex and relatively nebulous nature of the social aspects of legacies; it is difficult to record, measure, and evaluate them. Yet, volunteering – a vital activity in the delivery and success of the Olympics – is one sphere in which the creation of both tangible and intangible aspects of a social legacy might be anticipated (e.g. Chalip, 2000; MacAloon, 2000; Cuskelly *et al.*, 2004; Baum and Lockstone, 2007; Zhuang and Girginov, 2012; Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013).

For example, research in and outside the sport context identified that volunteer training and volunteering activities can transform individuals through boosting employability skills and competencies, efficacy and self-confidence (e.g. Elstad, 1996; Kemp, 2002; Wilson, 2000; 2012; Doherty, 2009; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). These changes, in turn, offer new prospects and resources to help volunteers transition to employment, education or further volunteering (e.g. Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006; UEL/TGIfS, 2010; Dickson and Benson, 2013; LOCOG, 2013; Nichols, 2013; Nichols and Ralston, 2014). In addition, volunteering encourages strong bonds between different people through intense interactions, powerful emotions and shared common values, which can strengthen the social fabric through creating the sense of *communitas* (Chalip, 2006;

Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Importantly, management practices and the context within which volunteering takes place influence these outcomes (e.g. Farrell, Johnston and Twynam, 1998; Green and Chalip, 1998; Omoto and Snyder, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Cuskelly, Hoye, and Auld, 2006; Cuskelly and Auld, 2006a,b; Hoye *et al.*, 2006; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006; Dickson *et al.*, 2013).

However, to date very little is known about mega sport event volunteering and volunteer programmes (Bang and Chelladurai, 2009; Khoo and Engelhorn, 2011), notably in the context of the Olympics (Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray, 2008; Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). More research is needed on characteristics of volunteers, their motivations, processes and outcomes of volunteering (Green and Chalip, 2004), as well as volunteer programmes' strategic and operational processes (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010) and the potential of these aspects to influence the creation and delivery of a social legacy. Additionally, the research to date has taken a predominantly quantitative approach using convenience sampling and cross-sectional research designs (Hoye and Cuskelly, 2009), which limits what these studies can reveal over time (Green and Chalip, 2004).

This research aims to fill some of these gaps via utilising the London 2012 Olympic Games as the primary context of the study. Volunteering experiences are embedded in the London 2012 Games Maker Programme, which is the primary case for this research. The Programme is examined in relation to the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy, which was formed by multiple stakeholders whose ideas about what the Games can leave as a legacy were influenced by the history of previous experiences in delivering similar events, particularly the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games. To help answer *who*, *why*, *how* and *what* of the Programme, the study adopted critical realism as the ontological stance (Bhaskar, 1975, 2008; Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Maxwell, 2012; Byers, 2013; Pawson, 2013) and social constructivism as the epistemological stance (Barkin, 2003; Byers, 2009). Specifically, the Games Maker Programme, originated after the successful bid to host the Olympics, and the subsequent creation of the Volunteering Strategy, is considered the *mechanism* designed to trigger change. Confined by deadlines, it played out in stages that resulted in *outcomes* for volunteers in a certain *context*. The richness and intensity of volunteering experiences are, therefore, understood as a complex interplay of personal attributes, motivations, social interactions, and management practices that took place prior, during and after the Games in a historical context of sport event volunteering in the UK.

These details were analysed with the help of a two-layered theoretical framework created for this research, which consists of the ‘outer’ layer (*Legacy Cube* by Preuss, 2007) and the ‘inner’ layer (*Volunteer Process Model* by Omoto and Snyder, 2002). The *Legacy Cube* helped place this research within a social legacy, and identified positive and negative, planned and unplanned, tangible and intangible manifestations of London 2012 volunteering. The *Volunteer Process Model*, in turn, aided in guiding this study via an in-depth exploration of causes, processes and benefits of volunteering through a sequence of stages (antecedents, experiences and consequences) on different levels of analysis (individual, organisational and societal). To date, this model was not used in exploring issues of mega sport event volunteering. However, it can be greatly beneficial in helping to demonstrate the interrelatedness of various aspects of volunteering, which highlights the complexity of this phenomenon, and provides a holistic framework for its analysis and evaluation, lacking in the literature (Wicker and Hallmann, 2013). Complemented by the *Human Research Management Model* (Hoye *et al.*, 2006) on volunteer management practices, this framework guided the investigation into *why* people engaged in volunteering for London 2012, *what* their profile was, *how* they were selected, trained, managed, supported and recognised, *what* roles and tasks they were assigned, *how* they performed, *what* they learned and *how* they assessed their experiences. Structures and mechanisms in place were explored to identify the efforts of event stakeholders to create positive volunteering experiences and, ultimately, a sustainable volunteering legacy that can be extended beyond London 2012.

1.2. Purpose, aims and research questions

The overall *Purpose* of this research was to explore the processes by which the London 2012 Games Maker Programme was used to deliver a desired social legacy in the historical context of sport event volunteering in the UK. A priority was to find out what worked (or not) in the Games Maker Programme and why, for whom, and in what circumstances. The ultimate intent of this research was three-fold: to contribute to existing research on the Games-related social legacy and mega sport event volunteering; to inform policies and practice of prospective host cities; and to identify further research avenues to be explored in the future. A number of aims and research questions served as stepping-stones to achieve this end.

The *Research Aims* were to:

- Critically examine the origins and nature of ‘theories’ (or stakeholders’ reasoning) underpinning the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy, and their adoption in the Games Maker Programme and the associated Pre-Volunteer initiative;
- Critically analyse the specific commitments infused and volunteer management practices implemented by the London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) at various stages of the Programme, and how these were ‘received’ by volunteers;
- Critically discuss the consequences of the Programme on personal, organisational and societal levels, particularly in view of generating a sustainable volunteering legacy.

The *Research Questions* were:

- What specific aims of the Volunteering Strategy were targeted at the delivery of the Games and the social legacy beyond the Games?
- How did LOCOG plan to use the Games Maker Programme to deliver on the promises outlined in the Strategy?
- What were the LOCOG objectives, practices and outcomes pertaining to the following stages of the Programme: planning, recruitment, selection, training, deployment, reward, recognition and retention?
- What were the main successes and challenges of the Programme in relation to its objectives, processes and outcomes?
- Who became engaged, trained and, eventually, volunteered for the Games, and why?
- What were volunteers’ experiences at each stage of the Programme, and their level of efficacy and satisfaction?
- What was volunteers’ main contribution to the Games, the benefits they received, and how transferable were their experiences?
- How did LOCOG use the Programme to deliver a long-term social legacy for the UK?

This research employed various methods of data collection to address research aims and questions. Documents associated with the development and design of the Games Maker Programme were analysed, including the London 2012 Legacy promises and the Volunteering Strategy, workbooks and action plans distributed to Games Makers as well as published evaluation reports. They were analysed in order to understand the vision, goals, priorities and, where available, outcomes of volunteering experiences as well as the associated legacy. This research also involved in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with managers responsible for the design of the Volunteering Strategy and

delivery of the Games Maker Programme to understand pre-conceptions of declared statements versus management practices used. These interviews also shed light on managers' personal experiences of challenges and opportunities they encountered, and their views on how the organisational context may have impacted the volunteers' experiences. This evidence was complemented with the on-line survey and repeat semi-structured interviews with volunteers. The survey was designed to understand profile, motivations, expectations and training outcomes, whereas interviews were used to elicit volunteers' views of their overall experiences with the Programme before and during the Games, and the outcomes 14 months after the Games. Similar interviews were conducted with managers responsible for Manchester 2002 and London 2012 pre-volunteer initiatives and with volunteers who took part in both programmes. The fact that some interviewees were long-term volunteers involved in both Games allowed for comparisons between experienced and first-time volunteers. Thematic analysis was used to make sense of interview data, and explored experiences and their meanings to volunteers, managers and the researcher.

The researcher's personal role as a Games Maker and participant observations in the run up and during the London 2012 Games provided valuable insights not attainable otherwise.

1.3. Positioning the researcher in the research

It was argued in the literature that social research cannot be carried out in isolation from the biography of the researcher and wider social processes, which may have bearing on the research and, therefore, affect its results. This is related to the concept of 'reflexivity', which acknowledges, "*the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations*" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.15). Since researchers are part of the social world, they bring worldviews, biases, and interpretations to the process, which influences findings (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2011). This is especially true in qualitative inquiry where investigators cannot separate themselves from various aspects of the research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Thus, researchers are required to be aware of personal experiences, values, interests, emotions, selectivity and subjectivity, and how these may influence their choices and research endeavours (Dupuis, 1999; Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2011).

Personal background and experience placed the researcher in a unique position from which to conduct this study. According to Reinharz (1997), the researcher brings three 'selves' to the research which all come into play in the research setting: the brought self, the research-based self and the situationally-

created self. The brought self is the researcher's personal characteristics and background: a white female in her late 20s - early 30s during the course of the research, with 10 years of work experience, including in the Olympics industry. This practical knowledge facilitated the process of undertaking the research project, particularly, providing a better understanding of the environment and logistics of staging the Games. This experience and personal interest in a Games-related legacy directly influenced the choice of the context for this study and the research focus.

The research-based self was the researcher's identity as a PhD student with a history of conducting research in academia and the non-profit sector, which brought some useful skills to the project. The situationally-created self was the researcher working in an unfamiliar foreign environment with no personal connections, which in the beginning highly diminished opportunities to access research participants (detailed in Chapter 5). However, the ultimate involvement of the researcher in the Games Maker Programme through becoming a Selection Event Volunteer and later a Games Maker provided an element of 'insider' status, which negated an 'outsider' aspect. This new identity greatly helped in gaining access and developing field relations with volunteers and managers (Denscombe, 2007) and provided an element of confidence and comfort with the culture and setting of the research.

Explicitly revealing the Games Maker identity helped the researcher in conducting interviews with volunteers who were willing to open up to a person they believed was 'one of them'. Yet, caution was required in considering people's reactions to the researcher's identity as a participant observer, particularly at Games time, as "*people being watched tend to act differently than they do when they do not believe they are being observed*" (Manning and Kunkel, 2014, p. 127). Reflections on ethical implications of decisions the researcher had to make are discussed in the methodological section of this thesis (Chapter 5). The insider perspective as a potential source of bias that put limitations on the research is elaborated in the final Chapter 11.

1.4. Thesis structure

The thesis starts with placing this study within the field of mega sport events and a social legacy. This is followed by an overview of the literature that explores the key concepts, which informs the research purpose and the adopted approach to research. The latter is outlined in detail before the research findings are presented and discussed in the context of the literature, the research aims and questions posed. The thesis closes with the evaluation of the research including a critical assessment of the

strengths and limitations of the study. It also provides recommendations for academics and practitioners, and suggests avenues for future investigations.

Chapter 1 briefly outlines the context of the study and its purpose as well as the research aims and research questions in relation to the gaps found in the literature. **Chapters 2, 3 and 4** are devoted to critical and systematic analysis of the literature on issues relevant to the topic of the research. The least researched areas are identified, and approaches to address these areas are explored. The major goal of these Chapters is to establish a solid theoretical framework to guide this study. Thus, **Chapter 2** positions the research within the field of mega sport events and their social legacy, and identifies volunteering legacy as a primary research focus. It describes a wider political and historical context of bidding for and hosting mega sport events. The notion of ‘legacy’ is contested in view of academic and Olympic discourses to identify its controversial nature and meaning. The ‘*Legacy cube*’ by Preuss (2007) is presented as the first layer of the theoretical framework for analysing impacts and legacies in their interconnectedness. The evolution of legacy and the role of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in legacy governance of the modern Olympics is critically examined. The London 2012 Games are presented as the champions of a new approach to legacy planning and governance.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on volunteering as a social aspect of legacy. **Chapter 3** is dedicated to a thorough analysis of volunteering, particularly sport event volunteering. The notion of volunteering and theories of volunteering are examined in order to understand the nature of the phenomenon, and identify underresearched areas. A new working definition of mega sport event volunteering is provided, thereby strengthening a conceptual foundation of this study. A *Hybrid Conceptual Framework of Volunteering* by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) is introduced to conceptualise volunteering as an intrinsically complex, multidimensional phenomenon. The *Volunteer Process Model* (VPM) by Omoto and Snyder (2002) is presented as a holistic framework that will guide this research through an in-depth exploration of causes, processes and benefits of volunteering. This model serves as the second layer of the conceptual grounds of this research. **Chapter 4** is concerned with a more in-depth examination of three levels of analysis contained in the VPM model. The individual level explores volunteer motivations, expectations, experiences, efficacy, benefits, satisfaction, and commitment. The organisational level details the *Human Resource Management* (HRM) approach by Hoye *et al.* (2006) to highlight adopted volunteer management practices and their impact on volunteers and attainment of organisations’ goals. The societal level is mainly concerned with the social legacy.

Chapter 5 is devoted to research methodology, and contains the research philosophy embraced by this study, the research approach, the research strategy as well as the time horizon and methods of data collection and analysis. The metaphor of the research ‘*Onion*’ by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012) is applied to the research process. The researcher’s personal reflections on recruiting participants are detailed alongside ethical implications. **Chapters 6 to 10** present critical analysis of the research findings. **Chapter 6** is dedicated to pre-volunteer initiatives associated with Manchester 2002 and London 2012 in order to highlight the historical context and lessons learned from Manchester, and how they informed London. **Chapter 7** focusses on expectations and motivations of volunteers in order to understand what gives meaning to, shapes behaviour and influences the decisions to volunteer. **Chapters 8-10** are centred specifically on the Games Maker Programme, its makeup and delivery. The aim is to uncover volunteer management practices and detail experiences of those involved once the Programme was initiated and until its completion. **Chapter 8**, in particular, looks at the pre-Games phase: recruitment, selection, training and organisational support provided to Games Makers. **Chapter 9** explores Games-time experiences of volunteers in staging the Games. It reveals the ‘behind-the-scenes’ environment in which volunteers worked, and the management style implemented. **Chapter 10** examines post-Games reflections and consequences of volunteering as perceived by volunteers and managers. Particular attention is given to all three levels of analysis: personal, organisational, and societal. **Chapter 11** revisits the research findings in view of philosophical and theoretical frameworks underpinning the study. Theoretical, methodological and practical implications, strengths and limitations of the research, and directions for future research are also discussed.

Chapter 2. Mega sport events, their impacts and legacy conceptualised

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 is the beginning of the critical review of the most current literature relevant to this study. Notably, this Chapter aims to position the research within the field of mega sport events and their social legacy, and identify the volunteering legacy as a primary focus for this research. For this purpose, a brief typology of events is outlined and mega sport events are defined. The notion of ‘legacy’ is contested in view of academic and Olympic discourses, and fallacies of ‘legacy’ meanings are examined to explain the misleading nature of this phenomenon. The *Legacy Cube* by Preuss (2007) and its elements of intention, tangibility, value, time and space are critically discussed to shed light on the *what, who, how* and *when* of legacy. Based on this legacy framework, the definition of legacy by Preuss (2007) is suggested to be the most comprehensive to date in the analysis of event impacts and legacies in their complexity and multidimensionality, yet is challenging in its practical application. A stakeholder perspective on legacy offered by Preuss (2015) is introduced to reveal unequal distribution of costs and benefits of events - an issue critical for understanding event legacies. The social legacy is discussed as a significant dimension of the viability of events. The paradigm shift in thinking about legacy from post-Games to pre-Games strategic planning is presented in view of the concept of *sustainable development* as it is framed by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and employed by the host cities. To contextualise this research, the Chapter concludes with the overview of the London 2012 sustainability approach to legacy planning in general and, particularly, in relation to social legacy (volunteering). The London 2012 Volunteering Strategy is reviewed from the long history of its conception and stakeholders involved to its vision, aims, values and commitments.

2.2. A typology of events

Getz (2005) referred to planned events as unique “*temporary occurrences...stemming from the blend of management, program, setting and people*” (p. 16). Planned events are well publicised, have a set agenda, and provide the consumer with opportunities to enjoy social activities outside their everyday experiences (Jago and Shaw, 1998). This description embraces different sorts of events, which are distinct from one another, and are based on a number of characteristics. Internal characteristics include the type, scale and duration of events such as sphere of leisure (including sport, music), number of attendees (including spectators, organisers and participants), number of individual sessions, period and levels of organisational complexity. Sport events, for that matter, are referred to as programmed

events that feature a sporting competition (Bob and Swart, 2011). External characteristics comprise the focus and profile of events such as media coverage, tourism, target markets (from local to global) and impacts on the host city. Generally guided by these attributes, different event typologies have been developed in the academic literature (e.g. Roche, 2001; Bob and Swart, 2011), which reflect their multifaceted nature.

The typology focussed on the size and context of events classifies them into four different categories: local, regional, major, and mega (Holmes and Smith, 2009). According to this categorisation, the Olympics are the largest-in-scale mega sport events with a global orientation, international significance and mass popular appeal (Roche, 2001; Baum *et al.* 2009). They require “*a competitive bid to ‘win’ them as a one-time event for a particular place*” (Getz, 2008, p. 408), the number of visitors exceed one million, the cost is more than \$500 million USD, and its prestige attracts worldwide interest (Getz, 2005). The most recent typology of sport events is focussed on the nature of sport events, and suggests three dichotomies essential from a managerial perspective: for-profit/non-profit, mono-sport/multi-sport and one-off/recurring (Chappelet and Parent, 2015). The Olympics, accordingly, is referred to as a multi-sport event (often called ‘Games’), staged by various host cities and overseen by the IOC, the governing body of the modern Olympics.

The Olympics is often described as a phenomenon of great proportion and diversity that is short-term in duration, but often long-term in consequences. Cumulatively, the organisational complexity, magnitude and a variety of impacts affecting host cities and their local communities are undoubtedly greater for the Olympics than for any other event. Given high public expenditures required to host the Games, expectations are high about their anticipated long-term benefits “*found in new event and urban infrastructure, urban renewal, enhanced international reputation, increased tourist visitation and related benefits*” (Lockstone and Baum 2009, p. 39). This brings us to the discussion of the concept of legacy in both academic and Olympic discourses.

2.3. ‘Legacy’ rhetoric

The growing interest around the world in bidding for and staging the Olympics triggered an increased academic interest in the study and critique of the Olympic legacies in comparison to smaller scale events (e.g. Cashman, 2006; Gold and Gold, 2011; Girginov, 2012, 2013, 2014; Leopkey and Parent, 2012; Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013; Pentifallo, 2013; Chalip, 2014; Vanwynsberghe, 2015; Preuss, 2007, 2015). Yet, despite the origin of the modern Olympics in 1896, the concept of legacy did not

gain appeal in the event/sport management discourse until the 1980s except for references to competition venues and their post-Games use (Leopkey and Parent, 2012). Preuss' (2007) analysis of a number of articles on 'mega event sport legacy', 'mega event sport legacy and tourism' and 'sport legacy' showed that the interest in 'legacy' has grown over time: from 21 publications in 2000 to 43 in 2006 (p. 209). Since then, scholars began to take a more complex view of legacy and place more emphasis on legacy that extends beyond sport, capital, tourism/commercial and economic elements to incorporate social, cultural, psychological, environmental and political factors (e.g. Silvestre, 2009; Doherty 2009; Minnaert, 2012; Chappelet, 2012). Yet, efforts to envision, frame and implement event legacies tend to be fragmented and lack a comprehensive approach due to incomplete selection of types of legacies, a confusion over what legacy means and how it should be evaluated (VanWynsberghe, 2015; Preuss, 2015). As noted by Horne (2007), "*the 'legacies' ...are the greatest attraction but also form part of the 'known unknowns' of sports mega-events*" (p. 86). It is the complexity of the concept as well as the lack of consensus on its nature that form the main tension between academics and practitioners alike.

2.3.1. The meaning of legacy

It has been argued that the notion of 'legacy' does not have a clear or satisfying definition (Preuss, 2007). It is used interchangeably with other interrelated concepts, which makes 'legacy' an "*elusive, problematic and even dangerous word*" (Leopkey and Parent, 2012, p. 927). Parent and Smith-Swan (2013) provided a brief synopsis of legacy definitions and legacy-related concepts used by various scholars. Thus, *impacts* refer to short duration, almost immediate changes directly due to the event that can be of various types and may be viewed in different levels of analysis such as individual, community and society. In relation to impacts, scholars differentiate among positive and negative, short-term and long-term impacts (see Table 2.1.). *Outcomes* are final consequences of various legacies such as increase/decrease in employment or in tourism (Fredline, Jago and Deery, 2003). Legacy, in turn, is often approached as anything remaining following the hosting of an event: long-term benefits that may extend beyond several decades. This meaning of legacy is almost predetermined by the etymology of the word 'legacy', which refers to "*a gift, handed out from the past, long lasting effect*" (Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013, p. 288). Preuss (2007) criticised this description based on two presumptions. Firstly, event 'left-over' (e.g. an improved image for tourism) is a public good whereas 'property' belongs to one person. Secondly, some of the legacies (e.g. unused infrastructure or uneven distribution of public resources) can be negatively perceived by segments of the population and may not always be intended; thus, cannot be left 'by will'.

Table 2.1. Positive and negative impacts of events

Positive impacts	Negative impacts
<i>Short-term</i>	<i>Short-term</i>
Increased entertainment opportunities Increased employment opportunities Opportunity to meet new people Increased skill base e.g. volunteer training Increased business opportunities and tourism flow Commercial sponsorship Greater international exposure Increased political reputation	Noise, traffic congestion and parking problems Litter and damage to the environment Overcrowding Increased cost of living e.g. property rentals Increased crime levels Excessive drinking Money spent on the events, not on community needs
<i>Long-term</i>	<i>Long-term</i>
Increased business opportunities and tourism flow Enhanced community and city image and image of its elites Community pride, renewed community spirit, social capital Preservation of local culture/heritage Additional know-how New facilities and infrastructure Urban regeneration Increased standard of living Improved public welfare	Unused facilities Local and national debts, cost overruns Unjust displacements and relocations High opportunity costs Loss of permanently returning tourists

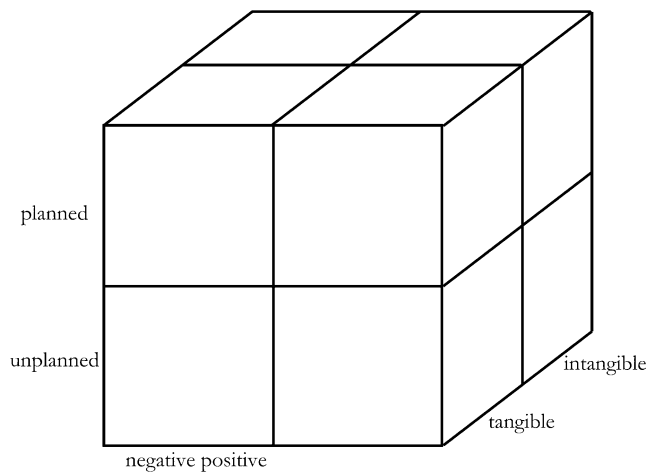
Sources: Hall (2001), Brown and Massey (2001), Fredline, Jargo and Deery (2003), Preuss (2007), Gratton and Preuss (2008), Deery and Jago (2010), Leopkey and Parent (2012)

To complicate the matter, the concept of legacy is context, culture, politics and policy specific, and may encompass different meanings for different countries (Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013). This is reflected in various aspirations of the cities bidding for the Olympics. For example, Vancouver 2010 positioned itself as the world's first 'socially sustainable' and truly 'Green' Games; London 2012, among other things, was concerned with regeneration of the East part of the city, whereas Sochi 2014 claimed to be the most innovative and environmentally friendly Games (Gold and Gold, 2011; Clark 2008).

2.3.2. Introducing a framework for understanding legacy

Preuss (2007) called for a holistic perspective, which would reflect the complexity and multidimensionality of the legacy concept. He introduced a *Legacy cube* made up of eight smaller cubes (see Figure 2.1), which include six dimensions of legacy ('structures'): positive/negative, tangible/intangible, and planned/unplanned that can be evaluated for a particular *time* and *space* and across various impacts. Based on this framework, Preuss (2007) suggested the following definition of legacy: "*Irrespective of the time of production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself*" (p. 211).

Figure 2.1. Legacy Cube



Source: Preuss (2007, p. 211)

VanWynsberghe (2015) suggests that Preuss' (2007) *Legacy cube* provides a simple categorisation of event impacts into three spheres of sustainability, and serves as a useful tool for conceptualising and analysing the legacies of events. Chappelet (2012) also devised a similar typology in which he distinguished between various dimensions such as intentional vs. unintentional, territorial vs. personal, global vs. local and sport-related vs. non-sport-related effects. Preuss (2015) updated his legacy framework to take account of this and include a set of new dimensions: *new initiatives*, *intention* (planned vs. unplanned), *tangibility* (material vs. non-material), *value* (positive vs. negative), *time*, and *space*.

Preuss (2015) argues that his framework helps approach the phenomenon of legacy from different angles. These various dimensions distinguish it from similar concepts and help answer the what, who, how and when of legacy. Thus, according to this approach, the nature and scale of an overall legacy is the result of structural changes in a host city caused by five 'event structures' (Table 2.2.). These structures are either created or somehow affected by preparing for and staging a mega event, and can be split into 'hard' (material) and 'soft' (non-material) structures, related to the element of *tangibility*. 'Hard' structures involve all sorts of infrastructure, whereas 'soft' structures incorporate knowledge, policy, networks, and emotions. The first four structures are developed through the preparation for the event, whereas emotions are developed during the actual event (Preuss, 2015).

Table 2.2. Examples of event structures

Event Structure	Examples
Infrastructure	Roads, airports, public transport, venue, parks, power supply, sewage plants, recycling factories, harbours, housing, beaches, fairgrounds
Knowledge	Volunteering, bidding processes, employee up-skilling, school education programmes, event organisation, research, service skills
Policy	Education (school curricula), security, sport, environment, social, public policies (city, state and nation), laws)
Networks	Politicians, sport officials, environmental activists, security persons
Emotions	Image, celebration, camaraderie, memories, stories ‘to talk about’, a sense of belonging, activism

Source: Preuss (2015, p. 9)

Each city differs in the structures available at any particular time, and each event differs in the structures required. Therefore, every city will have a unique legacy composition, which may have far-reaching effects that can extend beyond local communities, host cities, and become national, international or even global (element of *space*). Moreover, some structures are short-lived (emotions or political reputation), others are longer term (infrastructure), which means that legacies can be of a different duration (element of *time*). Preuss (2015) further argues that these five ‘event structures’ have the potential to change the quality of a location (site) for living, industry, events, tourism, conferences, fairs and exhibitions, which makes it a different kind of destination, better positioned in the world of global competition for scarce resources. Enhanced location factors are more likely to attract *new initiatives* in the form of social, economic or other kind of activity, thereby keeping those structures in use to generate *value*. This, however, usually happens long after the event itself and its directly initiated impacts. Too often legacies in all five ‘event structures’ remain latent, which can be costly. Thus, a ‘White Elephant’ syndrome in the form of unused infrastructure is ‘notorious’ in Olympic history (Silvestre, 2009). What initially seems to be a positive investment could turn into a financial burden in the form of costly maintenance, becoming a drain on resources if after-event use is not properly planned. The knowledge accumulated through bidding for the event is a ‘latent legacy’ and will not become a ‘real legacy’ unless needed for bidding for another event (Preuss, 2015). Skills and experience gained through event volunteering can remain latent until and unless a person finds further opportunities to become involved in other events or community volunteering.

Thus, according to this legacy rhetoric, legacies can have different *values* that can change through time; positive legacies can turn into latent or negative legacies. Moreover, “*positive legacy in one dimension can be a negative legacy in another dimension*” (Preuss, 2007, p. 220). For example, event-

related rapid developments may trigger greater international attention and increased sense of excitement, pride and self-esteem among community members, but at the same time, disrupt their normal way of living, which may result in feelings of alienation and a loss of a sense of belonging (Deery and Jago, 2010). Preuss (2015) considers negative outcomes as unintentional or unplanned dimensions of legacy (element of *intention*).

2.3.3. Stakeholder perspectives on legacy

Structural changes in a host city generate an unequal distribution of benefits, which is crucial in understanding event-related legacies. Not surprisingly, major disagreements between opponents and proponents of mega events stem from the fact that event legacies affect various stakeholders differently (see Table 2.3.). Governments, for example, are among the key event stakeholders. They are interested in events that boost national and international media coverage to increase image, tourism and inward investments to trigger local economies in the form of new or renovated sport infrastructure, improved transportation links and job creation. A recent trend is to use the Games as a tool for regeneration of historically deprived and derelict urban spaces and city modernisation (Pentifallo, 2013), yet with mixed legacies. Los Angeles 1984, Barcelona 1992, Atlanta 1996, Athens 2004 and most recently London 2012 are cited as examples of such Olympic cities. In particular, Barcelona seafront and Atlanta Olympic Park are considered as successful urban regeneration projects that revitalised run down areas and turned them into important commercial, leisure and sport destinations (Gold and Gold, 2011). The face of Athens was transformed from a provincial Mediterranean capital to a modern ‘megapolis’ with new urban and renovated traditional spaces, safe and fast transportation links and improved environment (Papanikolaou, 2013).

However, echoing Grix (2014), a pertinent question to pose is, “Who benefits most from the developments associated with hosting a mega sport event: governments, the IOC and its sponsors, businesses, sport governing bodies, tourists or local population?” This trickles down to the issue of distribution, which is, according to Short (2008, p. 332 in Girginov, 2012), regressive “*with most of the cost borne locally, especially by the more marginal urban residents...while most of the benefits accrue to local elites and a global media market*” (p. 5). This correlates with the criticism expressed by Preuss (2015) that the Olympics benefit prosperous citizens but create disadvantages for the poor: “*There are always losers among the citizens after each event since not all location factor changes will benefit all citizens*” (p. 19).

Table 2.3. Positive and negative legacies to various stakeholders

Stakeholder	Potentially positive	Potentially negative
Central government (politicians)	Enhanced international recognition of region and values, international reputation, international observation of human rights	Unlimited guarantees for cost overrun, more corruption, policies dismissed
Local politicians	Infrastructure development, job creation and additional revenues, increased local pride and community spirit	Unneeded infrastructure, redistribution of costs, increase in administrative costs, use of event to legitimate unpopular decisions
Organising committee	Jobs and salary	Failure to cope
Sport governing bodies (national)	Recognition by international sport movement, national recognition of and investment in sport structures, revenues	Some loss of autonomy
Sport governing bodies (international)	Staging of their event	Loss of international reputation, corrupt structures
National population	Prestige, national policies, nation building	Negative change in policies or laws
People interested and active in sport	New venues, sport policies, sport entertainment	Economic exploitation of local population to satisfy ambitions of political elite
Environmentalists	Transport solutions, new green areas (parks), solution for brownfields, strengthened environmental awareness	Ecological damage, increased carbon footprint, additional waste, overcrowding
Socially underprivileged	Up-skilling and jobs, some social housing, change of community structure, homelessness protocol	Gentrification, price increases, commercialisation of space, change of community structure, social dislocation
Wealthy population	Gentrification, infrastructure (more restaurants, entertainment venues, malls), less crime	Increased taxes, more crime due to unequal share of resources
Local industry and business	Investments, tourism	Crowding out, new competitors for existing enterprises
Tourists	New iconic buildings, gentrification of city, new hotels, restaurants	Price increases

Source: Preuss (2015, p. 13)

Evidence suggests that even before the Games, clearance of designated areas, displacements and evictions are commonplace (Porter *et al.*, 2009; COHRE, 2007). Access to public spaces can be restricted due to either partial or ultimate closure of existent local facilities. For example, a public park was converted into a private leisure facility after the Sydney 2000 Games (Owen, 2001). Those who can access and afford the expense and, therefore, can benefit from created legacies perceive new opportunities positively, whereas those who have less financial means and cannot afford a rise in the cost of living are forced to migrate. The Barcelona Olympic Village in the El Poblenou district, a former obsolete industrial site, was transformed from a working into a middle- and upper-class environment. Small businesses also had to move, unable to compete with new businesses serving the new residents, thereby contributing to gentrification and community disruption (Raco 2004). As a result of the development of the Olympic Park in London, middle-class and rich citizens profited from

the availability of new properties, which they rented out at up to 80% of market rates. However, poorer east Londoners could not manage renting and had to relocate. (Cooper, 2012). It is noted that because of their limited housing rights, tenants are usually the most affected by the Olympics (Silvestre, 2009). Among the other most-cited negative socio-economic and socio-cultural developments are: opportunity costs; increased tax burden; decreased social budget; overcrowding; extra security measures; ‘sanitisation’ from homeless, prostitutes, beggars and protesters; endangered human rights and civil liberties; greater segregation; diluted community structures; broken social capital and community cohesion; social unrest; increased socio-economic inequalities (see Roche, 1994; Hall, 2001; Brown and Massey, 2001; Clark, 2008; COHRE, 2007; Smith and Fox, 2007; Minnaert, 2012; Porter, *et al.* 2009). As observed, “*the people who are often most impacted...are those who are the least able to form community groups and protect their interests*” (Silvestre, 2009, p. 13).

The most critiqued aspect of hosting the Olympics is against wasteful public expenditures and benefits for the urban elites and government authorities, who leave repaying debts associated with the preparation and staging of the Games to the local population (Smart, 2007). Although flows of investments from the private sector, drawn by the Games, may help to fund mega events, get a return on investments and contribute to long-term developments, most of these projects are heavily funded through taxpayers’ money. Scarce public resources are often transferred away from more publicly favoured sectors, such as health care or education, to pay for high costs of mega events that often far outweigh their net benefits (Hall 1992; Ritchie, 1999). The real costs of the Olympics are either hidden, misallocated to other areas or severely miscalculated and, therefore, hardly meet the initial projections while forecasting big benefits before an event is common practice (Getz, 2007). The cost of the Athens 2004 Olympics, for example, remains officially unknown till today (Papanikolaou, 2013). Although the price tag of the Sochi 2010 Olympics is known (50 billion euros), it is considered record-breaking, exceeding not only the initial projections of 37.5 billion euros, but also the cost of any previous Games in the history of the Olympics. In comparison, Vancouver 2010 spent 5.5 billion euros on their Games (Wiertz, 2014). Some debts continue to accumulate after the Games because Olympic properties are disproportionately large and expensive to maintain. An Olympic Stadium in Sydney with 80,000 seats operated with substantial losses as it failed to attract events to justify its capacity (Searle, 2002). Some venues, such as the Indoor Volleyball Stadium in Athens, are completely abandoned. It has been argued that a lack of strategic planning results in extreme difficulty to manage this considerable Olympic ‘wealth’ (Papanikolaou, 2013). This problem is exacerbated

further by corruption, lack of public scrutiny and changes in the economic and political environment that may accompany and follow the Games (Silvestre, 2009).

Decision-making is traditionally top-down from the bid to the end of the Games cycle, and often overrides democratic processes of transparency and public participation (Silvestre, 2009). To secure public support during the bidding process, event organisers use successful examples from past host cities to give prominence to image over substance (Lenskyj, 2000). The emphasis is often on showing off the city and attracting investments, which normally fit within three categories of potential benefits: global exposition, economic activity and urban transformations (Vigor, 2004). As with the event budget, any potential negative impacts and legacies are either silenced or underestimated. Governments that choose to concentrate their interests on corporate rather than broader social goals use a powerful rhetoric of strict Games deadlines to ‘fast-track’ approval of projects, thereby ignoring procedures that require detailed analysis and evaluations. Special legislation (e.g. labour laws) is enacted while administrative and regulatory barriers are relaxed or removed to minimise the disturbance of event hosting (Lenskyj, 2002; Owen, 2001). Local communities, especially those directly affected by Olympic construction, are often informed post factum of the decisions already made by those in power (Hiller, 1998). At the very least, community approval of hosting the event is limited to opinion polls (Silvestre, 2009).

However, since mega sport events are primarily funded with public money, the most benefits of hosting events should go to the people of the host region. Organising committees, governments, businesses and other stakeholders should be concerned with not only enhancing the profitability of events, but also ensuring that events are responsive to local needs. Property-led initiatives need to be integrated with non-infrastructure programmes, and at least some of these should be aimed at socially excluded groups, if they are to benefit from the Games as much as the rest of the host population (Minnaert, 2012; Preuss, 2015). Increased arguments are in favour of using the Games as a catalyst to contribute to social regeneration. The last decade was marked with a trend toward making the social dimension an important factor in hosting, demonstrating that ideas about what the Games can leave as legacy for local people change over time (Doherty, 2009; Leopkey and Parent, 2012). Critical analysis of social impacts and legacies of mega events is particularly important to counter-balance the optimism, even patriotic rhetoric that justifies event hosting (Silvestre, 2009).

2.3.4. The social dimension of legacy

It is acknowledged that ‘social impacts’ are one of many legacy dimensions, yet the only one that is closely linked to the lives of local people. Traditionally, social impacts fall under ‘intangible’ event structures in the Legacy cube, which include knowledge, policy, networks, and emotions (see Table 2.2.). Among the most cited event-related positive social impacts are: boost in national pride, community spirit and enthusiasm; increase in local interest and participation in sport activities, cultivating the culture of health and wellness; strengthening of local values and traditions; increase in volunteering opportunities and civic engagement; increase in networking and skills base (Essex and Chalkley, 1998; Hall, 2001; Bob and Swart, 2011; Leopkey and Parent, 2012).

However, the more tangible structures which characterise events may also have a social dimension. In fact, Brown and Massey (2001) described social impacts as nearly everything that alters the way in which people live, work, relate to each other, and organise to meet their needs. By this token, any changes in infrastructure, economy, culture, politics, or environment have social implications that influence the overall perception of the Games and, ultimately, the quality of life and well-being of host communities (Fredline, Jago and Deery, 2003). Silvestre (2009, p. 20) provided a typology of social impacts that includes: land, housing and accommodation; employment, training and business development; recreation, leisure and accessibility; transport and the urban fabric; human rights and civil liberties; taxes and social budget; openness, accountancy and community participation. This typology cuts across all ‘event structures’ suggested by Preuss (2015) in Table 2.2., thereby highlighting the complex, multi-dimensional nature of social impacts and their positive and negative manifestations (see Table 2.1. and Table 2.3.).

Thus, structural changes caused by improved sites for tourists and industry, discussed in Preuss (2015), may lead to positive social legacies in the form of increased attractiveness as a place to work or to live in. The strategy associated with raising awareness and promoting the host city and the entire country as a desirable destination may increase the number of visitors and investment flow, and boost the economy, which may result in job creation and improved living conditions. New jobs can be either directly associated with the organisation and management of the event, or be in the construction industry due to the need to build event infrastructure, or in retail and tourism industry due to higher volumes of visitors. These outcomes, then, can be analysed in relation to changes in unemployment rates in the city as well as overall social standards of the host communities, especially issues of poverty

and social exclusion (Fredline, Jago and Deery, 2003; Malfas, Theodoraki and Houlihan, 2004). At the same time, the creation of new jobs provides a mixed social and economic ‘blessing’ (Chalip, 2002). On one hand, investment and construction activity in the lead-up to the Games and increased tourism during the Games can lead to increased employment. However, these jobs are often temporary, part-time and low paying (Swart and Bob, 2004). Besides, new job opportunities may not necessarily benefit those living in the area, but may be taken by outsiders. This may increase social polarisation between employed and unemployed, skilled and unskilled (Roche, 2000).

In order to boost the social legacy and prevent negative consequences, some host cities include in bid documents social obligations in the form of, for example, allocation of a certain percentage of job contracts to local businesses, or provision of social housing (Hiller, 2000). Unfortunately, although these lofty promises raise public expectations, they often remain unfulfilled. One striking example is a failure to fully deliver on legacy promises associated with after-use of the Athletes’ Villages in host cities. After Athens 2004, the Village was intended to be used as social housing with 10,000 units, yet as of today it remains a largely abandoned complex with less than half of the units inhabited (Govan, 2011). A Vancouver bid organising committee along with the City of Vancouver envisioned converting the Athletes’ Village, located on rehabilitated and newly-developed industrial land, into a mix of market and affordable housing after the Games (Vancouver Bid Corporation, 2002). However, despite the claims to be the first socially sustainable Games, “*such housing objectives were not only unrealised, but commitments were pushed away as the Games drew near*” (Pentifallo, 2013, p. 49), which raises important implications for the bid-phase Olympic commitments.

This discussion is in line with the doubts expressed by Malfas, Theodoraki and Houlihan (2004), who questioned claims that mega sport events can bring long-term positive benefits to local communities. Some changes are undoubtedly negative, whereas positive changes, when observed during the event itself, are likely to be short-term and unsustainable. Examples of successful legacies related to mega sport events are rare. The Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games, however, serve as one such example, where the Games left both economic and social legacies, linking physical and social regeneration in one Legacy Programme (Smith and Fox, 2007). The Games were used as a powerful tool for attracting investments otherwise not attainable, and a mechanism for promoting urban regeneration in the city on an unprecedented scale (Jones and Stokes, 2003). As argued, without the Games, the area would have remained neglected with limited funding options. At the same time,

multiple socially-oriented projects within one Games Legacy Programme delivered benefits to local communities, which, as noted by Smith and Fox (2007) was not the case with other regeneration initiatives. In particular, the Manchester 2002 Games left sustainable volunteering legacy via adopting specific plans to provide new transferable skills to unemployed local people using pre-Games and Games-time volunteering programmes.

2.3.4.1. Volunteering as social legacy

In Silvestre's (2009) typology, volunteering programmes are listed under an 'employment, training and business development' type of social impacts of events, as a way to provide some segments of society with opportunities of greater employability. Volunteer training, in particular, and volunteering experiences can boost personal skills, competencies, efficacy, self-confidence, and give a sense of fulfilment and achievement that can enhance quality of life on individual and community levels (Wilson, 2000, 2012; Doherty, 2009; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). The festive atmosphere of the event, social interactions, excitement from participation, fun and enjoyment can cause release of endorphins, which are associated with positive emotions and a boost to the immune system (Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013). Those who have had a positive experience being involved in the Games as a volunteer may have been inspired to revisit their experience at other Games or get involved in community volunteering (Doherty, 2009; Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013). A significant positive outcome from volunteering is a potentially broadened horizon and life opportunities that help volunteers transition to employment, education or further volunteering (Dickson and Benson, 2013; Nichols and Ralston, 2014). A more in-depth analysis of the nature, benefits and processes of volunteering is provided in Chapters 3 and 4.

In case of the Manchester 2002 Games, the Pre-Volunteer Programme was used strategically to target disadvantaged segments of society in order to empower such people with enhanced skills and increase their employability (Smith, 2006). Those who successfully completed the programme were given certificates as a tangible outcome of their participation, which they could use to market themselves before potential employers. Given the nature of the participants, this programme was free of charge for them, and multiple other support measures were taken to engage and retain them. Besides, Manchester 2002 made a commitment, which was successfully fulfilled, to have 10% of the graduates from the Pre-Volunteer Programme as part of the Games workforce, to give them a chance of a lifetime to be volunteers at the Commonwealth Games (Manchester 2002, 2002a; 2003). This suggests that

the organising committee was strategic in planning for and providing opportunities for socially disadvantaged people to become Games-time volunteers, a chance they would never have had otherwise. This scheme was unprecedented in that for the first time a mega sport event was used to target hard-to-reach groups to improve their prospects, well being and engage in sport event volunteering (Jones and Stokes, 2003). Commitment of organisers was critical in making this happen since the practice shows that most volunteers in demand have higher education and knowledge of several languages. Besides, “*people who volunteer are often enthusiasts who have volunteered before, and tend not to be marginalised members of local communities*” (in Silvestre, 2009, p. 15). In Manchester, however, the nature of the Pre-Volunteer programme and the coordinated effort of those in charge of both the Programme and the Commonwealth Games allowed both the organising committee and the volunteers to reap the benefits from this collaboration (more details about this programme are in Chapter 7). Thus, volunteering becomes an excellent example of strategically-planned, positive and both tangible and intangible structures (see Figure 2.1. *Legacy cube*).

2.3.5. Legacy in the Olympic discourse

Given the large sums of money involved and the high media exposure, the emergence and evaluation of ‘legacy’ in the Olympic discourse has become highly political and market-oriented. As discussed, mega sport events essentially became “*de facto shorthand for regeneration, inward investment and corporatism*” (Grix, 2014, p. xi). The stakes are very high for all stakeholders involved; yet, cities around the world actively engage in a competitive bidding process, orchestrated by the IOC, for the right and honour to stage the Games. The last several decades showcased how bidding cities are continuously motivated to exceed their predecessors and make commitments they cannot keep, but rather, take for granted. Cities and their political elites are willing to take this risk despite the costs involved, as they believe that “*mega events can...spread a general spirit of optimism, create combined visions, attract exogenous resources and accelerate city development*” (Preuss, 2007, p. 207). The primary interest in city redevelopment, revitalisation and promotion is a hope for sustainable economic legacies that are better monitored and evaluated. Social benefits, in turn, are believed to ‘automatically’ flow to local communities. This stems from the fact that sport is frequently viewed in ‘mythopoeic’ terms based on the assumption of its inevitably positive influence, with little need for planning and evaluation (Coalter, 2007). Unlike in the example of the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games where social legacy was strategically planned, this ‘sport works’ mentality in the Olympic discourse seems to over-generalise sport, and make one assume supposed but largely unexamined positive and overlooked contrasting negative legacies. This is clearly at odds with Preuss’

(2007) conceptualisation of legacy, demonstrating that some Games-related effects can be negative. A holistic evaluation of a mega sport event involves identification of all possible dimensions in the legacy framework (Preuss, 2015). Yet, in reality, bid committees and pre-event studies are biased in favour of hosting an event; therefore, they focus only on one sub-cube of the *Legacy Cube*: planned, tangible and positive (Cashman, 2003; Preuss, 2007).

Legacy and its positive rhetoric, in fact, “*has obtained a great deal of traction because it has been produced and nurtured by the International Olympic Committee*” (Chalip, 2014, p. 6). In their attempt to encourage more and more cities to bid for events and justify the expenditure of scarce public resources on the perceived ‘gigantisms’ and ‘excesses’ associated with hosting, the IOC is using ‘legacy’ exclusively as a concept tied to positive, as opposed to negative, Games-related impacts and outcomes. As argued by Chalip (2014) and earlier by MacAloon (2008), the legacy discourse was framed by the IOC to assert rapid expansion of the Olympic Movement both in size and in scope and offset any criticism so that the ‘franchisor/franchisee’ relationship between the IOC as an event owner and the Olympic hosts can be maintained and developed. As mentioned by Thomas Bach, the 9th President of the IOC (2013-present), “*We approach[ed] potential candidate cities like you would do in business, with a tender for a franchise. All the bid books are written by the same people around the world – you get the same answers*” (in GamesBids, 2013). This, ultimately, transformed the IOC into a global corporation with its own vested interests.

The IOC moved ‘legacy’ “*from the side-lines to centre stage within the Olympic Movement*” (Horne and Houlihan, 2014, p. 108). In 2003, the Olympic Charter was amended to include *positive legacy* as a criterion for selecting host applicants, thereby officially establishing legacy and its usage thereafter within the Olympic discourse. “*The legacy framework holds that events should be planned and administered in a manner that will engender positive outcomes which will last beyond the time of the event*” (Chalip, 2014, p. 6). Whereas before it was only an option, now it became mandatory for candidates to articulate legacy plans in their bids, which are expected to be linked to the *Olympic Movement’s Agenda 21: Sport for Sustainable Development* with fundamental goals of: “*improving socio-economic conditions, conservation and management of resources for sustainable development*” (IOC, 1999, p. 23). *Sustainability*, therefore, was placed at the heart of the IOC vision. As stated by Jacques Rogge, the previous President of the IOC (2001-2013), “*Creating sustainable legacies is a fundamental commitment of the Olympic Movement. It is an obligation...Legacies are the lasting*

outcomes of our efforts. They bring to life the Olympic values of excellence, friendship and respect...” (Horne and Houlihan, 2014, pp. 108-109). At first, sustainability was mainly associated with the environment, which was added in 1993 to ‘sport’ and ‘culture’ as the third pillar of the Olympic Movement. Later it incorporated economic and social aspects of legacy, which allowed seeking for “*a dynamic equilibrium and...long-term balancing of economic, environmental and social health*” (Preuss, 2015, p. 5). The IOC developed practical policies within the notion of sustainable development to direct every Olympic Games Organising Committee (OCOGs) in their preparation for the Games, stressing the importance of incorporating equity, accessibility, long-term planning, stakeholder engagement, and healthy communities in their guidelines (Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013).

Another IOC requirement placed on OCOGs is to produce an Olympic Games Impact Study (OGI), which became a tool for providing objective and accessible methodology for host cities to use. Based on three areas of sustainable development (economic, socio-cultural and environmental), it aims to analyse the impacts of hosting the Games on a city and its communities (IOC, 2009). Yet, the OGI was criticised for being largely quantitative and insensitive to the history, political and socio-economic climate of host destinations (Pentifallo, 2013). Besides, OGI leaves under-researched important legacy trends, which can be quite negative. Although the OGI consists of a series of reports that measure the changes in impacts from the bidding to winning and three years after the Games, no monitoring or evaluation is required beyond this point. This contributes to limited evidence on various impacts and legacies of the Games themselves (Coalter, 2007). Besides, an indicator-based monitoring and reporting system built into the OGI makes it harder to measure and make sense of less tangible social aspects of legacies. This highlights the need for more qualitative methodology based on case studies, which is more costly and time consuming. Another important aspect has to do with self-reporting of the OGI reports and other documents produced by event organisers, in which they discuss what impacts and legacies actually happened, making them “*questionable at best [and thus] merits additional review and should be further analysed*” (Leopkey and Parent, 2012, p. 938). Focussing on positive aspects of legacy “*reinforces Cashman’s belief that one of the major issues associated with legacy is that the potential negative consequences are generally ignored, especially by host organisations*” (ibid., p. 934). A lack of or limited political will to plan for, identify and act upon both positive and negative results from staging the Games only exacerbate the problem.

2.4. New era in legacy planning and governance

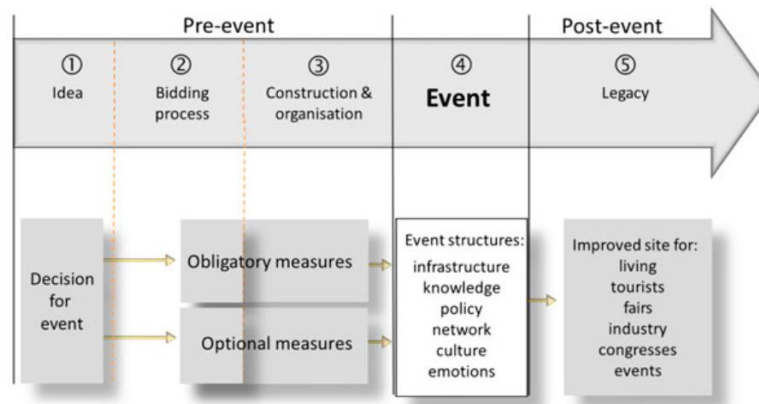
The important milestone in legacy evolution is its change from a retrospective to a prospective concept (Girginov, 2012). It is no more solely something “*created for and by a sport event that remain[s] longer than the event itself*”, as stated in Preuss’ (2007) definition of legacy (p. 211), but represents a “*forward thinking exercise with clear developmental goals performing a range of political, economic and social functions*” (Girginov, 2012, p. 2). In other words, the Olympic legacy becomes strategically planned and constructed. Moreover, the inclusion of sustainability principles into a planning framework essentially represents a ‘paradigm shift’ in the decision-making process applied by host cities, adding a fourth ‘pillar’ to the Olympic Movement associated with the management of the Games in order to achieve desired sustainable legacies. Its ultimate concern is with meeting the needs of various stakeholders via “*distributing social and economic benefits equally and fairly across society*”, which brings “*a whole new dimension to the conceptualisation and delivery of mega events legacy and turns it into a governance issue*” (Girginov, 2012, pp. 4-5).

With the election of Thomas Bach, a renewed emphasis was placed by the IOC on inviting candidate cities to approach the Olympic legacy planning and evaluation ‘in tandem’ with existing long-term city, regional and country development, rather than leaving it isolated (GamesBids, 2013). By doing so, cities are likely to ensure more public participation and support. This rhetoric is in line with the approach advocated by scholars, particularly with regard to lasting social legacies that, as argued, can only be produced and generate positive benefits “*if they are an integral part of a long-term urban strategy not dependent on the mega-event for its implementation*” (Silvestre, 2009, p. 21). The focus must be on sustainable legacies connected with existing social structures and lives of local people. Legacies cannot be produced due to wishful thinking, chance or beliefs in ‘the power of sport’, but rather represent “*intentional outcomes grounded in political processes that begin with bid preparation and continue through and following the mega-event*” (Coakley and Souza, 2013 p. 581). Political will combined with relevant, well-planned and effectively managed effort can assure that longer-term impacts of mega-events will occur (Vanwynsberghe, 2015).

Coming back to the legacy framework by Preuss (2007; 2015), discussed in section 2.3.2., a strategic approach to legacy planning has the potential to ensure that opportunities will arise to turn event-related legacies from latent to active. Preuss (2015) argues that it is critical to clearly articulate the legacy vision and benefits far in advance staging the event. Embedded in the broader host city’s

priorities and development initiatives, a mega event makes cities focus on a particular set of structures that have the potential to provide long-term legacies (Preuss, 2007; Gratton and Preuss, 2008). Figure 2.2. illustrates the process of strategic planning for legacy, which starts from the decision to bid for a specific mega event (1). At this point, the structures required by a mega event should be weighed against the city's long-term needs. During the bidding process (2), both required and optional structures are developed. During the bidding process (2), both required and optional structures are developed.

Figure 2.2. Process of building up planned legacy



Source: Preuss (2015, p. 16)

The obligatory measures are intended to satisfy the IOC and sport federation's requirements, whereas the optional measures complement the bid to make it unique and competitive. These optional measures must be embedded to improve the location factors needed for the city in the long term to build up strong positive legacies. Yet, this is where many promises are made, but not always fulfilled. The host city begins to change from the moment a mega event is awarded (3). The preparation stage is intensified through the construction of required infrastructure as well as intangible structures. During the event (4), all event structures are present; the momentum of the event creates emotions and affects the image of the city. Actual legacy occurs post-event (5) when structural transformations take place in the city (Preuss, 2007; 2015).

A mega-event is not capable of solving all problems of the society by itself. Given multiple stakeholders of mega events (Table 2.3.) with their own interests, it becomes challenging, even impossible to ensure that event legacies satisfy everyone and improve the quality of life for all stakeholders (Preuss, 2015). Therefore, the latest trend is focussed on constructing and delivering

legacies that address public policy priorities to meet the needs and interests of the host community, the greatest beneficiaries of the Olympics. On one hand, it is argued that governments play a vital role in this process (Preuss, 2015). On the other hand, it is suggested that the city's most pressing problems can be better addressed via active engagement and discussion among all segments of the society: private, public and non-profit. As rightly mentioned by Silvestre (2009), a vital part of the planning and decision-making process is openness, accountability, and community participation to “*minimise the risks of any negative impact that may occur*” (Hall, 1992, p. 83). Community consultations are important to ensure that voices of the local population are heard. This would ensure the inclusiveness of the process of legacy planning and implementation in order to achieve sustainable outcomes (Coakley and Souza, 2013). Therefore, the inclusion of various levels of government (federal, state and municipal) as lead stakeholders is important on partnership terms. This is in line with Leopkey and Parent (2012), who argued, “*the sustainability of Olympic Games legacy is a shared responsibility between many stakeholders*” (p. 938). This mutual accountability should, hopefully, encourage the creation and proper application of enforcement mechanisms to deliver in full on both required and optional commitments. The London 2012 Games identified themselves with this new approach to legacy and created the Games governance structure that involved multiple players.

2.5. London 2012 legacy promises

London 2012 was claimed to be the first true ‘legacy’ Olympics that made a strategic use of the legacy concept in its bid document, which was approved by the UK Government in 2003, submitted to the IOC in 2004 and awarded hosting rights in 2005. It is argued that among the main reasons London won its bid to host the Games was their attractive legacy plans in the area of sport, youth and the regeneration of East London (Horne and Houlihan, 2014). London took on a holistic sustainability approach in their ambition to use the Games to benefit the host city and country as a whole. The active governance approach was based on the vision of hosting “*an inspirational, safe and inclusive Olympic Games and Paralympic Games and leave a sustainable legacy for London and the UK*” (UEL/TGIfS, 2010, p. 17). This vision was based on several key principles: Inclusion, Healthy Living, Climate Change, Waste and Biodiversity (DCMS, 2008). *Inclusion*, for example, meant, “*to host the most inclusive Games to date by promoting access, celebrating diversity and facilitating the physical, economic and social regeneration of the Lower Lea Valley and surrounding communities*” (UEL/TGIfS, 2010, p. 17). The London 2012 Legacy promises were explicitly stated, and designed with six areas in mind, thereby forming a guide to the desired Games’ impacts and legacies (DCMS, 2008; UEL/TGIfS, 2010, p. 18):

- Inspire a new generation of young people to take part in local volunteering, cultural and physical activity;
- Make the UK a world-class sports nation: elite success, mass participation and school sport;
- Transform the heart of East London;
- Make the Olympic Park a blueprint for sustainable living;
- Demonstrate that the UK is a creative, inclusive and welcoming place to live, to visit and do business;
- Develop opportunities and choices for disabled people.

The political impetus and tight deadlines in the run-up to 2012 ensured that a complex structure of organisations pulled together in the same direction to deliver various outcomes and stimulate legacy (House of Lords, 2013). Thus, the Olympic Park Legacy Company (former London Development Agency) was established in 2009 and controlled collaboratively by the central government and the Mayor of London. The responsibility for delivering the regeneration legacy for London rested with the Mayor of London with support of local authorities (Leopkey and Parent, 2012). To deliver on the wider ambitions of the volunteering legacy, LOCOG, the UK Government, and the myriad of agencies in the voluntary, public and private sectors shaped and took ownership of the Volunteering Strategy (discussed in section 2.5.1.).

The focus on legacy was not accidental; the London 2012 Games were heavily funded by taxpayer money. Therefore, justification of the long-term value of event-related structural changes (in Preuss, 2015) became the highest priority. For example, London was selected at the time when the non-sustainable sport infrastructure of Athens 2004 was widely criticised (Preuss, 2015). Thus, at the top of the planning agenda for London was sustainability regarding temporary versus permanent facilities, and shift in legacy venues from Olympic sport to non-Olympic sport use, and even from sole-sport to non-sport use (for cultural or business events) (Leopkey and Parent, 2012). The Athletes Village was planned for use after the Games to create new high-quality mixed sustainable communities in the East of London. Among other important commitments were to inspire young people through the Games to take part in sport, volunteering and cultural activity, and the showcasing of London as an inclusive and open city for tourism and other businesses (DCMS, 2008). Hence, in line with the IOC sustainability approach, London 2012 was equally concerned with environmental, economic and

social legacies, where sport was used to bring these dimensions together. This illustrates a clear tendency towards the Games as more than simply a sport festival. A cornerstone, though, for London was the ability to be consistent in incorporating principles of sustainable development into city- and nation-wide goals, and be fair to the commitments made to the public, despite political and socio-economic challenges.

2.5.1. London 2012 Volunteering Strategy

The London 2012 Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006) is related to the London 2012 legacy promise to “Inspire a new generation of young people to take part in local volunteering” discussed earlier. Yet, the strategy itself involves a depth and breadth of thinking about what volunteering legacy associated with the Games can be planned and constructed to benefit both the Games and multiple other needs. Therefore, it involves multiple obligatory (to stage the Games) and optional measures (Figure 2.2.) The Volunteering Strategy (also called the Games Volunteer Programme strategy) in its final draft as of 2006 was built on the outline volunteering strategy that was part of London’s successful bid to host the Games. The responsibility for the development of the Strategy was with LOCOG and, particularly, its Human Resources unit, with advice and support from a number of national agencies. This explicitly illustrates Ferrand and Skirstad’s (2015) conviction that *“the organising committee must take into account the expectations of a number of stakeholders who wish to develop volunteerism as a vehicle for personal development, integration and social progress”* (p. 67). Thus, the development of the strategy was steered by a Volunteering Strategy Group represented by various stakeholders on national, regional and sub-regional levels including: the UK Government (Olympic and LOCOG Boards, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the London Development Agency (LDA), regional government offices, local authorities), Sport, Voluntary and Community sectors, Equality and Diversity Partners, Cultural organisations, Higher and Further Education, Skills and Training organisations, Employers/Business (public, private and third sectors). Overall, the strategy process engaged over 100 key organisations and government/governing bodies that formed a number of sub-groups focussed on different aspects of the strategy. Ferrand and Skirstad (2015) argued that in case of London 2012 the involvement of the key stakeholders such as the IOC, LOCOG, international sport federations and the British government was essential to the success of the event’s Volunteer Programme.

A central principle of the Volunteering Strategy was to build on, work with and develop relationships with existing organisations and agencies to meet the wide ambitions of the strategy as well as to avoid

the risk of duplication and overlap (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). The Chair of the Volunteering Strategy Group was also a leading figure in developing the London bid, and one of the key informants for this study. The Strategy outlined a clear vision, aims, values, governance principles in shaping and delivering the pre-volunteering and volunteering initiatives and legacy plans. It was envisaged as a blueprint for recruitment, deployment and management of the large volunteer force to deliver the best ever Games. Thus, the overall vision of the Volunteering Strategy was based on *“helping to deliver the Games that is the envy of the world...[and] using the catalytic experience offered by the Olympic ideals to leave a lasting legacy for the good of our communities”* (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 4). To ensure that the London 2012 Olympics would be *“the finest Games ever”*, the commitment was to deliver the best ever Volunteering Programme: *“It is anticipated that up to 70,000 volunteers will be engaged during the Games, in over 3,000 different roles, bringing their skill, commitment and enthusiasm to deliver an unforgettable experience for athletes, officials and spectators alike”* (ibid., p. 4). Besides, the ambition was to use the London 2012 Games as an opportunity to transform and strengthen the culture and spirit of volunteering to secure *“a stronger, more active community which endures well beyond the presentation of the final gold medal”* (ibid., p. 4), and help build the skills and qualifications of the most marginalised communities in the UK. To meet these ends, decisions were made to build a Pre-Volunteer Programme on the success of a similar scheme delivered for the Manchester 2002 Games as well as encourage and mobilise would-be Games-time volunteers in a range of volunteering activities in their local communities.

According to the Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 5), among the key aims were to:

- Recruit, manage, train and support a team of up to 70,000 volunteers to help deliver the best Games ever;
- Mobilise a force of at least 25,000 community volunteers in the years leading up to the Games to work with existing organisations and programmes on projects of community benefit;
- Maximise the benefits of volunteering in terms of skills development and training to help address some of the endemic problems of long-term unemployment and low skill levels in London and the rest of the UK;
- Use the enthusiasm generated by the Games as a catalyst for inspiring a new generation of volunteers;

- Leave a legacy after 2012 of a stronger, more-integrated volunteering infrastructure at national, regional and local levels.

The Volunteering Strategy was committed to the values of *Excellence*, *Equality* and *Diversity*, *One Games*, *UK-Wide*, *Exchange*, *Legacy* and the principles of *Partnership* (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, pp. 5-6). Among the promises were (ibid, pp. 5-6):

- *Excellence* – Volunteers will be trained and supported to the highest standards to ensure that they deliver the best service possible to athletes, officials and the general public and that they act as ambassadors not only for the London Games but for the Olympic movement as a whole;
- *Equality* and *Diversity* – The programme in all its phases, Pre-Games, Games-Time and Post-Games, will be developed and delivered in a spirit of openness and inclusion. Volunteers will represent the broadest possible range of ages, backgrounds and communities, with emphasis placed on engaging volunteers from marginalised groups who have been traditionally under-represented in volunteering;
- *One Games* – There will be one volunteering programme, for both the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games, and care will be taken to ensure that the same standards of quality apply to both. An emphasis will be placed on encouraging volunteers to give time at both Games to emphasise the integrated nature of the events;
- *UK-Wide* – Whilst many volunteers will quite appropriately be recruited from London and the five boroughs where the Games will be held, it is essential that volunteers from across the UK are given an opportunity to participate. This is especially important if we are serious about using the Games as a catalyst for inspiring a new generation of volunteers in the years following 2012;
- *Exchange* – Volunteers will contribute an enormous amount to the Games in terms of hours, skills, experience, passion and commitment. However, the volunteering programme will be based on the principle that volunteering works best when there is an explicit commitment to meeting the needs of the volunteers as well. In addition to first-class training and support, we will reward and thank the volunteers for their contribution, ranging from social events and certificates to more formal accreditation for those interested in using their volunteering as a stepping stone to further education or employment;
- *Partnership* – The volunteering programme will seek to work in partnership with other relevant agencies involved in volunteering to avoid duplicating and undermining existing activity. The

partners will be many and varied and will include public agencies and private companies as well as key voluntary sector and volunteering organisations;

- *Legacy* – Running an excellent Games-time volunteering programme is not enough. Central to this strategy is a commitment to using the Games as a way of inspiring a new generation of volunteers and contributing to the development and strengthening of the volunteering infrastructure at national, regional and local levels.

It was acknowledged that such ambitious vision and aims are complex and do not come cheaply, and that Pre-Volunteer, Volunteering, and other initiatives that result from this Strategy need funding and efforts of many people and organisations, but the rewards of doing it well can be immense (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006).

2.6. Conclusion

This Chapter introduced key concepts foundational for this research. The types of events were discussed and impacts and legacies were conceptualised to identify areas that lack consensus, raise criticism and require further research. Evidence suggested that mega sport events have the power to transform host cities and leave multiple legacies behind. These event legacies are context specific and depend on socio-economic conditions, politics and policies of a country hosting the Games. Yet, if not properly planned and managed, legacies can leave negative consequences, regardless of where the events are hosted. A review of Olympic cities revealed that politics of events were often at odds with the needs and means of host destinations. The focal point was physical regeneration, image enhancement and profit making, which did not guarantee that benefits would be equally distributed among all stakeholders. Quite the opposite, the highest costs were experienced by those less able to protect their rights and interests, while the most benefits accrued to corporate and political elites. However, ordinary local people should be the primary beneficiaries of hosting the Olympics chiefly funded with taxpayers' money.

The legacy concept was produced and nurtured by the IOC in efforts to justify the expansion of the Olympic Movement and expenditure of vast resources on hosting the Games. To offset criticism and encourage the production of a lasting legacy, the IOC promoted principles of sustainable development and made positive legacy a key component of the host selection process and Games governance. With the passage of time, the concept of legacy has evolved from solely sport, capital and infrastructure, to incorporating social, economic and environmental legacies. Legacy planning shifted from post-Games

to pre-Games, beginning from the time of the bid, which changed legacy from a retrospective to a prospective concept. Despite these developments, the IOC, candidate and host cities continue to use legacy in positive terms, often overlooking negative effects of the Games. The danger is that even where 'hard' legacies are complemented with 'softer' regeneration ambitions, the lack of proper planning and governance can result in unfulfilled bid promises and immense negative consequences that undermine local well being.

The latest approach to the governance of the Olympic legacy is associated with embedding planning for event-related legacies within existing structures and long-term host city developmental strategies. Replacing 'sport works' mentality of 'automatic' positive benefits, political will combined with well-planned effort could ensure that sustainable legacies are achieved, while identifying and minimising the negative. A transparent process of shared responsibility and accountability would encourage viable governance structures and enforcement mechanisms that ensure follow-through on promises. The London 2012 Games are acknowledged as a prime example of using a sustainability approach in their legacy planning. In particular, to help stimulate the potential long-term volunteering benefits associated with hosting the Games, the organisers, in partnership with various Games stakeholders, developed the Volunteering Strategy, which became the basis for various pre-Games and Games-time volunteering initiatives.

Once the governance structure and the vision and commitments underpinning the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy have been understood, the next step for this research is to examine the efficacy of the efforts of event stakeholders to meet these commitments, which includes the creation of a volunteering legacy. This will be done via examining the Games Maker Programme in relation to the history of previous experiences in delivering similar interventions, Manchester 2002 and their Pre-Volunteer Programme. The *Legacy Cube* by Preuss (2007) will serve as the first ('outer') layer of the theoretical framework created for this study to help explore positive and negative, planned and unplanned, tangible and intangible manifestations of sport event volunteering, using longitudinal and qualitative-based investigations. This aims to address a lack of knowledge on social legacies and comprehensive legacy evaluations that go beyond quantitative methodologies.

The next two Chapters are dedicated to the analysis of the notion of volunteering in general and mega sport event volunteering in particular. The *Volunteer Process Model* (VPM) model is presented as the

second ('inner') layer of the theoretical framework that will guide this research via an in-depth exploration of causes, processes and consequences of volunteering through sequential stages on different levels of analysis.

Chapter 3. Volunteering: Issues, Concepts and Processes

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 considers the importance of volunteers in mega sport events and lays the foundation for the nature of volunteering through exploring what volunteering means, who volunteers are, and what they do. Insights are drawn from the non-sport context due to the scarce availability of research on sport event volunteering. A *Hybrid Conceptual Framework of Volunteering* by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) is introduced to conceptualise volunteering as an intrinsically complex, multidimensional phenomenon. Three levels of complexity are described to help navigate the perspectives on volunteering and organise them into primary theoretical building blocks. First, the literature is reviewed to answer the question: *What do we study?* In so doing, an attempt is made to provide the first holistic definition of mega sport event volunteering. Next, the main disciplines that attribute different meanings and functions to volunteering are reviewed in order to answer: *Why do we study it?* Finally, different theories that explain the process of volunteering are explored to understand: *How do we study it?* Omoto and Snyder's (2002) *Volunteer Process Model* (VPM) is utilised as a holistic theoretical framework that will aid in the analysis of antecedents, experiences and consequences of volunteering on personal, organisational and societal levels.

3.2. Sport, events and volunteering

According to the European Commission Report (2011), sport is considered the biggest arena in which volunteering takes place, followed by social care, welfare, and health. Likewise, the Institute for Volunteering Research in the United Kingdom reveals that the most popular sector for regular (at least once a month) formal volunteers in England is sports/exercise (53%) (DCLG, 2009, p. 23). Khoo and Engelhorn (2011) distinguish between two types of sport volunteers: those at sports organisations, and those at sport events. In England, for example, those who organise or help run sport activities or events account for 55% of all surveyed volunteers (DCLG, 2009, p. 6). As reported by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015), volunteers represent one of many heterogeneous stakeholders in sport events, and are usually the largest group.

Indeed, it appears that staging and the success of sport events, especially of a mega scale, largely depend on personal investment and the performance of many volunteers (Kemp, 2002; Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). Thus, the history of volunteers' services for the Olympics dates back to 1896 when 900 volunteers provided their support for the Summer Olympics in Athens (Wei, 2010). The growing

social demands, the development of the Games themselves and expanding organisational needs pressure OCOGs to mobilise volunteers in increasingly large numbers. The Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee for the first time established the volunteer programme to officially recruit a considerable number of volunteers to perform various tasks during the Games (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). Table 3.1. (developed from Moragas, Moreno and Paniagua, 2000) shows the extent to which Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games depend on a volunteer workforce for staging them. Where variations exist, it can be attributed to different criteria used to report statistics. For example, the Sydney Report (2000) recorded 46,967 Games-time volunteers only, whereas Chalip (2000) divided volunteers into three types, with a total of 50,500. Zhuang and Girginov (2012) found that in China, besides 70,000 Games-time volunteers, the Beijing 2008 Olympics involved over one million volunteers in total (this included society volunteers, cheerleading volunteers, and city volunteers.). MacAloon (2000) reported that the Atlanta 1996 Olympics recruited 800 long-term volunteers in addition to 51,881 short-term volunteers (40% of the Games workforce), and they donated close to 5.5 million hours of labour. The London 2012 Olympics utilised 70,000 Games Makers, but additionally used other volunteers such as Ceremony Volunteers and Olympic Ambassadors (LOCOG, 2013). It can be seen from the data that different sources use different systems to tally the number of volunteers in mega sport events, adding to the complexity of the analysis.

Table 3.1. Evolution of the numbers of volunteers

Summer Olympic Games		
1984	Los Angeles	28,742 [28,700]
1988	Seoul	27,221
1992	Barcelona	34,548
1996	Atlanta	60,422 [51,881]
2000	Sydney	50,000 [46,967] [50,500]
2004	Athens	65,000
2008	Beijing	70,000 [100,000]
2012	London	70,000

Sources: Moragas, Moreno and Paniagua (2000), Chalip (2000), MacAloon (2000), Zhuang and Girginov (2012), LOCOG (2013)

These numbers illustrate the significant role volunteers play in staging the Games. Baum *et al.* (2009) and Lockstone and Baum (2009) called volunteers ‘unsung heroes’ who contribute invaluable resources to the Games. Solberg (2003) suggested that volunteers’ assistance in executing the Games

at all organisational levels makes the difference between financial loss as opposed to gain. Green and Chalip (2004) argued that without the input of volunteers, mega events could not operate, either logistically or financially. Hence, the reasons to use volunteers vary from financial to socio-economic and political ones. For example, in Los Angeles 1984, volunteers enabled significantly lower organisational costs (Wei, 2010). Sydney 2000 used volunteers as a ‘face’ of the Games sending messages to the rest of the world; their contribution was recognised as essential to the success of the Games (Sydney Report, 2000). As argued by Zhuang and Girginov (2012), volunteers played a vital role in the effective staging of the Beijing 2008 Olympics, and added to the creation of a new image of power in China. London 2012 Games Makers contributed 8 million volunteer hours to the Games, which in monetary value equals £35 million GBP (Nichols and Ralston, 2014). Besides, volunteering was intended to be used to help combat socio-economic problems in the UK such as social exclusion and unemployment (more on this in Chapter 6). With the growing complexity of the Olympic operations, the scope and organisation of volunteer services underwent dramatic changes. In the context of mega sport events, volunteers are required to have certain skills to perform a wide range of tasks associated with the Games, e.g. technologies, medicine and language services. They fulfil back- or front-stage roles, often in management and supervisory positions. Volunteers gradually became a part of OCOG’s enormous human resource operations.

There is now greater recognition of the time, effort and contributions made by volunteers in sport, especially the Olympics. On the other hand, despite the immense importance of volunteers to the success of the events, relatively few studies to date have been concerned with the complex nature of volunteer behaviour in sport event settings (Farrel, Johnston and Twynam, 1998; Love *et al.*, 2011; Dickson *et al.*, 2013). Some authors have made considerable contributions to this emerging field of study (e.g. Elstad, 1996; Kemp, 2002; Chalip, 2002; Green and Chalip, 2004; Cuskelly *et al.*, 2004), but relatively little is known about the difference between sport event volunteers and long-term volunteers in other settings (Baum and Lockstone, 2007). Crucially, the concepts and measurements that emerged in the sport context so far have been derived from non-sport studies (Strigas and Jackson, 2003). These studies, in turn, were unable to determine whether volunteering in sport is driven by considerations unique to sport (Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray, 2008), or contribute to our understanding of the nature of sport volunteer behaviour (Green and Chalip, 1998). However, it has been argued that the sport context provides a “*somewhat different array of potential benefits than is offered by charities or social service agencies*” (Green and Chalip, 1998, p. 21). The unique

environment of sport events, determined by their episodic ‘one-off’ nature and increasing commodification, has implications for volunteer motivation, commitment, performance and retention (Cuskelly, Hoyer and Auld, 2006; Hoyer and Cuskelly, 2009). It is suggested that the field will greatly benefit by studying volunteer behaviour across various sport contexts, including mega events and specific volunteer tasks (Green and Chalip, 1998; MacLean and Hamm, 2007), with a focus on detailed examination of sport event volunteers’ lived experiences (Green and Chalip, 2004).

This research aims to fill this gap by studying sport event volunteers in the context of London 2012. However, in order to fully appreciate the phenomenon of sport event volunteering, contributions volunteers make to the Olympics and the extent to which they benefit themselves, the organisation and the society at large, it is essential to systematically examine the concept of volunteering from its origins till today. The following discussion first deals with the models applied to traditional organisational settings. Nonetheless, as argued by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015), these frameworks can help explain the complexity of volunteering in sport events and highlight new approaches and insights.

3.3. Hybrid conceptual framework of volunteering

A phenomenon of volunteering has attracted scholars across a broad spectrum of disciplines due to its unique, atypical and even intriguing nature. This interest generated a rich body of literature on the meaning, definition and functions of volunteering, as well as psychological and socio-economic determinants and motivations to volunteer. However, as Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) argued, despite the existence of multiple theoretical models of volunteering, no integrated theory has emerged. Three fundamental challenges have led to this outcome: the lack of clear definition; the problem of disciplinary heterogeneity; and the problem of theory as multidimensional. These are three core layers of complexity that drive theoretical questions and approaches (see Table 3.2). As suggested by the authors of this ‘hybrid map’, the understanding of volunteering can be enhanced by answering: *What*, *Why* and *How* we study volunteering. The next three sections of this Chapter provide an overview of these building blocks of the hybrid framework, which acts as a guide through some key theories and concepts of volunteering.

Table 3.2. A hybrid conceptual framework of volunteering

Layers of complexity	Theoretical building blocks	Key frameworks and approaches
<i>The problem of definition</i>	What do we study?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defining what volunteering is not - Defining what volunteering is - Volunteering as a social construct
<i>The problem of multi-disciplinarity</i>	Why do we study it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economists: impure altruism - Sociologists: social cohesion and welfare - Psychologists: pro-social personality - Political scientists: citizenship and democracy
<i>The problem of theory as multi-dimensional</i>	<p>Theory as explanation: -Why do people volunteer -Determinants of Volunteering</p> <p>Theory as a narrative: -How do people volunteer -The context of volunteering -Volunteering and social change</p> <p>Theory as enlightenment: -Critical perspectives</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivations and benefits - Dominant status model - Resource model - Theories of cross-national variation in volunteering -Styles of volunteering -The volunteer process -Volunteer ecology -Volunteer management -The changing institutional and biographical embedding of volunteering -Issues of social inequality -Negative consequences of volunteering -Unmet expectations -Hidden ideologies

Source: Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010, p. 413)

3.3.1. What do we study?

It is acknowledged in the literature that volunteering is a widespread but complex phenomenon that is socially and culturally constructed and has multiple definitions; therefore, it lacks precision and uniformity (Lukka and Ellis, 2001; Holmes and Smith, 2009; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). The term has different meanings in different contexts and is a matter of public perceptions (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). As stated in Lukka and Ellis (2001), “*While people have created their own constructs of volunteering...the dominant representation is of volunteering as the domain of the white middle-class middle-aged female who volunteers (out of altruistic concerns)...*” (p. 30). It is not clear-cut what volunteering encompasses as it embraces a diverse range of activities and spans different organisations and sectors of society (Wilson, 2000; Lukka and Ellis, 2001).

The modern and biblical Hebrew notion of the term suggests that ‘volunteer’ is “*derived from a word meaning ‘to willingly give’, and linguistically is very close to charitable donation*” (Cnaan and Amroffell, 1994, p. 336). This contributes to the understanding of volunteering as unpaid service. The term was used first in the military for civilians mobilised in times of emergency in 1750s. They were neither drafted nor paid for their services at that time. This use of the term preceded its use for unpaid service for religious and charity organisations. Since then, although the unpaid nature remains as one of its key features, the meaning of volunteering has undergone significant transformations.

Thus, Snyder and Omoto (2008) argued that volunteering goes beyond charitable giving and philanthropy, as it is more than “*simply donating money or goods*” (p. 5). Holmes and Smith (2009, defined volunteering as “*a discretionary activity which is essentially a donation of time*” (p. 4), with which many other authors agree, adding also donation of labour, skills and experiences at no wage cost or for no payment other than reimbursement of out of pocket expenses (Monga, 2006). Apart from not seeking financial gain, volunteers are free in their choices and act according to their motivations. It is typically proactive rather than reactive activity that is “*given freely*” (Wilson, 2000, p. 1). Wilson also argued that volunteers do act to benefit another person, group, organisation, and themselves. Along the same lines, the Compact Code of Good Practice on Volunteering (in Zimmeck, 2009) defined volunteering as “*an activity that involves spending time, unpaid, doing something that aims to benefit the environment or individuals or groups other than (or in addition to) close relatives*” (p. 3).

Naming all possible definitions of volunteering is beyond the scope of this Chapter. Indeed, other authors have done this. Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) reviewed 300 articles and reports, and found that the term is rarely defined due to volunteering being, as they suggested, a ‘*self-explanatory*’ and ‘*agreed-on*’ phenomenon. Nonetheless, they identified and analysed eleven widely-used definitions of volunteering, and determined four key dimensions in common that aid in defining what volunteering is and who volunteers are. Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth’s (1996) multi-dimensional approach became well cited, and has four elements: ‘*free choice*’, ‘*remuneration*’, ‘*structure*’ and ‘*intended beneficiaries*’, each with a continuum of dimensions. These are essential components ingrained in each type of volunteering activity, no matter how different they are.

A more recent definition of volunteering by Snyder and Omoto (2008) broadly incorporated these four dimensions and referred to volunteering as "*freely chosen and deliberate helping activities that extend over time, are engaged in without expectation of reward or other compensation and often through formal organisations, and that are performed on behalf of causes or individuals who desire assistance*" (p. 3). Crucially, these authors believed that volunteering is not a spontaneous act such as in the case of unforeseen events that require immediate reaction (natural disasters). On the contrary, volunteering is a planned act that involves an active decision that depends on goals, values, motivations and personal attributes, and happens on a recurring basis over time rather than one-time activity. According to Snyder and Omoto (2008), volunteers can freely choose whether to help in the first place, where to help, when and how. Most significantly, volunteering is a *service* given without expectation of compensation.

Although the definition of volunteering formulated by Snyder and Omoto (2008) captures many important aspects of volunteering activities, it does not represent the whole spectrum of volunteering dimensions featured in Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth's (1996) categorisation of volunteering. One ambiguity in a definition provided by Snyder and Omoto (2008) is an act of help or service that does not involve any sort of remuneration ('true' volunteers) whereas volunteering practice shows that volunteers in certain cases get expenses partly reimbursed (sport event volunteers) or are provided with low stipend/pay (missionary work), in which case Snyder and Omoto (2008) call them 'quasi-volunteers'. However, as noted by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010), those who volunteer willingly and at no remuneration may or may not consider it volunteering and thus may not report it, which hints at the difference in perceptions about the concept of volunteering.

Stressing formal (through groups and organisations) and ignoring informal (help on an individual basis) structures of volunteering implies that the infrastructure of organisations that utilise volunteers has to be developed (by definition), which is not always the case (Wilson, 2012). Statistics show that levels of informal volunteering are usually higher than formal volunteering: 35% of people in England participate in informal volunteering at least once a month versus 27% in formal volunteering (DCLG, 2009). In addition, this definition limits volunteering to only those who serve organisations, which creates an image of volunteering in which beneficiaries are social movements that advocate for action or awareness of a mission. It ignores the phenomenon of sport event volunteering.

Hence, those who volunteer and those who benefit from it are diverse, as are their activities, contributing to the changing nature of volunteerism. These changes are also concerned with time committed by volunteers. Only some volunteers are actively involved in providing regular (at least once a month) voluntary services over an extended period (Low *et al.*, 2007). As argued by Wilson (2012), modernisation brings new forms of volunteering to advanced industrial societies where short-term or episodic volunteering is commonplace. Episodic in this case means “*undertaking formal volunteering activities on a one-off basis in the past 12 months*” (Low *et al.*, 2007, p. 11). Likewise, Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) attributed this trend to broader global social transformations when traditional forms of long-term and demanding commitments are substituted by new, often temporary, ‘non-committal’ volunteering. Membership-based and collectivist (obligation to community) participation is changing to program-based, self-organised and individualistic, which is clearly limited and involves tangible outcomes that serve personal needs. Statistics, in turn, confirm a changing pattern towards less frequent and shorter duration volunteering. For example, in the Australian survey, 31.3% volunteers had been involved in their organisation or sector for less than 1 year; 17.2% volunteered several times a year and 14.7% volunteered less regularly; 46% had contributed less than 50 hours in the previous 12 months (Holmes and Smith, 2009, p. 10). In the UK, according to the Institute for Volunteering Research, the average number of hours spent volunteering per volunteer declined by 30% between 1997 and 2007 (DCLG, 2009).

The nature of industries in which volunteers are involved has an impact on the regularity and length of volunteering activity and types of tasks they do. Episodic volunteering is particularly widespread in the sphere of mega sport events due to their one-off and fixed-term nature. Volunteers are ‘hired’ for a very short though extensive period of time, often determined by the length of the Games (usually up to several weeks) and limited by certain activities. Due to the temporary nature of OCOGs, Games-time volunteers (those who volunteer on-site) cannot be committed to the same organisation over a prolonged period of time. According to Stebbins (2004), sport event volunteering is a specific example of project-based leisure opportunities that are infrequent, short term, yet can be of the complex nature. This definition takes into account the skills base often acquired through or required of this type of volunteering, which is dissimilar to casual leisure that is also temporary but often requires no skills and is done simply for enjoyment (Stebbins, 1996). Some can view sport event volunteering as ‘serious leisure’ which, according to Parker (1992), involves a need to continue, long-lasting benefits, unique culture, participant identification and the tendency to have a career in this activity (or ‘career

volunteering’ in Stebbins, 1996). Fairley, Pamm and Green (2007) published their research on volunteers who travel from one mega event to another (‘event volunteer tourists’). Yet, many volunteers work only for a limited time and for one event. Hence, the ‘serious leisure’ type of volunteering does not fit well the short-term nature of mega sport events.

This analysis highlights the importance of classifying volunteering into different categories in order to deepen our understanding of voluntary activities in general and mega sport event volunteering in particular, moving it away from a narrow image of helping those in need. To reflect this, the categorisation of volunteering by Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) was expanded and transformed into a six-dimensional model by adding ‘regularity’ and ‘type of activity’ (Table 3.3.). The ‘intended beneficiaries’ dimension was replaced by ‘beneficiaries’. Categories within this dimension acknowledge three levels of beneficiaries: personal (retaining original categories of ‘others/strangers’, ‘friends/relatives’ and ‘oneself’), organisational, and societal levels.

Table 3.3. Dimensions and categories of volunteering

Dimensions	Categories
Free choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - free will (ability to voluntarily choose) - relatively un-coerced - obligation to volunteer
Remuneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - none at all - none expected - expenses reimbursed - stipend/low pay
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal - informal
Beneficiaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - personal (others/strangers; friends/relatives; oneself) - organisational - societal
Regularity (time)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - regular (long-term) - episodic (short-term)
Type of activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - serious leisure - casual leisure - project-based leisure

Source: adapted from Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996)

This modified model of volunteering will aid in categorising mega sport event volunteering and further directing the analysis in a more structured way.

3.3.1.1. Mega sport event volunteering defined

Few definitions of ‘sport volunteering’ are available in the literature, and even fewer of ‘sport *event* volunteering’; those that exist cover only some aspects of the adopted model of volunteering. For example, Gratton, Shibli and Coleman (2005) defined sport volunteers as “*individual volunteers*

helping others in sport, in a formal organisation such as clubs or governing bodies, and receiving either no remuneration or only expenses” (p. i). Volunteering at sport events is treated no differently from sport volunteering. Thus, Downward (2002) suggests that sport event volunteering is essentially the activity involved in sporting provision. In addition, no official definition of mega sport event volunteering was located by the author of this research. This gap can be possibly attributed to the relative novelty of research in this area (Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995; Andrew, 1996; Baum and Lockstone, 2007). However, as acknowledged, the context and the episodic nature of the event add new dimensions to this kind of volunteer experience and the benefits that accrue from it. This suggests that a holistic definition of mega sport event volunteering is a necessity.

The following is a comprehensive definition put forth by the researcher of this project that attempts to capture various dimensions of the phenomenon:

Mega sport event volunteering is a pro-social episodic activity undertaken out of free will without expectation of remuneration (except for reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses). It is executed mostly in the form of project-based leisure as focussed on staging one-off high profile events that are goal, time and location bound. The nature of such events assumes volunteer training, clear-cut responsibilities, high commitment and intense interaction with a large number of people. Volunteering is viewed as the process that undergoes three stages - antecedents, experiences and consequences - that extrapolate on individual, group, organisational, and societal levels. The important aspect in this process is informal learning that takes place in a collaborative, co-constructive way, and its value expected to serve volunteers themselves, organisations where they work, and communities in which they live.

This definition suggests a holistic approach to volunteering, reflecting its complex and multi-dimensional nature. In light of the VPM model discussed in section 3.3.3., it accounts for three stages of the process of volunteering on multiple levels of analysis. Importantly, it considers volunteering in the context of mega sport events; therefore, it takes into account their unique operational features and the potential of sport events to deliver a social legacy. Costs and benefits at various levels of analysis are highlighted, which is especially timely in light of the legacy rhetoric discussed in Chapter 2. This definition is applicable to this research focussed on a formal category of London 2012 volunteers, who give their time freely for the duration of the Games to benefit LOCOG, themselves and the wider community. Given the infrequent nature of the Olympics (every two years, Summer and Winter Games respectively), these volunteers are considered episodic volunteers who volunteer just for this particular event, unless they are ‘career volunteers’ or ‘volunteer tourists’.

Learning has been included in the working definition of mega sport event volunteering because many existing definitions omit a learning component despite the fact that a remarkable amount of learning takes place in volunteer work (Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013). Learning seems to be implicit in the benefits of volunteering for individuals and communities, which is confirmed by the works of Ilsley (1990), Elsdon (1995) and Henry and Hughes (2003) in general volunteering settings, and Williams, Dossa and Tompkins (1995), Elstad (1996), and Kemp (2003) in the context of sport events. For example, learning is cited among important, albeit least-researched rewards of volunteering at the Olympics (Kemp, 2002). Some learning-related incentives will be discussed under section 4.2.1.4. Among the reasons learning is often ignored by researchers, organisations that employ volunteers and volunteers themselves is a dominant perception of learning acquired through formal or non-formal settings such as school or work; therefore, it is seen as the result of a structured curriculum or simply a passive/reflective activity. Voluntary activities, on the contrary, are considered as ‘doing rather than learning’ (Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013, p. 27).

Yet, the predominant learning modality for volunteering is informal with informal educational activities complementing volunteers’ learning. The tacit character of informal learning, however, is another complication that makes it difficult for the participants to articulate learning motivations and outcomes resulting from their volunteering experience or plan for them (Polanyi, 1966; Eraut, 2000; Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013). Ilsley (1990) noted that “*Although most formal volunteer organisations offer training programs, we found that much of the actual learning in volunteer organisations is unplanned...learning appears to be undervalued in most volunteer programs. This is highly unfortunate*” (p. 71).

3.3.2. Why do we study volunteering?

This section is devoted to volunteering as an object of scientific enquiry and the reasons it has attracted the attention of academics and practitioners across a variety of disciplines. The debate here is limited by the core perspectives discussed in Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010): economics, sociology, psychology, and political science. In this sense, the field of volunteering is interdisciplinary, which adds a layer of complexity to understanding it.

Economists treat volunteering as a form of unpaid labour motivated by the promise of rewards. At the organisational level assumptions are made regarding supply and demand of volunteers. On one hand,

organisations are willing to use the volunteer labour offered when the cost to the organisation is zero. However, Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) point out that while volunteers may receive no wages, they still cost the organisation in the form of recruitment, screening, training, managing and providing organisational support. Thus, volunteers are not ‘free labour’, which determines the demand side for them. Economists use different techniques to determine the value of volunteer labour to the organisation.

The sociological perspective focuses on two main streams of research: first, volunteering as a social phenomenon integrated in social networks and community; second, volunteering as a productive activity. The first approach is about social interactions through volunteering and relationships among individuals, groups and organisations that create unique social ties different from other types of social networks. They are considered an essential form of social solidarity that binds members of society together through the expression of core human values of compassion, altruism, social responsibility, generosity and community spirit (Wilson, 2012). Volunteering is a “*fundamental expression of community belonging and group identity, and contributes to individuals’ social integration*” (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010, p. 417).

On a personal level this approach is focussed on the social aspect of volunteers and their motivations, as well as values of volunteering (a cultural view). At the heart are sociodemographic characteristics such as gender, race, and social class. This leads to questions regarding social stratification and key socio-economic determinants of in- or exclusion from volunteer participation. In comparison to the value-based nature of the first approach, volunteering as a productive activity focusses on services provided by volunteers. Here volunteer work is based in a formal structure of the organisation working for a cause or with clients. Volunteers are treated as a human resource with skills, knowledge and unpaid labour that they bring to the organisation, contributing to producing welfare or tackling social problems. A volunteer here is called “*an agent of social change...detecting unmet societal needs, fighting against social injustice, and empowering disadvantaged groups*” (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010, p. 418). In some cases volunteers become professionals in social work or a related field.

From the psychological perspective, volunteering provides insights into the nature of helping and pro-social action (Omoto and Snyder, 2002), which in this case is considered sustained and planned behaviour resulting from a deliberate choice. Psychologists are interested in age, sex, life cycle,

motivations, personality traits, self-concepts and individual characteristics that distinguish volunteers from non-volunteers (Wilson, 2000). For example, it is argued that the on-going nature of volunteering relies on the degree to which volunteer roles match the personal motivations of volunteers. General traits associated with volunteering can be clustered as ‘pro-social personality type’ with extraversion, agreeableness, helpfulness and other-oriented empathy. Those who suffer from social anxiety, low self-esteem and self-efficacy will most likely fear new environments, avoid interacting with unknown people and, therefore, tend to avoid volunteering (Handy and Cnaan, 2007). However, volunteering should not only be understood in psychological terms of inner motivations and personality differences, but needs to be considered from a broader context of socio-economic characteristics (skills and resources in the form of time and money), cultural norms and the setting in which volunteering takes place (Wilson, 2000; Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). This corresponds to the latest research by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015) who suggest that in addition to the individual level, the effects of the meso-level (organisational) and macro-level (societal) with values, policies and social capital need to be accounted for.

The political science perspective views volunteering as a predictor and a precondition of democracy and active civic society. The ability to organise and form volunteer-led organisations generates bridging social capital and can contribute to the quality of life in communities where citizens act to make a difference in a world in which government and corporations have most control. Volunteering is a way to “*instill civic values, enhance political behaviour, and improve democracy and society*” (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010, p. 420). However, even within one field of study, perspectives towards volunteering are greatly different, influenced by the country’s political rhetoric (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010).

3.3.3. How do we study volunteering?

Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) attempted to systematise different theoretical approaches to volunteering, and distinguished between three major ‘theories’, each encompassing a vast array of approaches (refer to Table 3.2.): *Theory as explanation* that tries to understand *Who* volunteers are (determinants of volunteering) and *Why* people volunteer (motivations, benefits); *Theory as a narrative* that focusses on *How* people volunteer (styles and processes), the context of volunteering (volunteer ecology, volunteer management) and *How* social, institutional and bibliographical changes influence volunteering; and *Theory as enlightenment* that critically questions dominant assumptions of volunteering (issues of social inequality, negative consequences of volunteering and unmet

expectations, hidden ideologies). However, as observed by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010), although contemporary research probes diverse aspects of volunteering, the interactions between them (these three ‘theories’) are hardly explored. Likewise, depending on the perspective, researchers tend to use theories that focus on a single approach (e.g., serious leisure) and neglect others, or do not use any theory, which is deemed inadequate for studying the multi-dimensional nature of volunteering (for a comprehensive overview of studies, refer to Wicker and Hallmann, 2013). Some studies attempted to use a holistic approach, blending perspectives from different disciplines that can be enriched immensely by insights from each other. For example, Allen and Shaw (2009) and Hamm-Kerwin, Misener and Doherty (2009) tried to explain psychological phenomena using sociological theories. However, according to Wicker and Hallmann (2013), the existence of multi-dimensional frameworks is scarce and, as shown further, not all that exist were created for or can be applied to the sport setting.

Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003), for example, developed a comprehensive framework of Collective and Reflexive Styles of Volunteering (CRSV model), which captures a narrative account in Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy’s (2010) typology. Through the lens of sociological modernisation theory that predicts “*a progressive erosion of traditional group belongings, and thus a weakening of the collective roots of volunteering*” (ibid., p. 180), the authors stressed socio-structural transformations that affect the biographical frame of reference of volunteers and change the complex meaning and patterns of volunteer involvement. Studying volunteering through the lens of this theory reveals the context in which volunteering occurs and changes in the relationship between volunteers and organisations. According to Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003), “*volunteer involvement loses its self-evident character; it decreasingly corresponds to strong identifications and long-lasting memberships*” (p. 183). They also warned about the “*growing exclusion of less privileged population groups from contemporary volunteer action*” (ibid., p. 183), explaining this by the growing number of ‘clever volunteers’ with educational and professional qualifications to meet the standards of highly specialised and self-organised volunteer activities.

Volunteers today actively pursue personal interests and are fully capable of matching volunteer opportunities with individual conditions. Therefore, through complex interactions of various factors, the proposed analytical framework allows for identification of multiple distinct styles of volunteering along the continuum: collective (traditional, old) and reflexive (individualistic, new). In particular, the

typology of volunteering is advanced based on three criteria: *multi-dimensional nature* (the bibliographical frame of reference, the motivational structure, the course of intensity of commitment, the field of activity, the organisational environment; the relation to paid work); *multi-layered nature* that requires multiple levels of analysis (individual volunteer, institution/organisation, broader socio-structural context); and *multi-formity* (various forms of volunteer commitment such as mixture of long-term and episodic, old and new). Although the CRSV model considers the complex multi-dimensional, multi-form and multi-layered nature of volunteering, it does not fully account for the dynamic nature of the volunteer experience inherent in the sport sector.

Volunteer Stages and Transitions Model (VSTM model) by Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) seems to fill this gap, and represents a differentiated and complex model of the process of volunteering which consists of five stages of organisational socialisation (nominee, new volunteer, emotional involvement, established volunteering, retiring), takes into account transitions between stages (entrance, accommodation, affiliation, renewal) and various kinds of turnover (early ejection, midstream exit and end exit). The VSTM model links motivation, satisfaction, costs and rewards that have been studied separately, yet differentiating these aspects according to the phases of volunteering. This model helps to describe what happens at each stage and what causes the transition (usually a significant event, not only the passage of time), details the process, experiences, costs and benefits, and emotions involved in each phase, and the changing nature of these elements over time. However, as noted by Lois (1999), volunteers' socialisation does not always take place in the same order; and, volunteers may simultaneously occupy several stages. Although relevant for non-profit and voluntary sector organisations dependent on volunteers, this model cannot be fully applied to OCOGs engaged in staging mega events that have a short business cycle and the project-based nature of volunteer assignments. Thus, when or if the organisational socialisation of volunteers in this context occurs, it is short lived.

Various scholars (e.g. Peters-Davis *et al.*, 2001; Hamm-Kerwin, Misener and Doherty, 2009; Wicker and Hallmann, 2013) advocated a multi-dimensional framework to study sport volunteering, which is in line with the argument expressed by Baum and Lockstone (2007, p. 37) that “*there is a lack of holistic research that takes into consideration the wide range of themes and issues that pertain to volunteering in the sports events context*”. Wicker and Hallmann (2013) were the first to propose a multi-level and multi-dimensional conceptual framework that brings together individual (micro) and

institutional (macro) levels of analysis to explain sport volunteering. Based on a heterodox economic theory of behaviour discussed in Downward (2005) that blends various perspectives, this framework incorporates economic, demographic, social and psychological factors to explain the decision-making process of a volunteer.

Further, the authors argued that since volunteering usually occurs within an organisational setting, institutional characteristics also should be considered. On a macro level of analysis, the framework builds on a holistic model of organisational capacity, which consists of several components. Taken together, they represent organisational capital: human resources, financial, planning and development, network and relationship, infrastructure and resource capacities. The limitation of this framework, though, is in its omission of group and external environment. The authors explain this by the complex interplay of various indicators, and focus exclusively on the internal environment, which is perceived to be influenced by external factors. However, this research argues that all factors are critical in order to attain a thorough understanding of sport event volunteering. Besides, volunteer engagement is only one, albeit important, step of the volunteer journey. Hence, this conceptual framework lacks a view of the full cycle of the volunteer experience.

Ferrand and Skirstad (2015) argue that although it is questionable “*how well do such theoretical frameworks ‘travel’ beyond the sphere of the social voluntary organisations to sport organisations*” (p. 75), different approaches are valuable in adding new components to the existing knowledge and identifying what is missing in the process of sport event volunteering (for reference, see Ferrand and Skirstad’s *Volunteer Cube*, 2015, p. 75). In this sense, using multiple frameworks is strongly encouraged: “*it is time to engage in interdisciplinary research in sport management as no one has all the answers*” (Doherty, 2013, p. 1). Therefore, the heterodox approach seems to answer this call, and is appropriate for this research. Informed by Wicker and Hallmann’s (2013) multi-level conceptual framework and those developed outside the sport setting (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003; Haski-Leventhal and Bargal, 2008; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010), this research adopts Omoto and Snyder’s (2002) Volunteer Process Model (see Table 3.4.), which presents a holistic conceptual framework that provides new ways of conceptualising mega sport event volunteering.

This useful framework draws on many disciplines and brings together economic, sociological, psychological and behavioural features that can be applied to the unique setting of the Olympics.

Moreover, it highlights the multi-dimensional and multi-level nature of volunteering and the interrelatedness of various aspects stressed by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010). Omoto and Snyder (2002) were among the first to conceptualise the volunteer process or the ‘life cycle of volunteers’. At the core of the VPM model is volunteering as a dynamic process that unfolds over time through three sequential and interactive stages (antecedents, experiences and consequences). Indeed these mesh well with the operational cycle of mega events: before, during and after the Games. The VPM model also takes into account multiple levels of analysis (individual, interpersonal/group, agency/organisation, and societal/cultural context).

Table 3.4. Volunteer Process Model

<i>Level of Analysis</i>	<i>Stages of the Volunteer Process</i>		
	<i>1. Antecedents</i>	<i>2. Experiences</i>	<i>3. Consequences</i>
A. Individual	Motivations Expectations Demographics Prior experiences Personality differences Resources and skills Identity concerns Existing social support Life circumstances	Volunteers’ choice of role Volunteers’ performance Relationship with clients Support from agency staff and other volunteers Organisational integration Satisfaction Stigmatisation	Changes in knowledge, attitude, behaviour, motivation, health Identity development Commitment to volunteering Evaluation of volunteerism Commitment to organisation Recruit other volunteers Length of service
B. Interpersonal / Social Group	Group membership Norms	Helping relationship Collective esteem	Composition of social network Relationship development
C. Agency / Organisation	Identify volunteers Recruit volunteers Train volunteers	Organisational culture Volunteer placement Volunteer tracking Delivery of services	Volunteer retention and reenlistment Work evaluation Quantity and quality of services Fulfilment of mission
D. Societal / Cultural Context	Ideology Service programs and institutions Social climates Community resource Cultural context	Service provision Program development Recipients of services Volunteers’ social network Clients’ social network	Social capital and diffusion Economic savings Public education Systems of service delivery

Source: adapted from Omoto and Snyder (2002, p. 849), Snyder and Omoto (2008, p. 7)

Closer reflection on this model suggests that it blends three key approaches to studying volunteering based on Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy’s (2010) typology. Particularly, on the individual level, the model

focuses on the activities and psychological processes of individual volunteers and recipients of volunteer services that are directed toward individuals. Here it illustrates who volunteers are and why they volunteer (theory of explanation), helps to explore the nature, processes and context of volunteer involvement (theory as a narrative) and critically analyses volunteers' met and unmet expectations, positive and negative consequences of volunteering, and issues of social inequality from a personal perspective (theory of enlightenment). On the interpersonal level, the model incorporates the relationships among volunteers and clients, other volunteers, and paid staff, which also expands understanding of volunteering dynamics. Further levels account for the ingrained nature of volunteering in the institutional and cultural environments, which influence mega sport event volunteering. Thus, on an organisational level, the model is concerned with recruiting, selecting, training, managing and retaining volunteers as well as monitoring their work performance, compensation and evaluation, which is in line with the HRM model by Hoye *et al.* (2006). Organisational structure, culture, rules, operations and roles are other factors taken into account. The connection between individuals and the broader social environment are considered along with collective and cultural dynamics (Omoto and Snyder, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008).

This model, however, was criticised by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) for not differentiating between complex stages and transitions involved in the volunteer experience itself and treating them as a single category. Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008), in turn, critiqued the model for not explaining the processes volunteers go through while performing their roles, although it describes the characteristics of the volunteer, the agency and the social system. These shortcomings were addressed by this research through the accounts and reflections taken from both managers and volunteers via in-depth interviews as well as participant observations (for more details, see Chapter 5).

3.4. Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter was to contextualise volunteering within the mega sport events 'industry' and find answers to *what*, *how* and *why* volunteers participate. In particular, the literature review identified a shortage of research evidence about a conceptual understanding of volunteering in general and mega sport event volunteering. To this end, insights from traditional and non-Olympic organisational settings were utilised.

This Chapter identified the essential components of volunteering. The researcher also provided a working definition of mega sport event volunteering not previously available, thereby strengthening

conceptual foundations of the field of sport management. This can explain the complex and multi-dimensional nature of volunteering, and demonstrate how the operational features of mega sport events add a further layer of complexity. The heterodox approach helped explore the phenomenon further. Integrating multiple disciplines, while allowing the study of mega sport event volunteering from various theoretical perspectives. Blending together the *Hybrid Conceptual Framework of Volunteering* by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) and the *VPM model* by Omoto and Snyder's (2002) represents a methodological novelty as these models, although encouraged, have not been previously applied to the sport context. While the Hybrid Conceptual Framework appeared to be helpful as a guide to key theories and concepts, the VPM model offered insights into the life cycle of volunteering. Any new knowledge these models provide have the potential to greatly improve understanding of the complex processes involved in mega sport event volunteering. Three stages of the VPM model (antecedents, experiences and consequences) allow those factors that impact volunteering experiences to be explored on different, yet interrelated levels of analysis. Hence, it is used as a second ('inner') layer of the conceptual framework created for this research.

To date, most of the empirical studies derived from the VPM model have been focussed on individual and interpersonal levels of analysis. The least-researched aspect appears to be the interrelationship between individual, organisational and societal levels. However, as argued in the literature, greater understanding is required of the interconnection between these levels, as they highly depend on each other. Thus, individual sport event volunteers personally benefit from their volunteering experiences, help organisations stage the Games and contribute to a greater sense of community and civic mindedness. Organisations depend on volunteers to attain their strategic and operational goals and, at the same time, greatly influence the experiences of volunteers through the internal environment and volunteer management practices. Positive volunteering experiences and good legacy planning and governance can bring about a Games-related volunteering legacy that may serve host communities for many years.

Hence, this research will centre on these three levels of analysis, although it will touch upon the group level as it is present in teamwork among volunteers and managers. The VPM model will be employed to (a) organise and make sense of the empirical literature on mega sport event volunteering and (b) guide and make sense of the research findings in relation to the research questions posed in

Chapter 1. Individual, organisational and societal levels of the VPM model will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4. Sport Event Volunteering: Individual, Organisational and Societal Perspectives

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 introduced the *Volunteer Process Model* (VPM model) by Omoto and Snyder (2002) as a holistic theoretical framework that highlights the multi-dimensional and multi-level nature of volunteering. Chapter 4 examines in-depth the three levels of analysis contained in this model: individual, organisational and societal, with important references to an interpersonal/group level. The first two levels shape the volunteering experience and allow for understanding of causes, experiences and outcomes of volunteering for both volunteers and organisations they serve. The concept of experience and its nature is explicated in the context of events that are introduced as *special places* and *time out of time* where the sense of *communitas* is created and reinforced. Particular attention is given to the quality of volunteering experiences and the role volunteering plays in satisfying personal, organisational and societal needs. On the individual level, the following aspects are explored: volunteer motivations, expectations, experiences, learning, efficacy, rewards, satisfaction and commitment. On the organisational level, the *Human Research Management* (HRM) approach to volunteer management by Hoye *et al.* (2006) is introduced to bring to the fore design, development, implementation, management and evaluation of systems and practices used in sport organisations. The applicability of this approach to the Olympic context is highlighted and both advantages and disadvantages are shown as reviewed in the literature. The societal level is discussed demonstrating the value of volunteering to society and the potential of mega sport events to leave a volunteering legacy that can be transferred to other events and settings, and serve host communities in the years to come.

4.2. Individual level

According to Getz (2007), “*the personal dimension, from antecedents to experiences to outcomes, is the least researched and most poorly understood theme in Event Studies*” (p. 301).

4.2.1. Volunteering antecedents: motivations

The *Antecedents* stage of the VPM model refers to pre-dispositions and causes of volunteering: What motivates people to become volunteers? Demographics, personality traits, attitudes, values, resources, skills, existing social support and prior experiences are all essential components in their influence on volunteer motivations, expectations and volunteer behaviour (Omoto and Snyder, 2002; Snyder and

Omoto, 2008; Wilson, 2012). These factors impact ‘readiness’ to engage in volunteering as well as effectiveness and satisfaction in volunteer work. Therefore, a motivational perspective embracing various disciplines was adopted for the current research to understand the role of motivations in prompting engagement leading to participation and sustaining the commitment of mega sport event volunteers over time. Knowledge of volunteers’ motivations is essential for organising committees of mega events in developing effective marketing, recruitment, training, management, and retention strategies for their volunteers.

The interest in motivations is triggered by the participation paradox that accounts for the seemingly irrational behaviour of taking up unpaid jobs. Motives give meaning to, explain and shape behaviour and, consequently, influence the decision to volunteer, giving ‘birth’ to multiple variations in volunteering. Hoyer and Cuskelly (2009) described the motivation to volunteer as “*a desire to help others or for personal and social rewards*” (p. 172), which Stebbins (1996) labelled as altruism and self-interest. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) split existing research on motivations between *symbolic*, *functional*, and *rational choice* theorising.

From a symbolic point of view, the nature of motives is socially constructed. Motives are embedded in the culture and are commonly learned as part of cultural understanding grounded in values of selfless and compassionate acts rather than egocentric interests. For example, volunteers seem to value doing good for their neighbours to a greater degree than do non-volunteers. However, studies show that the relation between values and volunteering is weak and inconsistent (Wilson, 2000). People have different sets of values and attach different values to the same volunteer work. Although values may help determine what volunteering means to people, they do not predict participation.

The functional approach is acknowledged to be more widespread, and suggests that motives precede or even determine an action. These motives serve psychological needs and reflect certain personality traits as well as material benefits. This behaviour can be explained by *the exchange theory*, which states that people will not contribute their time, goods and services unless they profit from it (Wilson, 2000). This choice involves a cost-benefit analysis when considering volunteer work. Whereas ‘others’ related motives (symbolic) may trigger volunteering, it is argued that in order to enhance and sustain volunteering, it should produce significant benefits. Such benefits may be in tangible or intangible forms of social integration and support, self-confidence, and trust (Wilson, 2000; Musick

and Wilson, 2003; Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). In the context of sport events, Bang, Won and Kim (2009) noted that this theory is fundamental in understanding volunteer commitment. Both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards received in exchange for cost (such as time and money) devoted to volunteering positively affect the decision to continue volunteering, and, ultimately, influence the volunteering legacy (Doherty, 2009).

The exchange theory is similar to the neo-classical economic approach that focusses on the rational choice framework and utility maximisation. In the neo-classical approach, two models prevail: 'private benefits' and 'public goods'. The former argues that people are motivated to volunteer by interest in rewards, either in the form of 'utilitarian goods' (Wilson, 2012) such as enhanced human capital through skills acquired and increased employment opportunities ('investment model'), or in the form of social capital or psychological rewards such as joy, or 'warm glow' ('consumption model') (Andreoni, 1990; Rose-Ackerman, 1996). The latter, 'public goods' model, is divided into 'pure altruism' when volunteering is entirely in the interest of those on the receiving end (Duncan, 1999; Unger, 1991), and 'impure altruism' where both private and public benefits are important (Andreoni, 1990). As argued by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010), though, if volunteers were only concerned with the levels of public goods in the society, a 'crowding-out' effect can be expected with the increase of provision of those goods by the government. But the reality is the opposite: higher levels of welfare spending is linked to higher levels of volunteering, which can be explained by the private benefits acquired through the act of volunteering. Ultimately, volunteering is considered a rational behaviour.

Critics argue that the rational choice theory and the exchange theory emphasise quantified costs over less quantifiable resources demanded by volunteer work. Moreover, it promotes self-interest above public good, whereas a competing theory of self-identity suggests that volunteering is a selfless act of helping others regardless of self-benefits (Schervish and Havens, 1997). Also, the exchange theory argues that individuals make their decisions in isolation whereas in reality they are influenced by a larger social context and formal and informal connections described in social capital theory, mentioned in Chapter 3. Social capital is viewed in terms of networks, their nature and density (bonding, bridging and linking in Putnam, 2000), and norms that govern these relationships and how these allow agents and institutions to achieve their objectives. Previous research determined a strong relationship between social capital and sport volunteerism, although without a particular direction (Harvey, Lévesque and Donnelly, 2007). The connection is highlighted by studies of Wilson and

Musick (1997), which found that social capital is among factors that explain formal voluntary engagement, and Brown, Tidey and Ferkins (2011) who noted the creation of social capital through sport events.

Overall, research highlights that volunteers in general and in sport in particular are “*attracted and expect different material and personal incentives when volunteering for a cause*” Andrew (1996, p. 24). Yet, as practice shows, a volunteer may not identify or distinguish between different motives or seek to fulfil a combination of motives to obtain a rewarding experience, which features the complex and holistic nature of motivations (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Khoo and Engelhorn, 2011). Therefore, a debate exists over what motivates volunteers in general and in sport settings in particular (Wang, 2004; Hoyer and Cuskelly, 2009; Baum *et al.*, 2009).

This debate is especially evident in the case of learning motives that, as discussed, are rarely acknowledged, but are no less important (Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013). In order to understand volunteers’ motivation to learn, it is important to turn to adult education literature on motivation. An initial typology of the relationship between learning and volunteering was developed by Houle (1961) who found that adult learners can be goal-oriented (learn in order to get a job or promotion), activity-oriented (learn for the joy of participation) or learning-oriented (learn for its own sake). Later studies (such as Boshier, 1971 and Morstain and Smart, 1974) built on this gradation and reported the following motivational factors: social relationships, external expectations, social welfare, professional advancement, escape/stimulation and cognitive interest (Morstain and Smart, 1974). This motivational scale parallels studies reported earlier on volunteering which shows that motivational factors to learn are as complex as motivational factors to volunteer, and can enhance each other. Ilsley (1990) further attempted to bridge volunteering and learning, and distinguished between different types of learning that can occur in almost any volunteer setting, including sport: instrumental/didactic (skills training to equip with a minimum level of competence to perform volunteer tasks), social/expressive (trust, respect, communication, openness and compassion) and critical reflection (values, attitudes, priorities, awareness, both personal and towards society).

It should be noted that apart from Ilsley (1990) and Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky (2013) in general settings and Williams, Dossa and Tompkins (1995), Elstad (1996) and Kemp (2003) in sport event settings, there is a lack of research on exploring connections between volunteering and informal

learning. This is complicated by the scarcity of research on volunteering in the mega sport event context (Khoo and Engelhorn, 2011). This research expanded from Dickson *et al.* (2013) to provide a summary of key literature showing the evolution of volunteer motivation research from one-dimensional to multi-dimensional motivational scales (see Appendix L). Not intending to be exhaustive, it reflects the fact that contemporary motivational research on sport events (including mega events) has its roots in the non-sport sector, has taken a predominantly quantitative approach using convenience sampling and cross-sectional research designs (Hoye and Cuskelly, 2009), which limits what these studies can reveal about changing motives and commitments over time (Green and Chalip, 2004).

Among the most prominent motivational studies outside the sport sector is Clary's *et al.* (1998) *Volunteer Functions Inventory* (VFI) framework where motives for volunteering are split into categories that are complex and multi-layered. The authors call motivations 'functions' served by volunteering, which are grouped into six dimensions: *personal values* (altruistic and humanitarian concerns for others); *enhancement* (psychological development); *understanding* (learn new or apply existing knowledge and skills); *career* (career-related experience); *social* (social relationships, concerns over social rewards and punishments); and *protective* (reduce personal problems and negative feelings). These 'functions' reflect different motivations volunteers may have in order to engage in volunteering, both 'other' and 'self' centred. This model was used predominantly by psychologists and specialists in human services, and greatly increased our understanding of motivations to volunteer, although it is not exclusive and does not address the specific features of volunteering in the sport event context.

Cnaan and Golberg-Glen (1991) created *Motivation to Volunteer Scale* (MVS), which was adopted and transformed by many researchers in the sport event context. Through 28 items in their uni-dimensional scale they identified, although did not distinguish, between egoistic and altruistic motives. Later, Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998) in their research on the 1998 Canadian Women's Curling Championship amended MVS by developing a new *Special Event Volunteer Motivation Scale* (SEVMS), for which they are considered pioneers of sport motivational research. They suggested a four-factor model that included *purposive* and *solidary* motivations, which resembled the structure of MVS, and two new motivations, *commitments* and *external traditions*. *Commitments* linked external expectations and personal skills with commitment to volunteering, whereas *external traditions* were

family traditions and use of free time, the extrinsic motivations component. The results of their study showed that the highest motivation was ‘*I wanted to help make the event a success*’, which suggests that motivations for special event volunteers differ from motivations of other volunteers due to the unique nature of special events and volunteer attachment to the activity (Farrell, Johnston and Twynam, 1998). Although this study is important in advancing our knowledge in the field of sport event volunteer motivations, it is focussed on a single elite sport event, and does not address the international multi-sport dimension of the Olympics.

Thus, as noted by Wang (2004), “*motivation to volunteer in major sporting events is a multidimensional construct*” (p. 424). The analysis of the literature on volunteer motivations reflects these complexities, and, for the purpose of this research, has been grouped into four sections: Olympics / Sport-related motivations, Altruistic / Purposive motivations, Egoistic / Transactional motivations, and Solidary / Interpersonal contact motivations.

4.2.1.1. Olympics / Sport-related motivations

Elstad (1996) and Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008) acknowledged that in spite of large numbers of volunteers involved in mega events, only limited research exists that addresses Olympic volunteers, their characteristics and experiences, which are unique in comparison to other contexts. This can be attributed to a lack of adequate instruments to measure this kind of volunteerism as mega events “*present additional attractions or incentives for volunteers*” that are rarely captured (Bang and Chelladurai, 2009, p. 336).

Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008) were the first to develop an instrument that would examine motivations unique to the Olympics, *Olympic Volunteer Motivation Scale* (OVMS). They proposed an ‘*Olympic related*’ factor defined as “*the desire of volunteers to associate with the Olympic movement, be involved in the Olympics, or meet...Olympic athletes*” (ibid., p. 196). They found that *Olympic-related* motives were predominant, followed by *egoistic* and *purposive*, respectively. Earlier Green and Chalip (2004) showed that the prestige of the event was evident in initial motivation among Sydney Olympic volunteers. Elstad (1996) found the celebrity atmosphere of the Lillehammer Olympics was the second source of satisfaction for volunteers (following social benefits). Similar findings were reported in smaller scale events such as professional golf tournaments, where helping

run the event and meeting celebrities were important motivations to volunteer (Coyne and Coyne, 2001).

Dickson *et al.* (2013) in their research on the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics suggested their version of SEVMS where the '*It's all about the Games*' factor symbolised the centrality of the Games to volunteers' motivations. Their results confirmed that the Games indeed were a very important reason why people volunteered. '*It was a chance of a lifetime*', '*I wanted to make the Games a success*', '*I am interested in the Games*' were the top three motivations, followed by the *altruistic* motive '*I wanted to do something worthwhile*' (ibid., p. 87). Similarly, Dickson and Benson (2013, p. 4) reported that London 2012 Olympic volunteers considered their experience as '*The chance of a lifetime*' and the opportunity to '*Help make the Games a success*', because they were '*Interested in the Games*' (top three motivations, respectively). Likewise, Chanavat and Ferrand (2010) found that Torino 2006 volunteers expected to '*Contribute to the success of a global sports event*', '*Be part of a historic event*', '*Have a unique experience*' and '*Enjoy unforgettable moments*' (p. 256). Findings from studies on other sport events support evidence that event-related factors serve as a significant basis for volunteer motivations: '*Chance of a lifetime*' at the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games (Downward, Lumsdon and Ralston, 2005) and at a curling event (Farrell, Johnston and Twynam, 1998), '*Being part of the action*' at a skiing event (Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995), and the excitement the participation in sport events in general can trigger (Green and Chalip, 2004).

Among the items suggested by Wang (2004, p. 421), '*ego enhancement*' or '*positive strivings of the ego*' are particularly intense for Olympic volunteers who consider their experience exciting and inspirational. This contributes to pride and self-esteem enhancement, which goes beyond simply a helping act that makes someone feel good about themselves. This feeling can also be connected to the '*patriotism*' dimension suggested by Bang and Chelladurai (2003), which emerged as a strong and unique motivation to volunteer for international sporting events. This concept was first introduced by Williams, Dossa and Tompkins (1995) in their research on volunteering at World Cup Downhill Skiing when they found that '*Support for Canada's Alpine ski team*', '*Help build community spirit*' and '*Help strengthening community image*' were among the highest motivations. Being patriotic and feeling pride in and love for the country may greatly enhance the sense of belonging, and may be connected to feeling part of the event, thereby representing one's country. '*Love for sport*' as a dimension, which attracts those who like a particular event because of sport, was first introduced by

Bang, Alexandris and Ross (2008) thereby acknowledging that the Olympics provide excellent opportunities for those who enjoy the sport atmosphere. Daly's (1991) research on Australian volunteers in sport confirms this aspect of volunteer motivations and reports that 18% volunteer as a consequence of their '*Love for sport*' and 16% as a need to '*Give back to sport*'.

Apart from intrinsic motivations, volunteers may have an additional encouragement to join the event in the form of *extrinsic rewards*, the dimension proposed by Bang, Alexandris and Ross (2008) in their *Volunteer Motivations Scale for International Sporting Events* (VMS-ISE). These rewards can be related to the Olympic volunteer uniform, souvenirs, pins, badges, and free Olympic tickets (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). Green and Chalip (1998), for example, called the provision of event clothing as a form of tangible recognition and status, as it is not available for purchase, so offers prestige and a token of participation in a significant event.

4.2.1.2. Altruistic / Purposive motivations

Green and Chalip (1998) noted that studying volunteerism has presupposed altruism as the basic drive. Indeed, according to the literature, volunteerism is considered benevolent, humanitarian and pro-social by its nature (see Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Clary *et al.*, 1998; Clary and Snyder, 1999; Wang, 2004). In non-sport sectors, specifically, intrinsic values of helping others and contributing to society are cited among the most common motivations. Hence, they have been heavily included in motivational scales and labelled by various scholars as *expression of values*, *personal values*, *altruistic values* and *purposive* (see Appendix L). Morrow-Howell and Mui (1989), in particular, argued that a person gets an intangible reward in the form of deep satisfaction from the act of helping someone else (also noted by Clary *et al.*, 1998).

In the context of single sport events, the results of Farrell, Johnston and Twynam's (1998) study showed that the *purposive* motivational factor was ranked the highest in terms of its importance to volunteer, and was used to measure a desire of volunteers to do something useful and contribute to the community and the event, which coincides with the study by Caldwell and Andereck (1994). This was among the top five motivations listed in Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998, p. 294). Studies by Strigas and Jackson (2003) and Edwards, Dickson and Darcy (2009) revealed this as well.

Yet, evidence from Olympic volunteers presents a different picture. In the research by Giannoulakis and his colleagues (2008), the *purposive* factor was listed least important, whereas *Olympic related*

and *egoistic* were ranked highest. Similar results were found by Dickson *et al.* (2013) where ‘*It’s all about the Games*’ was on top (pp. 87-88). Dickson and Benson’s (2013) study on London 2012 volunteers also found that Olympic-related motivations were the most important. These findings further strengthen the proposition that the motivational pattern of Olympic volunteers is different from that of volunteers in other contexts. In fact, the claim that volunteers are motivated primarily by altruistic motives has been criticised (Green and Chalip, 1998; Green and Chalip 2004). It has been suggested that although altruism is not absent for volunteers in sport, volunteer recruitment and retention must be informed by asking what kind of other rewards the volunteers are seeking (Green and Chalip, 1998).

4.2.1.3. Egoistic / Transactional motivations

As the literature review indicates, volunteers not only desire to help others, organisations and the community, but also expect some type of personal benefit in the form of intrinsic or extrinsic rewards in exchange of their time and services. These motivations are often labelled *material*, *egoistic* or *transactional* factors (see Appendix L).

The *ego enhancement* factor mentioned earlier, used by Wang (2004), can be described as an intangible value derived from volunteering. This relates to research on mood and helping behaviour when the latter serves as means of maintaining or enhancing positive feelings about oneself (Carlson, Charlin, and Miller, 1988). Clary *et al.* (1998) suggest that the extent to which volunteering fulfils ego growth relates to satisfaction with volunteer activities. Extrinsic rewards, introduced by Bang, Alexandris and Ross (2008) in the context of the Olympics, correlate to *material* rewards in the form of collecting memorabilia (Morrow-Howell and Mui, 1989). The same authors, as well as Caldwell and Andereck (1994), assign to *material* rewards the learning of job-related skills or maintaining / developing employment skills to strengthen CV and enhance career opportunities.

This is consistent with Becker’s (1964) theory of human capital investment, which aims to enhance the labour market value. Through these activities people improve skills, knowledge, and mental health and take a step toward integration and employment. The argument is that volunteering can improve employability through developing ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ skills and, ultimately, provide people with better chances of entering or re-entering the labour market (Day and Devlin, 1998; Rochester, Paine and Howlett, 2009). Thus, the motive of employment prospects is tightly intertwined with the incentive to acquire new skills. Clary *et al.* (1998) first included *career*-related experiences as one of the important

motivations to volunteer. Later, Bang, Won and Kim (2009) also named this as a significant motivator for volunteers.

Another motivational dimension, *understanding*, introduced by Clary *et al.* (1998) speaks to learning new and applying existing knowledge and skills. The latter relates to the *application* factor used by Dickson *et al.* (2013) to identify how existing skills are applied through volunteering. Similarly, Wang (2004) proposed that in addition to new learning experiences, volunteering provides opportunities to challenge and test existing skills and abilities and contribute to personal growth and development. *Personal development* (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Edwards, Dickson and Darcy, 2009) and *personal growth* (Bang, Won and Kim, 2009) are considered important aspects of egoistic motivations.

However, findings in the literature regarding Egoistic/Transactional motivations of sport event volunteers are mixed. Williams, Dossa and Tompkins (1995), Strigas and Jackson (2003), Edwards, Dickson and Darcy (2009) and Dickson *et al.* (2013) reported that *material* rewards, especially career-oriented, were ranked the lowest. Andrew (1996), though, found that gaining ‘more skills and experiences’ was the second most important factor for event volunteers. In the case of Olympic volunteers in the study by Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008) *egoistic* motivation defined as “*the individual’s needs for social interaction, interpersonal relationships, and networking*” (pp. 197-198) did play a role, but still was ranked after high Olympic-related motives. This is not to conclude that Egoistic / Transactional motivations are unimportant, but to suggest that this divergence can be explained by the demographics of those who took part in the surveys.

Thus, in the study by Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008) 51.4% respondents were between 21-30 years old (p. 194); hence, they may have been more career-oriented than older volunteers. Besides, evidence suggests that young Olympic volunteers were more likely to be captured by the Olympic-related motivations that could give them ‘behind the scenes’ experiences. In particular, according to Green and Chalip (1998) “*the backstage feel of volunteering is a worthwhile element to understand*” (p. 18). They further argue that among the benefits is the attraction to see what others cannot see, such as the politics of hosting the event, how the event is produced, historical and other information, which is accessible exclusively to Games insiders. Additional statistics on marital status and education (76.7% single; 70.6% with a degree in Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray, 2008, p. 194) suggest that this cohort of volunteers had both time and high potential for personal growth and development.

Unfortunately, no statistics were provided regarding the employment status of these volunteers, which might shed more light on how motivations and the employment factor relate.

In contrast, demographics of volunteers in Edwards, Dickson and Darcy (2009, p. 2) and Dickson *et al.* (2013, p. 85) give an opposite picture. Most volunteers were over 45 years old (76.8%, and 58.1% respectively). Only 4.7% students and 4.2% unemployed took part in Edwards, Dickson and Darcy's (2009) study, and even less so in Dickson's *et al.* (2013) study. Potentially, the less represented group could be highly motivated by career-oriented rewards from volunteering. Others were either retired, full-time employed or in some form of employment. Further analysis of the motivational breakdown of Edwards, Dickson and Darcy's (2009) study suggests that older volunteers, in addition to altruistic motives, were motivated by applying existing skills and experiences and were more likely to learn new skills to apply in other volunteering situations, which plays a role in providing transactional benefits to volunteers.

4.2.1.4. Solidary / Interpersonal contact motivations

The research on volunteer motivations emphasised the social aspect as the incentive to engage in volunteering. People expect to derive personal satisfaction from interpersonal interactions (Morrow-Howell and Mui, 1989), identifying themselves with a certain group and engaging in networking. (Caldwell and Andereck, 1994). Omoto and Snyder (1995) revealed opportunities to make friends as a characteristic of personal development. Clary and her colleagues (1998) found social relationships to be significantly related to satisfaction with volunteering and intentions to volunteer. In the context of sport events, Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998) first introduced *solidary* as a motivational dimension relating to social interaction, group identification, and networking (similarly to Caldwell and Andereck, 1994). Other researchers considered rewards received from interpersonal relationships either separately and called them *social adjustment* (Wang, 2004), *interpersonal contacts* (Bang, Won and Kim, 2009) and *variety* (Dickson *et al.*, 2013), or placed them in *egoistic* motives (Strigas and Jackson, 2003; Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray, 2008). The latter corresponds to the exchange theory or the rational choice functionalist approach involved in considering volunteer work (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). The decision in favour of volunteering may be taken when volunteers acknowledge the benefits and recognition they may receive. Among others, these rewards may be in the form of solidary benefits described as the pleasure of socialising and making friends (Wilson, 2000), social integration and support, self-efficacy, civic mindedness, and trust, which corresponds to the social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman 1988; Putnam, 2000).

Evidence from published research shows that although social motives may not always be ranked highest on the volunteers' motivational scale, they still play an important role in predicting volunteer satisfaction and shaping overall experiences. For example, in the research on Olympic volunteers by Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008), volunteers ranked motivations related to needs for social interaction near the top. Elstad (1996) reported that making friends with other volunteers and meeting new people was the primary source of satisfaction for Lillehammer Olympic volunteers. Given that the Olympics is an international sport event, meeting people from all over the world and welcoming foreigners were among important expectations of Torino 2006 volunteers (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). Williams, Dossa and Tompkins (1995) found that socialising was ranked first for volunteers at a men's world cup skiing event, similar to findings in Farrell, Johnston and Twynam's (1998) research on Canadian women's curling championships. Along these lines, communication with other volunteers and recognition were found to be predictors of volunteer satisfaction, which coincides with findings in non-sport sector research by Clary *et al.* (1998).

4.2.2. Volunteering experiences

Experiences are the second stage of the VPM model, which is closely connected to *Antecedents* and *Consequences* of volunteering. Insights from general event literature helps researchers to better understand event experiences in general and event volunteering experiences in particular. As noted by Getz (2007), "*how people describe event experiences as they occur, and talk about them afterwards, remains in large part of a mystery and therefore must be of considerable interest to event researchers and producers*" (p. 171). 'Experience' can be used as both a noun (experience as a condition) and a verb (experience as a process), and have three dimensions: *conative*, *cognitive* and *affective*. The 'conative' dimension refers to actual behaviour, including physical activity, and social interactions. The 'cognitive' dimension is about mental processes such as awareness, learning, judgement, perceptions, memory, understanding and making sense of experiences. The 'affective' dimension concerns feelings and emotions, values and preferences (Getz, 2007).

It is argued that in order to have a successful and satisfying experience, all three dimensions should be at play. Yet, event experiences can be satisfying at one level, but completely unsatisfying at another. This depends on a number of factors, such as motivations, expectations and meanings people attach to their experiences as well as roles they have at the event. For example, experiences are closely associated with personal motivations and the benefits one expects from his/her engagement. Positive

experiences stem from having those expectations met or exceeded (Getz, 2007). As follows from Chapter 2, different event stakeholders will have different legacies (see Table 2.3.). It can be further argued that they will have different event experiences that eventually impact the outcome of their involvement. A list of event stakeholders provided can be expanded to include paying customers, volunteers, sponsors, suppliers and vendors, the media and others. For example, among important experiential dimensions for paying customers are escaping from routine, being entertained and emotional involvement; for performers, professional mastery and competence, as well as self-esteem; for volunteers, being the part of the experience; for others (the ‘cast’), enjoyment of the event, self-fulfilment and ‘*communitas*’ (Getz, 2007, pp. 191-192).

Volunteering experiences at mega sport events are both personal and social constructs. Meanings attached to these experiences are inherently complex and diverse. All three experiential dimensions – conative, affective and cognitive – are present in a volunteering experience. Essentially, volunteering is an *interaction*-centred activity that can be very intense and emotional and leave a profound impact on volunteers. These participants make sense of their experiences, learn and develop, interact with managers, other volunteers and clients, build networks and relationships, which correspond to the interpersonal/social group level in the VPM model (Table 3.4.). They experience ‘*communitas*’ through the sense of belonging and sharing that comes from the event participation (Getz, 2007, p. 178):

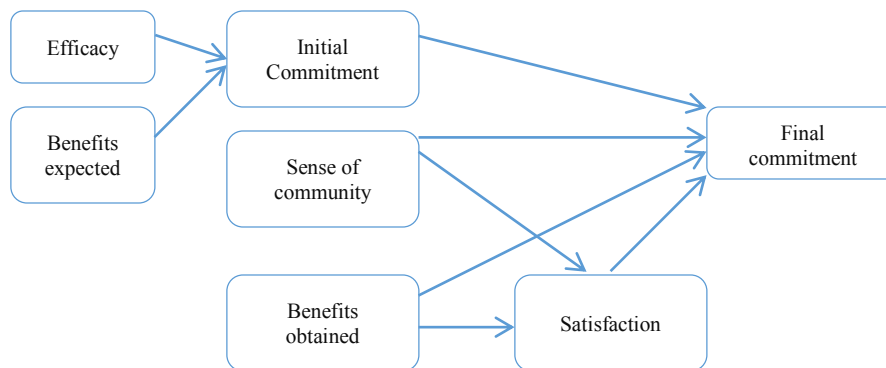
Communitas refers to that temporary state in which people are together as equals sharing an experience, removed from ordinary life, so they have something very specific in common. Their experience should be unstructured, relative to the outside world, and egalitarian (everyone accepted as being equal) ... A frequent motivation to attend and participate in events, and one powerful driver of ‘event careers’, is the emotional high that comes from being part of the group in this special place and time, and the sense of loss or sorrow upon its closure.

This temporary state is also called the ‘liminal/liminoid zone’, which is at the core of event experiences, and is defined in both spatial and temporal terms: *time out of time* and *a special place*. Based on the works of classical anthropologists Van Gennep (1909) and Turner (1969; 1974), this approach comes from various rituals and symbolism inherent in planned events that make them so unique and special. Besides, as argued by Chalip (2006), “...the liminoid nature of many events, particularly mega sport events, makes them fun. This is a key reason they are popular” (p. 3). Thus, mega sport events represent quite a unique setting for volunteers, which immensely influences

volunteering experiences. Being short-term and high profile in nature, the Olympics, in particular, provide a very limited opportunity for volunteers to deeply immerse themselves in the subculture of an event and become ‘insiders’ (Green and Chalip, 1998). They witness the symbols of the Olympic Movement and become involved first-hand in special rituals of staging the Games that are not replicable in any other context. Volunteer placements can be in the Olympic Park or any sport and non-sport venue that becomes that ‘special place’ for volunteers for the period of their service. Volunteers themselves are there for a specific time (usually for the duration of the Games), and are proud to belong to a special group of people chosen specifically to help with a one-off prestigious event. The commitment is what makes volunteers continue their services, share and belong, endure and enjoy this ‘time out of time’ away from work, families and the usual routine.

Green and Chalip (2004) contributed to our understanding of volunteer commitment via their Conceptual Model of Volunteer Commitment (MVC model, see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Conceptual model of volunteer commitment (MVC)



Source: Green and Chalip (2004, p. 53)

As suggested by Green and Chalip (2004), volunteer commitment develops as volunteers experience the event. Therefore, commitment is considered as an evolving process affected, on one hand, by the nature of benefits volunteers expect to obtain and, on the other hand, by the volunteer’s ability to garner the resources needed to perform the job. Through engaging in volunteering, the initial commitment is further driven by the fulfilment of expectations. The development of a sense of community (or *communitas*) greatly contributes to the commitment, and is described as a sense of belonging, shared goals, and kinship. These experiences, in turn, influence the quality of volunteers’

satisfaction with the event, which leads to a final commitment, manifested as either withdrawal or retention as well as further volunteering at other events (Green and Chalip, 2004).

The quality of the volunteering experience is at the core of the MVC model. In order to have a positive experience, greater satisfaction, less burnout, and continuous commitment, a strong match is needed between expectations, motivations and actual experiences (Crain, Omoto and Snyder, 1998; Clary *et al.*, 1998; Davis, Hall and Meyer, 2003; Houle, Sagarin and Kaplan, 2005; Ralston, Lumsdon, and Downward, 2005; Snyder and Omoto 2008). Besides, volunteers must be capable of undertaking volunteer roles. Their existing skills and experiences, in addition to their training needs, have to be identified by managers in order to match them properly to tasks. According to Costa *et al.* (2006) “*The training of event volunteers should be conceived and designed as an opportunity to build a sense of community among volunteers and staff so as to enhance volunteer commitment and satisfaction*” (p. 165).

Volunteers have to have opportunities to realise their potential and expectations, be given all required information pertaining to the organisation and their roles and work in a positive environment. Otherwise, they may not feel part of the event team (Green and Chalip, 1998). Therefore, it is pivotal for volunteer managers to understand these relationships and the nature of volunteering experiences. As argued by various scholars (Farrell, Johnston and Twynam, 1998; Green and Chalip, 1998; Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b), the quality of organisation of the event has a major impact on recruitment and training, the organisational culture and volunteer placements, management style and working conditions, which together shape volunteering experiences (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006; Snyder and Omoto, 2008). These issues are discussed in detail in section 4.5.

4.2.3. Volunteering consequences

Volunteering is considered an activity that can lead to memorable, transforming experiences that can potentially change individuals (Getz, 2007). These changes are related to knowledge, skills, motivations, expectations and behaviour of individual volunteers, which is reflected in the final stage of the VPM model, *Consequences* of volunteering (Omoto and Snyder, 2002). It is possible at this stage to assess the overall experience and the outcomes, before identifying areas for improvement.

As argued in the literature, volunteers in a sport event context evaluate their experiences in terms of the quality of their training (Elstad, 1996; Costa *et al.*, 2006) and satisfaction they derive from the

sense of community, met expectations, and received benefits (MVC model by Green and Chalip, 2004). Among the benefits accrued by volunteers in various settings are greater self-esteem, personal confidence and efficacy, human and social capital development, better health and general well-being, boost in national pride, goodwill, cooperation and belonging (Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995; Elstad, 1996; Yates and Youniss, 1996; Essex and Chalkley, 1998; House, 2001; Hall, 2001; Kemp, 2002; Omoto and Snyder, 2002; Green and Chalip, 2004; Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Leopkey and Parent 2012). For example, Snyder and Omoto (2008) reported their findings with respect to volunteer expectations and longevity of service in the social context. They observed that the fulfilment of self-focussed reasons (getting something personally from the volunteer work) in contrast to other-focussed (selfless or altruistic) reasons is likely to lead to longer volunteering durations. This corresponds to the sport event context where the following benefits were reported: increase in social, communication, problem-solving, team-building and job-specific skills, knowledge about society, personal development and overall enjoyment from being involved in a celebratory atmosphere and meeting new people (Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995; Elstad, 1996; Kemp, 2002); free training and transport, food, uniforms and other memorabilia (Morrow-Howell and Mui, 1989; Kemp, 2002). More examples of potential benefits have been outlined in section 4.2.1. As mentioned by Green and Chalip (2004), benefits obtained by volunteers lead to greater satisfaction and, ultimately, stronger commitment. Importantly, though, it has been acknowledged that such things as long hours, large crowds and poor volunteer-management practices can lead to dissatisfaction, stress, low performance, and even withdrawal (Elstad, 1996; Kemp, 2002).

Learning plays a major role in obtaining both tangible and intangible benefits from volunteering, and influences volunteers' satisfaction with their experience (Kemp, 2002; Costa *et al.*, 2006); therefore, worthy of more in-depth analysis. Livingstone (1999, 2001, 2003) found the strongest connection between volunteer work and informal learning. People may learn a variety of personal, organisational and leadership skills, including managerial and democratic skills. Certification of such informal learning is a step toward valuing the knowledge acquired through volunteering. A prime example in the context of mega sport events is the certification of pre-volunteer training associated with the Manchester 2002 and the London 2012 Games. Beyond changes in knowledge, skills and competencies, changes occur in personality as volunteers become more social, talkative, outgoing and confident. Changes in values, dispositions and practices have been also recorded, such as becoming

less selfish, more empathetic, more likely to engage in teamwork (Ilsley, 1990; Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013).

Interestingly, Ilsley (1990) found that learning experiences in different settings are strongly related to how volunteers approach their volunteering. He distinguishes between volunteer-centred, organisation-centred, client-centred or social vision-centred volunteers. ‘Volunteer-centred’ volunteers tend to learn communication, group process skills and traditions of their groups, and, as a result, gain a deeper understanding of themselves. ‘Organisation-centred’ volunteers are more focussed on instrumental skills used in role performance. They learn the organisation’s vision and day-to-day operations, which ultimately affects their work. ‘Client-centred’ volunteers learn primarily from their work of assisting clients, avoiding formal training. ‘Social vision-centred’ volunteers often have political motives and strive to raise their awareness. It can be argued that mega sport event volunteers approach their learning differently (either consciously or unconsciously), from informal contacts with other volunteers to formal standardised instruction (orientations and trainings), or the work-experience itself. Therefore, they may have a variety of learning outcomes as a result of their desires/motives and volunteering experiences.

The question of transferability of learning outcomes to the same or other settings is key to understanding the issue of legacy for the volunteers. Broadened horizons, increased skills and life opportunities can potentially help volunteers transition to employment, education or further volunteering (Dickson and Benson, 2013; Nichols and Ralston, 2014). Ilsley (1990) suggested that some instrumental skills can be applied directly to careers; thus, can be marketed, whereas others do not have direct monetary value (critical reasoning abilities or self-confidence) unless applied in specific projects that bring value to an organisation. Along the same lines, Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky (2013) argued that a variety of skills and knowledge that volunteers gain through their volunteering experience could be useful both in workplaces and in the civic sphere. For example, among such skills can be the ability to work under pressure, give presentations and speeches, plan and organise meetings, write letters and memoranda, build trust, develop greater political efficacy and awareness of social problems. Furthermore, through volunteering people meet and build relationships with a wide range of people they would not have met otherwise. They learn about multiple perspectives, negotiation, group discipline and interconnectedness; they also learn about being empathetic, caring, and tolerant. Parent and Smith-Swan (2013) noted that a positive volunteering

experience in the mega sport event context may inspire participants to revisit such an experience at other Games or get involved in community volunteering.

Additional factors that help understand volunteer satisfaction with their experiences are borrowed from the literature on job satisfaction (Wood, Chonko and Hunt, 1986) and applied to the context of volunteering (Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001; Costa *et al.*, 2006): tasks (also called ‘variety’ and ‘freedom’, such as the variety of tasks and activities, including opportunities for independent thought and action), participation efficacy (or ability to complete tasks), information and support (feedback on job performance), relationships (with other volunteers, managers and clients), recognition and rewards. These factors are closely related to the Organisational level in the VPM model discussed next. Factors related to the external context of mega sport events also greatly contribute to satisfaction of volunteers, such as the celebratory atmosphere and being part of the unique event (Kemp, 2002).

4.3. Organisational level

As discussed earlier, volunteer performance, satisfaction, commitment, and benefits depend not only on personal attributes, but also on the quality of volunteering experiences, which in turn depends on the organisational environment, rules, and volunteer management practices. These components are embraced in the Agency/Organisational level of analysis of the VPM model (Omoto and Snyder, 2002). The first stage, *Antecedents*, is about recruitment and selection strategies as well as training of volunteers. The second stage, *Experiences*, is focussed on organisational culture, volunteer placement, tracking, and delivery of services. Finally, *Consequences* are concerned with turnover and retention as well as evaluation of volunteer work, quantity and quality of volunteer services, and overall achievement of organisational goals. The Human Resource Management (HRM) approach by Hoye *et al.* (2006) cuts across these three stages, and offers valuable practice advice for volunteer management applicable in the sport event context.

4.3.1. HRM approach to volunteer management

Volunteers are a significant part of the human resources available to any organisation, including sport event settings, who make the organisation work, serve its clients and achieve its goals. Thus, it is a significant element in management of organisations. Chelladurai (2006) distinguished between two approaches to HRM: *personnel management* and *human capital development*. Personnel management, the traditional approach to HRM, deals mainly with work contracts, which involve employee productivity, salaries and employee-management relations. The goal is to recruit the best employees,

orient and train them, provide incentives to improve efficiency and enhance productivity, supervise, control and prevent their resistance (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). Hence, employees are viewed as a factor of production or service delivery and cost to the organisation to be minimised. In contrast, human capital development approach, also called a ‘soft’ model (Legge, 1995), considers employees as ‘capital’ or valued assets. A focus here is on providing a supportive work environment to aid advancement through management of competencies, optimise and foster creativity. Investments in human capital development, growth and potential can become a source of competitive advantage, and may help in achieving organisational goals. This dated, but relevant approach comes from the research by Elton Mayo on human relations conducted in the 1930s, which clearly showed that people are not motivated solely by monetary incentives and good working conditions. They need to have their social needs met by belonging to a group and sharing social norms and values (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). However, the traditional HRM approach tends to ignore group dynamics and the broader social and political environment that impacts behaviour, but is more concerned with linking the abilities of individuals to the needs of the organisation (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006).

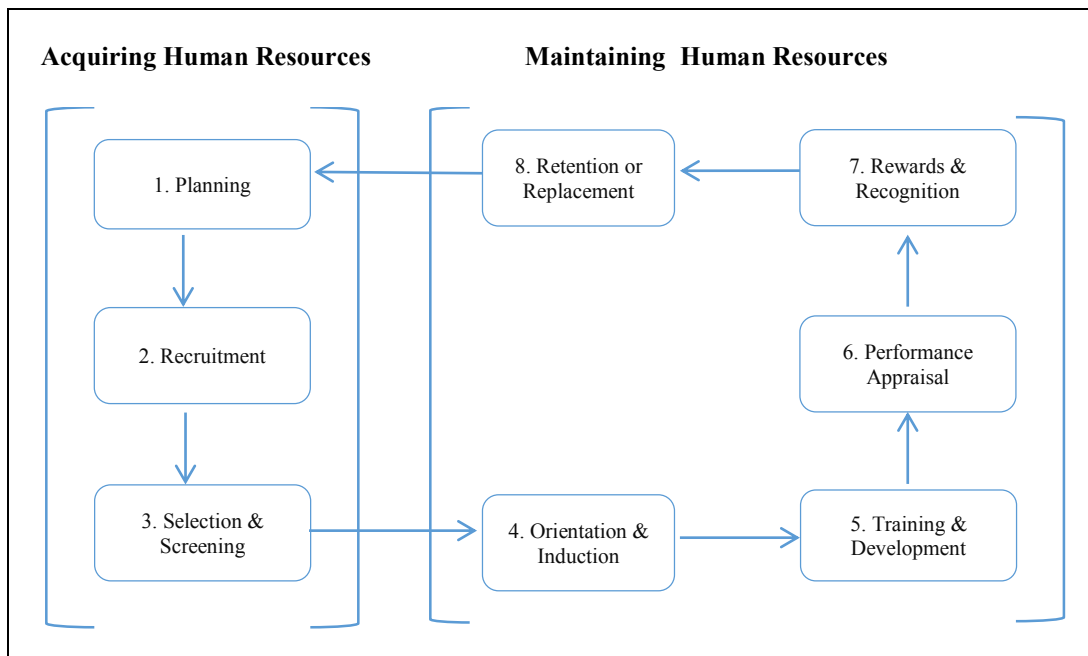
As noted in the literature, both approaches to HRM, despite their differences, are complimentary: “*the personnel administration perspective addresses the issue of stability and productivity of the organisation, while the human development perspective is focussed on enhancing the welfare of the employees and increasing their capabilities so that they can more effectively contribute to organisational success*” (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006, p. xii). Hence, it is recommended that managers find a balance between following procedures and paying greater attention to human capital development. Although Chelladurai (2006) mentioned that the developmental approach becomes more pronounced in service organisations such as sport and recreation, he and other scholars believe that the traditional approach is still practiced widely (Fisher and Cole, 1993; Connors, 1995; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). This is especially the case for mega and one-off sport events that require the large workforce of volunteers for an intense period of time.

Staffing for the Olympics undergoes a similar process. The Games require permanent paid staff five to seven years prior to the actual delivery and approximately six months after. For example, LOCOG staff structure evolved from 200 members in 2006 to 3,224 in 2011 and peaked at 8,635 in 2012 (Girginov and Olsen, 2014, p. 75). Such a rapid increase in human resources, both paid and un-paid, closer to the Games represents “*a complex and significant human resource management*

problem...requires systematic recruitment, selection and orientation programmes in order to attract the staff, and simple yet effective evaluation and reward schemes in order to retain them” (Hoye *et al.*, 2006, p. 111). These practices of the volunteer management programme encompass the volunteer management actions before, during and after the event (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010).

Therefore, it is essential to analyse the major components of the traditional approach to HRM (see Figure 4.2.), which presents a cyclical process of design, development, implementation, management and evaluation of systems and practices used to manage human resources, including volunteers. As demonstrated in Figure 4.2., two major phases of the HRM process are acquisition and maintenance of human resources. Identifying, recruiting and hiring the right people at the right time, ensuring they are oriented and trained to perform their jobs well, are satisfied and rewarded as well as committed to the organisation, are at the core of successful HRM practices.

Figure 4.2. The traditional human resource management process



Source: Hoye *et al.* (2006, p. 113)

These components present an interdependent set of processes that are implemented through clearly-defined stages discussed below.

4.3.1.1. Volunteer resource planning

The *planning* phase is the most crucial for effective volunteer management. According to principles of good management practices in general and guidelines provided by the IOC in the Olympic context, the process of acquiring volunteers begins with forecasting current and future needs in volunteers for certain positions in the form of types of volunteers required, the job purpose, content, context and requirements; creating job titles, job descriptions, skills and qualifications required; creating volunteer rosters, training requirements, meals and uniform entitlements, retention and recognition (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a,b; IOC, 2005; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006; Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). At this stage, volunteer turnover must also be predicted and accommodated (Hoye *et al.*, 2006). For Olympic sport organisations (OSOs), the process of staffing should resemble their organisational structure as the functions of these organisations are extremely diversified (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). For OCOGs, for example, volunteer planning should be done in consultation with various functional areas, and should start at least three years out from the Games (IOC, 2005). OCOGs must plan for a 15-30% dropout rate, 5% of applicants to turn down offers, and need to form a team of reserves (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015, p. 79). However, care should be given to not overestimate the numbers to avoid situations when volunteers stay idle, leading to dissatisfaction.

In addition, the following issues should also be addressed: level of flexibility in accommodating volunteers' availability and preferences in terms of workload, duration and time required for commitment; forms of supervision and immediate supervisor's contact details; mentoring and support provided from the organisation (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). However, although recommended, these practices are rarely followed by OSOs where volunteer tasks and posts are strictly defined and essential for organising an event (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Besides, the lines of authority and responsibility can be blurred in OSOs, as it is possible that not only volunteer managers, but volunteers themselves are often supervised by other volunteers (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a). Thus, the 'rules of play' should be clearly defined in advance. It should also be noted that volunteer tasks are becoming increasingly complex and, therefore, are safeguarded by legislation requirements including privacy, member and child protection, just to mention a few. These regulations must be incorporated into the daily operations of volunteers (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006).

Hoye *et al.* (2006) referred to four management principles applied to job design that can be borrowed for volunteer management. Job simplification is the process by which the job is split into different

specialised tasks, which may aid employers in evaluating staff-performance. It is common in volunteer management to have simple jobs, yet they need to be done. However, simplified tasks may lead to boredom and dissatisfaction. In order to keep the staff fresh and motivated, job rotation can be employed. On the other side of the spectrum is job enlargement and job enrichment. The former principle refers to adding simple tasks to the current workload to make workers more satisfied with their responsibilities. However, this can lead to overload and breakdown. The latter technique relies on a flexible job design that has room for personal growth and the ability to perform the role independently, which can boost motivation and involvement. This resembles the developmental approach discussed by Chelladurai and Madella (2006). Since volunteers have a myriad of motives (see section 4.2.), it is advisable to discuss job descriptions and functions so volunteers' needs and interests can be met. It is crucial to know volunteers and what motivates them. Otherwise, forcing them to do tasks they do not like may result in a decrease of involvement or withdrawal (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). However, this kind of negotiation is not always possible for sport event organisations, which require a certain amount of uniformity. The sheer size and complexity, in addition to the limited life span of OCOGs affect how volunteers are managed.

In fact, as noted by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015), *“The different forms of governance will influence the strategy and implementation of a volunteer programme. Above all, there is a political governance, which covers the obligations and recommendations of the rights owner”* (p. 77). The IOC, for example, provides each host city with a Technical Manual on Workforce (IOC, 2005), part of the IOC Host City Contract, with volunteer programme specifications. Volunteer management is, therefore, set within the overall workforce management, and should fit into the context of planning and delivering the Games. To meet this end, OCOGs have to define a strategy for a volunteer programme that takes into account expectations of various Games stakeholders, set objectives and articulate general policies and plans to achieve these objectives (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). This approach was taken by London 2012 (see section 2.5.1. London 2012 Volunteering Strategy). In this case, once the global strategy and volunteer programme design are formalised, volunteer planning becomes a crucial part of the operation management process.

4.3.1.2. Volunteer recruitment

The next big step in HRM approach is *recruitment*, which involves attracting a pool of appropriately qualified and motivated applicants in order to fill positions that have been designed and advertised

(Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006; Hoye *et al.*, 2006). The volunteer recruitment process is twofold. One aspect is finding a person who meets the requirements of a job (person-task fit), which means he/she is qualified enough to perform the job. Another aspect is recruiting those who share the organisational goals and values (person-organisation fit), which means individual needs, attitudes and values should relate to the organisational subculture. For example, it is likely that OCOGs would hire someone who is passionate about sports and share the ideals of the Olympic Movement. Valuing diversity may potentially enhance the pool of volunteers with various skills, abilities and cultural backgrounds, which may help to create a community of different but like-minded people (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Green and Chalip, 2004).

The recruitment campaign may differ depending on the size of the organisation and the scale of the event. Recruiting a small number of competent people as long-term volunteers for local events is different from recruiting thousands of volunteers for the Olympics. In the latter case, the process may require sophisticated national and international advertising. The IOC Technical Manual on Workforce suggests using both the Internet for general recruitment as well as established volunteer organisations as a source for volunteers, which can minimise the risk of failure to meet demand and can simplify the recruitment process (IOC, 2005).

Chelladurai and Madella (2006), and earlier Green and Chalip (1998) advocated for the use of relationship marketing principles in recruiting volunteers, especially for mega events, which involves close collaboration between Marketing and HRM departments within the organisation. Among the initiatives are: segmentation of potential volunteers, needs analysis, promotion activities, communicating the value of the experience, and monitoring satisfaction. For example, the Barcelona 1992 and Beijing 2008 Olympics targeted their recruitment campaigns at university students. Beijing aimed to recruit around 100,000 volunteers who would be mainly home-based university students, but also from other parts of China and abroad. Most of the volunteers were recruited through partnerships with higher education institutions (Wei, 2010). Barcelona used university newspapers and testimonials of the best university athletes to attract young volunteers. Building good relationships with university staff also played a crucial role in their campaign (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006).

Green and Chalip (1998) noted that in order to make the promotional campaign effective, simply marketing the provision of services is not enough. The organisation itself should be appealing to work

for. Thus, a positive and exciting image of volunteering must be created, which may involve marketing the benefits of volunteering. However, though benefits may help attract volunteers, they will not retain them. A better understanding is needed of how and why different benefits appeal to different volunteers, which again confirms that recognition of volunteer motives and incentives is important, and can be highly beneficial in developing strategies to identify and properly match recruitment efforts to the needs and interests of volunteers.

Unger (1991) notes that volunteers “*trade off time, market-valued skills and often money...in order to gain the benefits they get from voluntarism*” (pp. 71-72). Thus, a successful volunteer programme should not simply emphasise the needs of the organisation or treat volunteers merely as un-paid staff or a cheap resource (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015), but as a valued asset, and provide them with various opportunities and benefits (Green and Chalip, 1998; Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a). Hence, those responsible for recruitment should understand what volunteering is, why people volunteer and what benefits can be gained through volunteering, and incorporate this knowledge into successful recruitment and management practices.

4.3.1.3. Volunteer selection and screening

The purpose of this phase in the traditional HRM approach is to choose volunteers who best meet the job requirements. The selection process involves a number of steps including: screening and short listing, formal interviewing and testing, background checks. The interview is the most common means of selection. HRM practices should comply with the laws and regulations regarding discrimination (Smith and Stewart, 1999). Good practice suggests that upon selection, the volunteer’s contact details should be entered into the database and copies of qualifications and accreditations should be safely stored (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a).

Reliable, dedicated and well-trained selectors should carry one-to-one interviews to evaluate each applicant’s motivations and expertise, and ensure a good match. Besides determining the suitability of candidates for a position, interviews provide an opportunity for volunteers to gather more information about the roles they are applying for (IOC, 2005). According to Ferrand and Skirstad (2015), “*The goal is to ensure a reciprocal commitment between the volunteer and the organisers...Only ‘quality’ selectors are capable of choosing the ‘right’ volunteers*” (p. 79). In the case of the Olympics, the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce suggests that because of vast resources

needed, volunteers and university students could be used to conduct interviews, which could be both time and cost-effective and, in case of students, can fulfil the practical component of their course (IOC, 2005, pp. 107-175).

Furthermore, in the same Manual, it is stated that all applicants are scored based on such categories as communication skills, commitment, reliability and teamwork. Those with higher scores should be prioritised, unless OCOG has a shortage of applicants for a certain position. Previous Olympians and Pre-Games volunteers could be given higher priority in recognition of their service (IOC, 2005, pp. 102-175). Typically, volunteers are given the opportunity to express preferences in terms of position and venue, and then are assigned their first choice wherever possible. However, in case of over-subscription, volunteers may not always receive their preferred job or venue. Assignment decisions may also be based on a candidate's availability, proximity to venue and background checks (IOC, 2005, pp. 100-175).

4.3.1.4. Volunteer orientation

Once applicants are offered and accepted volunteer positions, they officially become volunteers who committed their time and energy to helping organise an event. Following this, organisers must integrate volunteers into the OCOG to make them feel part of the team, and train them (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Orientation aims to support new volunteers in becoming insiders within the organisation (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a). Without a proper induction, the experience with the new organisation can be 'daunting' (Hoye *et al.*, 2006). Hence, it is important to help volunteers familiarise themselves with the organisation and its key people. This process begins with an orientation to the team; its organisational values, policies and practices; the details of the job; and a physical tour of the facilities. An orientation guidebook should be provided with all necessary information. Guiding and mentoring new volunteers is particularly important: *"Potential problems...can be exacerbated further if the volunteer does not have any direct supervision...This is a recipe for disaster, both for the organization and the employee"* (Hoye *et al.*, 2006, p.117).

When a large number of volunteers are required, such as for the Olympics, the focus on induction becomes increasingly important. It is argued that the quality of the orientation process should not be underestimated, as it has a huge impact on expectations, attitudes and behaviour of new volunteers as well as on their level of stress and anxiety, and the likelihood of turnover (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a;

Hoye, *et al.*, 2006; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). This is often the first time when volunteers and paid staff come into contact with each other. As observed by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015), many event organisers (including senior management and the president of OCOG) use orientation activities as a ‘kick-off’ for volunteers to set the tone, facilitate group cohesion and communication: “*The prime objective is to welcome new volunteers to the organisation, to involve and integrate them into the project and to generate a feeling of belonging*” (p. 80). Besides, according to the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce (IOC, 2005), the intent of the orientation is also to “*reinforce the desired behaviours sought after in the selection process*” and “*to expose...to the basic information and customer service skills...Information elements include Olympic and Paralympic history, sports, venues, venue structure, accreditation, policies, procedures and codes of conduct. Service skills cover communication, challenge resolution, cultural awareness and disability awareness*” (pp. 125-175).

4.3.1.5. Volunteer training and development

It is essential not only to take on good volunteers, but also to ensure their continued commitment, which is attained primarily through training and giving a sense of responsibility (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Without a professional approach to volunteer management, volunteers may fail to do the assigned tasks properly or feel part of the organisation, which ultimately may prompt them to make an early exit (Hoye *et al.*, 2006). As noted by Cuskelly and Auld (2000b), “*the performance of volunteers is underpinned by their ability to do the job, the commitment and effort they are prepared to put into the job and the support provided by the organisation*” (p. 4). Volunteers have to have appropriate skills, competencies, experiences and availabilities in order to ensure optimal performance during the conduct and culmination of the Games, which has implications for the success of the events and their legacy (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010).

In the traditional HRM approach, training and development is a critical process needed for employees to develop a sense of commitment to their role and to the organisation, learn competencies and be successful in their jobs (Hoye *et al.*, 2006). This corresponds to building efficacy among volunteers through training (Green and Chalip, 2004). Thus, the best possible preparation should be given to enhance volunteers’ level of confidence and make them operational and ready for carrying out their tasks that may vary from the technical to the more generic (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Importantly, training should be designed to make volunteers feel useful, but not used by the organisation. Therefore, organisations must establish a positive environment for learning and provide a wide variety

of learning and development opportunities, which would attract and retain volunteers as well as contribute to their professional and personal growth (Ilsley, 1990). One way of developing volunteers is to take into account their existing educational background and offer them formal qualifications at the end of their training (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006; Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b). Besides, it is advisable to explain to volunteers how they and their roles fit within a bigger picture of the event environment. Through learning the responsibilities of other volunteers and paid staff, they can better understand how the event is run (Green and Chalip, 1998). This in itself may become a key element of their excitement and satisfaction, an area that is under-researched (Elstad, 1996; Green and Chalip, 2004). Building a sense of community through relationships and a sense of purpose mentioned by Green and Chalip (2004) can be also attained through the training sessions and, ultimately, develop commitment and contribute to the creation of the liminal/liminoid zone discussed earlier.

Training programmes can be designed, developed and implemented either internally or outsourced. Appropriate conditions must be set up for the training sessions to take place (accessible physical environment, and educational hand-outs). Evaluation of the training programme is necessary to help determine what trainees have learned, what training objectives were achieved and what needs to be modified, if necessary (Dressler, 2003). Although many sport organisations are constrained by the level of formality, prerequisite knowledge, costs, timing, place and mode of delivery, volunteer training programmes associated with staging mega sport events are essential. Thus, training of Olympic volunteers is aimed at being comprehensive, and is usually provided at a high cost (both time and money-wise) to OCOGs in order to successfully deliver the Games. Volunteers undergo four types of training: general/orientation training (discussed above), venue specific training, job specific training and event leadership training (IOC, 2005, pp. 123-175). Job specific training, in particular, is the responsibility of each Function within the OCOG, who determine the training needs for each position based on duties and skill requirements. This training aims to provide volunteers with all the necessary skills and information to perform their assigned tasks during Games-time. Venue specific training is the responsibility of the Venue team, and aims to prepare volunteers to work at their assigned venue during Games-time. Finally, event leadership training is the responsibility of Workforce Training, and is designed to prepare those in leadership roles to undertake a successful supervision of a primarily volunteer workforce (IOC, 2005).

4.3.1.6. Volunteer performance appraisal

The traditional HRM approach uses performance appraisals to evaluate the effectiveness of employees and provide them with feedback. The value of these appraisals cannot be underestimated. Yet, as noted by Cuskelly, Hoyer and Auld (2006), managing volunteer performance formally can be problematic due to volunteers' relative independence in comparison to paid employees. Hence, a personalised rather than bureaucratic approach is more appropriate, although "*no organization can be effective*" (Pearce, 1993, p. 179) with either one. Cuskelly and Auld (2000b) noted that performance evaluations should be used in a way that rewards good work, but also identifies areas in which improvement is needed. It is recognised that volunteer performance is influenced by both personal (motivations, efficacy, satisfaction and commitment) and organisational (training, working conditions and management practices) factors that all have an impact on achievement of organisational goals (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b). Accordingly, the performance appraisal should be treated as both a chance for volunteers to receive feedback and respond to it, and an opportunity for an organisation to learn how to make its operations and relationships with volunteers better. Deming (1993) compares this approach with a 'plan, do, review, improve' scheme.

4.3.1.7. Volunteer recognition and rewards

Volunteer managers should recognise and reward volunteers with the aim of enhancing their effectiveness, satisfaction, and avoiding attrition, which is crucial both for stable organisations and those created to deliver mega events. Good volunteer management practices suggest that volunteers should feel that their time and effort are valued and do not exceed the amount of recognition they receive. The opposite may have a de-motivating effect, jeopardising volunteers' performance and leaving them dissatisfied (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b). Hence, this stage is closely connected to performance management. Hoyer *et al.* (2006) argued that proper planning, recruitment and selection bring on board motivated and committed volunteers. Conversely, poor orientation, training and performance evaluation can discourage them. However, acknowledgement and rewards may give volunteers confidence and boost enthusiasm to continue.

Cuskelly, Hoyer and Auld (2006) argued that performance management systems simply applied to volunteer management is not likely to be adequate. Similar to recruitment, it works best when volunteers' differences are valued, individual needs and interests are considered, and time is taken to know each volunteer in the team. Moreover, keeping records of the nature, amount and quality of

work volunteers have done adds equity to the evaluation process (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b; Hoye, *et al.*, 2006). Further, most volunteers obtain their rewards intrinsically from the very act of volunteering, task-enjoyment and relationships with others, which makes it more challenging to motivate them through extrinsic rewards. Among the things that may increase volunteers' performance and happiness are simple acts of appreciation such as a smile and 'thank you' notes, or personal praise in front of others. Tangible rewards are added values, which take the form of identification pins, badges, shirts or cups; acknowledgment in newspapers; volunteer awards at social events; complimentary tickets to events and functions; reimbursing out-of-pocket expenses; providing meals and vouchers (Morrow-Howell and Mui, 1989; Kemp, 2002; Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b).

Yet, these procedures vary in terms of formality, cost and approach, and depend greatly on the context. Thus, it can be expected that the mega scale of the Olympics would most likely not allow for an individualised and flexible approach to every volunteer, which makes it difficult to find the best way to recognise and reward them (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). Ferrand and Skirstad (2015), however, stress that acknowledging the involvement of volunteers and the enormous value of their commitment is an integral part of the event's success. The celebration of volunteers could be done through the volunteer party where both the organising committee and the community can pay tribute to the efforts of volunteers, whereas volunteers can experience joy and satisfaction from giving and being recognised. However, the extent to which these practices influence the quality of volunteers' satisfaction has been left to more research investigations (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006).

4.3.1.8. Volunteer retention or replacement

Volunteer retention is closely related to volunteer commitment, which is a complex process (Green and Chalip, 2004), but it tends to work best when volunteers are truly valued. This means that the needs of individual volunteers are known, their skills and experiences are matched to assignments, training and development opportunities are provided, and their efforts are rewarded. This allows volunteers to build a sense of identification and loyalty to the organisation. In the case of organisations created to deliver events such as the Olympics, these feelings may help volunteers to develop attachment to the organisation and the event itself (Costa *et al.*, 2006). Then they are more likely to perform well and are less likely to drop out early.

However, as argued by Cuskelly and Auld (2000b), volunteers generate different degrees of commitments to an organisation, just as their ability to put effort into it differs. Unlike paid staff, volunteers may have competing demands related to their principle work and family commitments (Cuskelly, Hoyer and Auld, 2006). Also, they may have concerns with organisational mismanagement, which may prompt them to leave. Thus, according to the report *Voluntary Work-Australia* by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1995, in Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b, p. 23), volunteers mentioned both personal and organisational factors that negatively influenced their volunteering experience (in decreasing order): lack of support, legal responsibility, amount of time required, travel/distance/location, costs, risk of injury/ill health, lack of recognition, amount/adequacy of training, amount/adequacy of supervision, relationship with paid staff. The American study by Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1992) detected factors that discouraged continuing volunteering: unrealistic expectations, insufficient training, negligent supervision, excessive demands, lack of positive feedback, a sense of a second-class status, an inadequate sense of personal accomplishment.

It is argued that only through on-going dialogue with volunteers is it likely that these disappointments are noticed and addressed. Green and Chalip (1998) pointed to developing relationships with volunteers as a key process required for increasing volunteer commitment and retention. This starts with the benefits attractive to volunteers, continues with helping volunteers recognise benefits they did not consider before, and nurturing the value of these benefits: *“the organisation needs to continuously market the benefits of volunteering, update and repackage those benefits, and monitor to discern changes in volunteers’ motives or satisfaction”* (ibid, p. 20). These processes should take place in an environment, which encourages flexibility and volunteer empowerment.

Despite this, the traditional HRM model as well as the context of volunteering does not always allow for these processes to take place. For instance, Chelladurai and Madella (2006) found that overemphasising HRM practices such as job descriptions, formal interviews and training, although they add transparency to the volunteer job, might have a detrimental effect on the primary factors that drive people to volunteer. Volunteers may reduce their commitment if they feel underappreciated, their capacity to co-operate and socialise with others is limited, and the ability to express themselves is threatened by bureaucracy and/or an authoritarian leadership style (Shibli *et al.*, 1999; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006).

Overall, in order to understand how successful a volunteer programme was with regard to achieving its goals in recruitment, selection, training, volunteer placement, turnover, retention and the quality of services (all the stages of the HRM and, ultimately, the VPM model), it is important to conduct a quality assessment of a programme as a whole, both from the managerial and volunteers' perspectives. As suggested by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015), volunteers could be asked about their socio-demographic profile, details related to the event, their operations and responsibilities, services offered, commitment, knowledge of the event and suggestions for improvement. Managers could be asked to identify strengths and weaknesses of the processes in which they were involved. It is also advisable to capture and evaluate the opinion of other stakeholders involved in the programme. The value of this knowledge and its accumulation is critical for event management in general and volunteer management in particular as it allows capitalising on it for future events. This in itself becomes part of the legacy of the volunteering programme. Indeed, among long-term benefits were mentioned lessons learned, results, modules, databases, and computer programmes that can be re-usable in the future (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015).

4.4. Societal level

The Societal level of analysis in the VPM model by Omoto and Snyder (2002) mostly deals with the bigger context within which volunteering takes place and what benefits volunteering offers the society at large. The value of volunteering to society has been widely acknowledged, both in economic and social terms. Volunteering helps with economic savings and in improving the systems of service-delivery through making valuable contributions (Omoto and Snyder, 2002). It promotes trust and reciprocity, solidarity and social cohesion, and encourages civic activism and good citizenship, and is at the heart of community building. Volunteering shows "*the ability of community members to voluntarily organise, manage, utilise and enhance those resources available to them in addressing local needs*" (in Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015, p. 83). Through important learning opportunities, volunteering contributes to social and human capital development, which strengthens employability to combat social exclusion (Nichols and Ralston, 2011).

In a mega sport event context, volunteers are often referred to as the 'face of the event' (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Their contribution is felt not only on the organisational level (through a positive image and successful delivery of the event), but also on the community level through public support of the event and a desire to make the host community a better place. Volunteering builds future capacity through creation of a skilled volunteer workforce that can be used in other events (Ralston, Lumsdon

and Downward, 2005) or in community volunteering (Doherty, 2009; Parent and Smith-Swan, 2013). Since the volunteer programme is a collective project of many event stakeholders, it is capable of creating strong bonds between different people: “*During the event, these volunteers and the stakeholders involved in the programme enjoy unforgettable moments, share common values, and experience intense emotions*” (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015, p. 81). This is possible because events create a unique context that enhances and strengthens the social fabric through breaking down social barriers, suspension of social rules and creating a sense of *communitas* (Chalip, 2006). These bonds and relationships between like-minded individuals united by a collective mission of staging a successful event must be further cultivated and nurtured in order to encourage improvements in socio-economic, cultural and psychological conditions of local communities (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). This becomes a true legacy from mega sport events.

In this research, the societal level of analysis serves an important role in understanding the pre-conditions and processes involved in the creation of the London 2012 volunteering legacy in the wider historical context of sport event volunteering in the UK. The Volunteering Strategy as a manifestation of the interests of various stakeholders was discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (see section 2.5.1.). It represents a depth and breadth of thinking about volunteering legacy associated with the Games, and sets clear visions, aims, values and governance principles in shaping and delivering legacy plans. The Games Maker Programme with its guidelines and stages, pre-Games and post-Games initiatives became a manifestation of the principles ingrained in the Strategy, and is the object of inquiry of the following Chapters.

4.5. Conclusion

This Chapter critically explored the literature related to three levels of analysis – individual, organisational and societal – ingrained in the VPM model by Omoto and Snyder (2002). At the core of the analysis were the personal and organisational attributes that influence volunteer engagement, quality of volunteer experiences, strength of volunteer commitment and satisfaction, and consequences of volunteer involvement, including a volunteering legacy. Volunteering experience was described in conative, cognitive and affective terms. It was understood as an *interaction-centred* activity that takes place in the unique setting of mega sport events that is considered a *special place* and *time out of time* where volunteers experience ‘*communitas*’ through the sense of belonging and sharing the celebratory atmosphere of an event.

This review identified evidence that the motivational pattern of Olympic volunteers is different from that of volunteers in other contexts. However, the existing literature does not add greater understanding of the antecedents related to personal goals, existing experiences, or external factors. Besides, evidence is mainly quantitative and based on small sample sizes. Some studies tried to unpack subgroup differences in motivations to volunteer based on age, gender, marital status and an educational level. However, more research is needed in determining how volunteering for sport events is affected by various demographics such as income, employment status and previous volunteering experience. In the Olympic context, this has implications for the quality of volunteering experiences at the Games and volunteering intentions after the Games, which are under-researched. It has also been acknowledged that volunteers gain multiple benefits out of their volunteering experience, but some negative consequences should not be underestimated. Volunteer management practices must be informed by initial incentives and rewards volunteers are seeking to be in a better position to meet them.

It has been further argued that management approaches to utilising volunteers should be substantially different from that used for paid employees. The review identified that the traditional HRM model is the most common approach to attracting and managing volunteers. It aided in recognising the key principles behind volunteer management as they are practiced in sport organisations, including OCOGs. However, it was found that the organisational procedures for recruitment, placement, training and retention of volunteers can be enhanced by giving more attention to motivations, expectations, skills, experiences and needs of individual volunteers. Tailoring recruitment to volunteers' existing experiences may attract better-qualified volunteers, whereas matching volunteer tasks to individual preferences can enhance volunteers' satisfaction, productivity and commitment. However, it was noted that such a flexible approach is not always feasible for Olympic organisations due to their unique context and characteristics defined by high velocity and short-term nature.

As argued in the literature, more research is needed on the processes of volunteering and volunteers' lived experiences that can be enriched by new data on the stages of volunteering drawn from different perspectives (volunteers and managers). This is supplemented by the lack of research on the social legacy and, particularly, volunteering in mega sport events discussed in previous Chapters. This study uses London 2012 to address some of these research gaps. By examining individual characteristics and experiences, understanding will be developed about who volunteered for the Games, the meaning

of Olympic volunteering to volunteers themselves, why they volunteered and how. In particular, volunteer motivations will be analysed through the prism of Olympic/Sport, Altruistic/Purposive, Egoistic/Transactional, and Solidary/Interpersonal contact motivations. The organisational context will be explored via examining various practices adopted with regards to volunteer planning, recruitment, selection, training, deployment, reward and recognition. This will be discussed against theories underpinning the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy. Particular attention will be given to the consequences of volunteering on personal, organisational and societal levels, particularly in view of generating a sustainable volunteering legacy, and the main lessons learned.

Chapter 5. Research Methodology

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to discuss the research methodology employed in this study. This Chapter presents the metaphor of the research ‘*onion*’ developed by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012) that helps to systematically outline, critically discuss and justify the adopted research process. Peeling away the layers of the ‘*onion*’, the Chapter first tackles the philosophical positions, which underpin this research. Primarily, it presents critical realism and social constructivism as the basis of the philosophical approach. The research aims and questions on multiple levels of analysis (individual, organisational and societal) are revisited in light of three domains of critical realism introduced by Bhaskar (1975; 2008), the premises of critical realist evaluation by Pawson and Tilley (1997), and the stages of the VPM model by Omoto and Snyder (2002). Then, other parts of the research design are discussed in depth such as the research approach and strategy, the time horizon and the data collection methods, and justifications are given for the choices made. The thematic analysis is presented as the method of data analysis, and attention is given to ethical implications of the research involving human beings. The Chapter also offers a reflective account of challenges encountered in gaining access to research participants, which resulted in changes in the research focus.

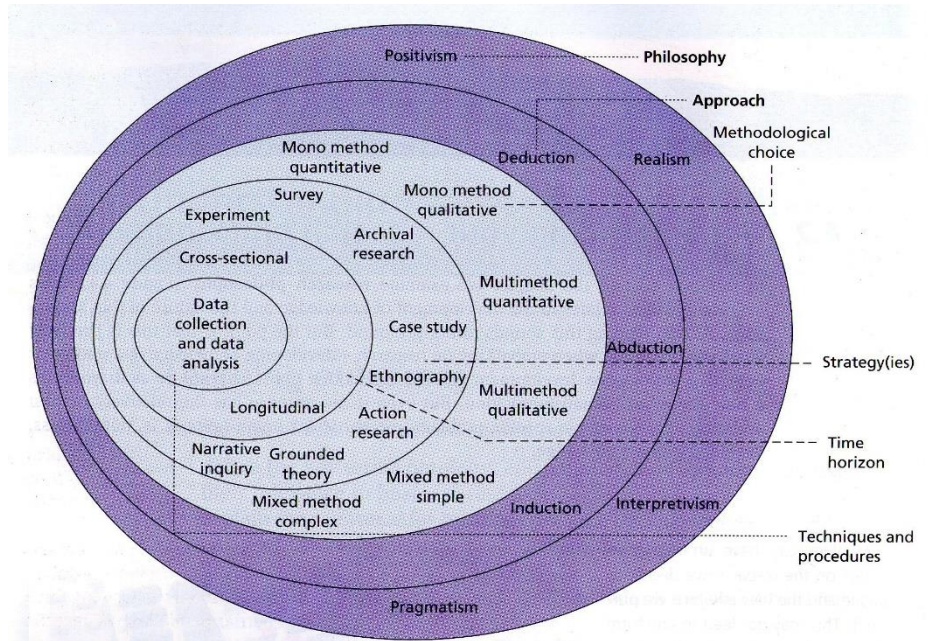
5.2. Components of research design

A good research design should address different issues thereby making the study coherent and consistent, appropriately planned and implemented (Maxwell, 2005). For this purpose, a metaphor of the research ‘*onion*’ by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012) is used where each layer directs the researcher toward the center of the ‘*onion*’ - the choice of appropriate methods of gathering and analysing data (see Figure 5.1.). The following discussion is informed by this approach.

5.3. Research philosophy

Research philosophy is concerned with the development of knowledge (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012). It is a general direction that a researcher takes which plays an important role in the outcome of a research project. Some authors call it the *research paradigm* (Maxwell, 2005; Edwards and Skinner, 2011): a set of general philosophical assumptions about the nature of the world (ontology) and how people can understand it (epistemology). Depending on these assumptions, paradigms also include specific methodological strategies.

Figure 5.1. The research ‘onion’



Source: Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012)

Indeed, there are multiple philosophical traditions identified across disciplines, each associated with their own preferred research methods. Two extreme examples in social science are positivist and interpretive traditions that represent contrasting and competing views of social reality and knowledge generation, with two distinct approaches to data collection and analysis. A philosophy of science, deliberately constructed to stand between these two poles, is called realism (Maxwell, 2005; Bryman, 2008; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012), with critical realism being its most prominent manifestation (Sayer, 2000). The critical realist tradition was pioneered by Roy Bhaskar in his book *A Realist Theory of Science* (1975; 2008). In this seminal work, Bhaskar distinguished ontology (or what we think of the world) from epistemology (what we think can be known) calling the conflation of these two concepts the ‘epistemic fallacy’, although also considering how they are aligned with one another. Relying on works of Bhaskar, other authors such as Miles and Huberman (1994), Pawson and Tilley (1997), Sayer (2000), Downward (2005), Iosifides (2011), Maxwell (2009; 2012) and Pawson (2013) provided their reasoning for conducting research the critical realist way.

5.3.1. Critical realism as ontological stance

One feature of critical realism, in which it differs from other philosophical traditions, is the nature of knowledge (ontology), which is incomplete, partial and fallible. It denies any ‘correct’ or ‘objective’

knowledge of the world independent of a particular viewpoint, but accepts multiple *understandings* of reality (Maxwell, 2009; 2012). These *understandings* are a construction from people's own standpoints and interpretations (Sayer, 2000; Iosifides, 2011). At the same time, critical realism argues for the existence of a 'real' independent of what people see, think, perceive, experience, theorise or construct. This reasoning relates to *intransitive* and *transitive* kinds of knowledge (Bhaskar, 1975; 2008). *Intransitive* knowledge is the objects under study such as natural or social phenomena and their structures and mechanisms, whereas *transitive* knowledge is theories, discourses and social practices of what is studied, which differ depending on one's sense and experience of that phenomena (sometimes called 'multi-perspective realism') (Sayer, 2000). Thus, critical realism retains ontological realism as it rejects 'multiple realities' in the sense of independent worlds created by different societies or individuals. Yet, it accepts epistemological constructivism as belief in different but valid perspectives on reality. Social constructivism as an epistemological stance is detailed in section 5.3.2.

According to Bhaskar (1975; 2008), the world consists of three distinct domains of reality *The Real*, *The Actual* and *The Empirical* (see Table 5.1.). *The Real* – a supreme level – refers to the dimension of the world where structures (human, material, institutional, cultural) and their causal powers or mechanisms (actual or potential) reside. *The Actual* domain is where our experiences are patterned in sequences of events, and refers to the processes when causes and powers in the *Real* domain are activated by certain generative mechanisms to make things happen or change. These are seen in the *Empirical* domain, which is comprised of our observations, perceptions and experiences. In effect, it is the realm of the consequences of the interplay of *The Actual* and *The Real*.

Table 5.1. Depth realism

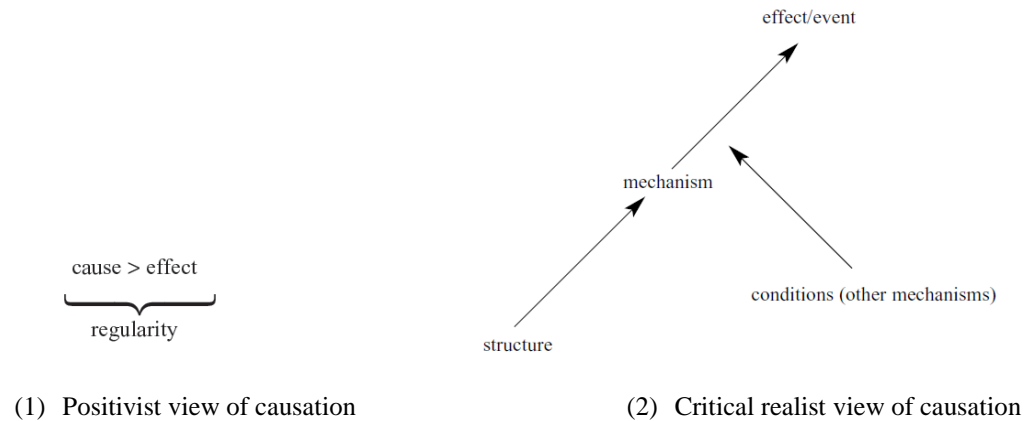
	<i>Domain of Real</i>	<i>Domain of Actual</i>	<i>Domain of Empirical</i>
<i>Mechanisms</i>	✓		
<i>Events</i>	✓	✓	
<i>Experiences</i>	✓	✓	✓

Source: Bhaskar (2008, p. 2)

For critical realism, causality is a matter of processes and mechanisms (Maxwell, 2012), which stands in contrast to a positivist perspective on causality based on a number of observations and regularities (see Figure 5.2). Discovering the nature of the structures of objects that possess powers or mechanisms

can explain how mechanisms work, whether they have been activated, and under what conditions. These causal powers are not reducible to the characteristics, properties and qualities of the parts, but viewed in *interaction* to bring about particular outcomes (Sayer, 2000; Iosifides, 2011; Maxwell 2009; 2012).

Figure 5.2. Causal explanation



Source: Sayer (2000)

According to Bhaskar's realism (see Table 5.1.), things become real only when events and experiences are brought together under the action of the underlying mechanism, which is only possible within the closed experimental system under total laboratory control. However, as argued by Pawson (2013), "*There is no closed, crucial experiment that lifts an underlying causal reality into view. But all of the partially closed experiments reveal useful, partial truths*" (p. 69). Pawson (2013) criticised Bhaskar's view of reality for being unsustainable, as he overlooked the complexity of an open system of the social world, trying "*to grasp life as a totality...lording over complexity rather than analysing it*" (p. 71), which rather belongs to idealism than can be used in applied social enquiry. Pawson (2013) and earlier Pawson and Tilley (1997) suggested *realistic evaluation* as an evolving research strategy that is based on the long tradition of Bhaskar's critical realism, but takes into account the complexities of the social world: "*The science of evaluation starts by recognising ...the real choices of choice makers and its task is to explain the distribution and consequences of those choices rather than to condemn them*" (p.71).

Thus, Pawson and Tilley (1997) in their realist approach to programme evaluation utilise contextual thinking and view programmes as sophisticated social interactions set amidst a complex social reality. They stressed ‘Context + Mechanism = Outcome’ pattern configurations (CMOCs) where the programme works (O) because of the action of underlying mechanisms (M), which only come into operation in particular circumstances or contexts (C) to bring about change. As argued by Pawson (2013), “*if the right processes operate in right conditions then the programme will prevail*” (p. 22). This ‘if-then’ framework reveals the causal and conditional nature of the relationship between CMOCs. *Contexts* are the conditions in which programmes are introduced, and represent a vast range of circumstances, interpersonal and social relationships, culture, institutional locations and conditions, and surrounding infrastructure such as economic and political conditions, as well as technology, which may enable or constrain certain *mechanisms* (Pawson and Tilley, 2004). It helps address ‘for whom’ and ‘in what circumstances’ a programme will work. The argument is that certain contexts are supportive of the programme theory and some are not. The programme may work better for certain types of subjects but not for others, and certain institutional arrangements may be better at delivering certain outcomes.

Mechanisms, although often hidden, explicate the logic of intervention. These are various ideas and theories within the programme that create different resources, which trigger different reactions amongst participants. Indeed, in realist view, “*it is not programmes that work but the resources they offer to enable their subjects to make them work*” (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, p. 6). Therefore, programme *mechanism* is “*the **process** of how subjects **interpret** and **act upon** the intervention stratagem*” (emphasis added, *ibid.*, p. 6). In other words, a long sequence of steps occurs before change comes about. Due to relevant variations in *contexts* and *mechanisms* thereby activated, programmes have mixed *outcomes*, which can take many forms and comprise intended and unintended consequences, with uneven patterns of successes and failures. This relates to the multi-dimensional nature of the *Legacy Cube* (see Chapter 2) and multiple aspects of the Games legacy outlined in Preuss (2007; 2015). Understanding the reasons for varied patterns can explain how programmes work. Therefore, a realist investigation is about theory testing and refinement through hypothesising, monitoring and seeking to explain “*how the same programme resource is interpreted and acted upon in different ways by different participants in different positions*” and to what outcomes this process can lead (Pawson, 2013, p. 22).

5.3.2. Social constructivism as epistemological stance

Ontological realism is compatible with different approaches to research, particularly with epistemological constructivism or interpretivism (Maxwell, 2012). Indeed, critical realism and social constructivism have the same set of assumptions and philosophical stances. As mentioned earlier, the epistemology of critical realism is relativist rather than realist as it rejects the ‘objective’ knowledge of reality and accepts its multiple interpretations, in other words, multiple ‘knowledges’ of a phenomenon that are understood in social terms. Social constructivism unlocks the way people construct their understanding of what is going on around them (Guba, 1990), particularly through experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences. Experiences, in turn, are not possible without some sort of social relationship, which is their central characteristic. This is related to the reasoning that the world is a by-product of social interactions and relationships (Barkin, 2003) that are mediated by numerous contexts (Byers, 2009). This social, collaborative activity represents shared learning processes (Duffy and Jonassen, 1991).

Lev Vygotsky (1987) first introduced a social aspect of learning into constructivism. By employing a concept of ‘the zone of proximal development’, he argued that learners in collaboration with others can master concepts, ideas or skills that they cannot develop on their own, but once mastered they can be independently practiced. This suggests that learning is, fundamentally, a socially mediated activity and has a constructive effect on the outcomes of social interactions leading to changes in behaviour. This relates to the notion of mechanisms or causal powers and their ability to attain change. Capturing the causal generative mechanisms is possible through “*intense engagement with social reality*” (Iosifides, 2011, p. 12) by employing methods of gathering insights about people’s real-life situations. Recognising and embracing individual perceptions and interpretations will enable understanding various experiences of participants and knowledge from various degrees of closeness. Sayer (2000) calls it a ‘double hermeneutic’ cycle, meaning “*a two-way movement, a ‘fusing of the horizons’ of listener and speaker, researcher and researched, in which the latter’s actions and texts never speak simply for themselves, and yet are not reducible to the researcher’s interpretation of them*” (p. 17).

Thus, social constructivism allows going beyond the surface of observable phenomenon into ‘depth’ of conditions and realities that generate them, to understand intrinsic processes of *why* and *how*. The rich data on personal perspectives, experiences, and circumstances are important in order to answer

the questions posed for this study. Particularly, as identified earlier, volunteering is relationship-bound and is viewed as a learning process that takes place in a collaborative, co-constructive way. Yet, only through exploring human interpretations and meanings attached to volunteering experiences and learning it is possible to understand mega sport event volunteering and its utility. Therefore, London 2012 volunteering as a phenomenon is featured through multiple interpretations and meanings volunteers attached to their experiences with the Games Maker Programme and associated pre-volunteer initiatives. This is mediated by the context in which they volunteered. Volunteers' relationships with managers, other volunteers and external 'clients' come into play as an important aspect of investigation. Managers' understandings, perceptions and experiences are also crucial in bringing awareness to conditions under which volunteering took place and implications of it for volunteers, the Games, and its legacy.

5.3.3. Application of the research philosophy

The use of critical realism in qualitative research has been advocated by various scholars (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Maxwell, 2012). Byers (2013), for example, became a pioneer in using critical realism in sport volunteering research in the context of sport clubs. Although she focussed on voluntary sport organisations, she suggested that critical realism might also be used in gaining a holistic understanding about sport volunteers. As discussed earlier, sport event volunteering is a synergistic phenomenon in that it is comprised of multiple units of analysis and relationships. The critical realist approach, therefore, suits well in providing a clear conceptualisation of the ontological nature of this phenomenon. As volunteering literature suggests, sport event volunteering needs to be studied from a holistic yet interdisciplinary perspective, which is in line with the urge for critical realists to investigate the phenomenon in its complexity and multi-dimensionality (Byers and Thurston, 2011).

This research applies the lens of critical realism to mega sport event volunteering in the context of the Olympics. Particularly, it uses realist evaluation to study three elements: the contexts, mechanisms and outcomes of the Programme under study. Volunteering as a phenomenon in the context of London 2012 was embedded in a deliberately designed Games Maker Programme. Therefore, the research is concerned with finding out "*what is it about the programme that works for whom, in what circumstances, in what respects, over which duration*" (Pawson 2013, p. 15). As was previously identified, London 2012 volunteering took place as a result of a successful bid to host the 2012 Olympics, followed by the creation of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy by multiple

stakeholders. These processes took place in a certain political, socio-economic, cultural and historical context in the UK. Ultimately, the Games Maker Programme and different incentives it offered to volunteers became the mechanism to attain change. Correspondent patterns of events triggered by various stages of the Programme and resources provided by LOCOG such as staff, training, education materials, volunteer uniforms and other artefacts, resulted in certain outcomes on multiple levels of analysis (individual, organisational and societal). On the individual level, in particular, these outcomes are expected to be different for different age groups and backgrounds.

Pawson's critical evaluation represents a level of abstraction that is not tied to any specific context or environment. Therefore, the VPM model devised by Omoto and Snyder (2002) is also used in this research to help study volunteering. Moreover, as observed by the researcher, it conceptually corresponds to the premises of realist evaluation in that it deals with the same three elements (contexts, mechanisms and outcomes), albeit under different names (antecedents, experiences and consequences). How critical realism as an ontological stance converges with the VPM model is shown schematically in Table 5.2. The interplay of various elements of realist evaluation takes place within three domains of reality that correlate to various stages and levels of the VPM model. The following discussion highlights how these domains of reality are related to research aims and questions.

Mega sport event volunteering is a complex, multi-dimensional social phenomenon. To recognise its complexity and maximise the explanatory potential, this study does not reduce mega sport event volunteering and knowledge about it solely to the experiences of individual volunteers and meanings and interpretations they attach. Volunteering is understood as a result of interactions between various structures, their causal powers, the contexts within which they operate, and outcomes. These structures exist independently of the perspectives of volunteers toward them, and symbolise *The Real* domain advocated by critical realism, which corresponds to the *Antecedents* stage of the VPM model (Table 5.2.).

Table 5.2. The Convergence of Critical Realist Evaluation and the Volunteer Process Model

Domains of reality	Premises of realist evaluation	Structures, Mechanisms, Contexts, Outcomes	VPM level of analysis	VPM Stage
The Real	Objects, their structures and causal powers or generative mechanisms that have their laws of operation	Ideological, political, cultural and historical context of sport event volunteering in the UK; the IOC legacy rhetoric	Societal	Antecedents
		Various Games stakeholders that took part in creation of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy	Organisational	Antecedents
		LOCOG – organisation’s culture, artefacts, power and authority structures		
		London 2012 Games Maker Programme- its resources with causal powers (mechanisms) in the form of formal guidelines, procedures and planned out stages of the Programme that enable volunteering activities		
		Volunteers – demographics, skills and qualifications, motivations and expectations	Individual	Antecedents
The Actual	Patterns of events (practices) generated by existing powers when they are activated through mechanisms, in a certain context	The Games Maker Programme in action: volunteer recruitment, application, selection, interview, training, support, recognition, management, actual volunteering (elements of the HRM model)	Organisational	Experiences
		Individual (volunteers, managers) perceptions and experiences	Individual	Experiences
		Dynamics of face-to-face social involvement and interaction b/w managers, volunteers and external ‘clients’	Group	Experiences
		Context: Conditions set by LOCOG, incl. physical, social and psychological environment; overall Games atmosphere	Societal	Experiences
The Empirical	The outcomes of mechanisms’ activation: observable and unobservable events / behaviour, interpretations of experiences	Instrumental, social, transferrable skills and experiences, learning outcomes	Individual	Consequences
		Quality of volunteers’ services and their role in delivery of the Games, non / fulfilment of Programme’s goals, lessons learned	Organisational	Consequences
		Public support of volunteers; Volunteering legacy beyond the Games	Societal	Consequences

It is argued that institutional structures in the *Real* domain have powers to ‘create’ the Games and Games-related volunteering legacy. Thus, the Societal level (Table 5.2.) is represented by various Games stakeholders (London city government, educational and private sectors, just to name a few) and the IOC with their own distinctive ideological stance originated in the history of the Olympic Movement and transformed over time. The evolution of legacy in Olympic discourse and its impact on the approach taken by the host city to plan for sustainable volunteering legacy was discussed in depth in Chapter 2. These structures operate in a political, cultural, ideological and historical context of sport event volunteering in the UK. Taking into account these circumstances, the aim on this level of analysis is to critically examine the origins and nature of ‘theories’ or stakeholders’ reasoning underpinning the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy, the document that preceded the creation of the Games Maker Programme, and their actual implementation. The research question, identified in Chapter 1, about specific aims of the Volunteering Strategy targeted at the delivery of the Games and the social legacy beyond the Games, is addressed here.

The Organisational level in the *Real* domain is represented by LOCOG, the ‘structure’ that was granted legal rights from the IOC to prepare for and deliver the Games. Following the Olympic tradition of using volunteers to help the Games, LOCOG became responsible for developing the Games Maker Programme. Therefore, it is important to understand how LOCOG planned to use the Games Maker Programme to deliver on the promises outlined in the Strategy. LOCOG’s culture, artefacts, power and authority structures present the immediate setting for social activities (in this case, volunteering). These were manifested through various LOCOG guidelines and procedures pertaining to volunteers, which ultimately, influenced who was eligible to volunteer, their experiences and outcomes of participation. Thus, it becomes essential to pose additional research question about the LOCOG objectives, practices and outcomes pertaining to the following stages of the Programme: planning, recruitment, selection, training, deployment, reward, recognition and retention.

Volunteers, in turn, also have causal powers, which they exercise through their competencies, attitudes and behaviours. It is suggested that volunteers’ personal attributes (Individual level of analysis in the *Real* domain, see Table 5.2.) and their responses to the above processes influenced the benefits they derived from their participation, the quality of their services and, ultimately, the success of the Games delivery. This is the rationale for the research question about who became engaged, trained and, eventually, volunteered for the Games, and why. Of primary interest are volunteers’ profiles,

motivations and expectations, and how these influenced volunteers' commitment, efficacy and satisfaction with their experiences at every stage of the Programme.

Certain events that happen when volunteers start to engage with each step of the Programme (elements of the HRM model discussed in Chapter 4) take place at the *Experiences* stage of the VPM model in the *Actual* domain of reality (Table 5.2.). These are triggered by the *activation* of powers underlying various components of the Programme (Organisational level). This research aims to understand the patterns of these events through uncovering volunteer management practices and associated experiences of volunteers, in the attempt to find volunteers' level of efficacy and satisfaction (research question). It is important to understand how certain conditions set by LOCOG, including physical, social and psychological environment, facilitated or constrained various volunteering experiences, influenced the quality and outcomes of participation (Individual level). Particular attention is given to the dynamics of social involvement, face-to-face interactions among LOCOG managers, volunteers and external 'clients' (Group level), and learning experiences that evolve through these interactions. Public perceptions of volunteers and an overall celebratory atmosphere are also explored (Societal level).

The *Empirical* domain of reality refers to the *Consequences* stage in the VPM model (Table 5.2.), and is associated with the outcomes of the activation of various mechanisms on various levels of analysis. On the Individual level, the research focusses on finding answers to the research question about what volunteers gained from their participation such as instrumental and social skills, transferable experiences that can be translated to either further volunteering, education/training, or employment. In particular, finding out what volunteers learned (or not) through their experiences is aligned with the conceptualisation of mega sport event volunteering as informal learning (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). On the Organisational level, this research attempts to answer the following research questions: how volunteers contributed to the Games and, particularly, how volunteer management practices impacted the quality of volunteers' services and, ultimately, the Programme's success; what were the Programme's successes and challenges in relation to its objectives, processes and outcomes. The Societal level is concerned with finding answers to the research question about how the Programme was used to deliver a long-term volunteering legacy for the UK.

5.4. Research strategy

According to the research ‘*onion*’ (see Figure 5.1.), strategies have been categorised into experiment, archival research, case study, ethnography, action research, grounded theory and narrative enquiry. Critical realism is particularly well suited as a companion to case research for studying relatively clearly bounded, but complex phenomena within its real-life context, where the process involves thoughtful in-depth research with the objective of understanding ‘*why*’, ‘*what*’ and ‘*how*’ (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012; Easton, 2010; Yin, 2014). Through investigations of the relationships of different structures and powers in their complexity and multidimensionality, the case study provides the researcher with “*intensive knowledge of a case and its history and thus a more in-depth view of causation*” (Iosifides, 2011, p. 15). Moreover, the case study allows for analytic generalisations in the form of lessons learned that go beyond the setting of the specific case. Therefore, the case study was chosen as the most appropriate strategy. It is defined as “*a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon*” (Robson, 2002, p. 178), yet it does not exclude the recent past over which the researcher may have little or no control, thereby “*the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated*” (Yin, 2014, p.12).

According to a classification presented in Yin (2014, p. 50), there are four basic types of designs for case studies: holistic single-case design with single-unit of analysis (Type 1), embedded single-case design with multiple units of analysis (Type 2), holistic multiple-case design (Type 3), and embedded multiple case-design (Type 4). This research employs Type 2 – an embedded single-case design with multiple units of analysis. In this study, the phenomenon of interest – mega sport event volunteering – is manifested through a deliberately designed London 2012 Games Maker Programme, which is time and place bound, has clear dimensions such as management, structure, life cycle of recruitment, selection, training, placement, motivating, evaluating and rewarding volunteers. The direct involvement of volunteers in the London Games was contingent on their participation in the Games Maker Programme. Therefore, the context of this study is the London 2012 Games, the case is the London 2012 Games Maker Programme, whereas units of analysis are different aspects of the Programme. This approach aids in-depth investigation of *why* people engaged in volunteering for London 2012, *what* were their previous volunteering experiences, *how* they were selected, trained and managed, *what* roles they were assigned and *how* they performed, *what* was their overall experience and satisfaction, in order to understand how and to what extent volunteers benefited themselves, the Games and the community. Apart from methodological reasoning, the fact that the researcher

personally took part in the London Games as a Games Maker became the reason behind the choice of this particular case. The assumption was that this might open up avenues to access research participants and ease the process of data collection.

As Pawson (2013) mentioned, most programmes have a history, which shapes what happens next. Therefore, it is vital to analyse “*previous experiences of programme subjects...on similar interventions; previous experiences of stakeholders in delivering similar interventions; the success and failures of previous attempts*” as this may aid in contributing to our understanding of the processes and outcomes of the intervention at hand (ibid, p. 44). Indeed, the Games Maker Programme was not created in isolation from a long-established tradition of sport event volunteering in the UK. Knowledge was accumulated through years of experience including the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games and their Pre-Volunteer Programme. The latter was modified 10 years later into the Personal Best Programme, which was reflected in the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy. The essential part of this study is the analysis of the Games Maker Programme in relation to the wider historical context of the idea of legacy, highlighting the relevance of the past to the contemporary present.

5.5. Time horizon and methodological choice

The quality and rigor of social research depends on selecting the right time horizon and research tools that allow for the best ‘fit’ between the research questions posed and the research methods used (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2012). As evidenced, there is a gap between holistic exploration of mega sport events and related volunteering in the context of the Olympics. Studies have mostly employed descriptive research (*what*), and do not tend to explore the experiences of the participants (*why*). They lack methodological diversity and fall within the positivist dominance with quantitative approach to investigation using cross-sectional research designs (Hoye and Cuskelly, 2009). This limits what these studies can reveal about changing motives and commitments over time (Green and Chalip, 2004). Yet, the field can benefit from new methods, which may provide invaluable insights for informing policy and practice (Downward, 2005; Weed, 2005; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Byers, 2009).

Critical realism benefits from some form of pluralist empirical enquiry with no particular preference for either quantitative or qualitative data collection strategies. It is compatible with a wide range of methods, so that both processes and impacts may be investigated (Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Sayer,

2000; Downward, 2005; Bryman, 2008). In particular, in order to unpack complex phenomena, critical realism is justified for the use of mixed methods with “*data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion*” (Yin, 2014, p. 17). It encourages interdisciplinary research, which can utilise a richer and stronger array of evidence from various sources and methods of data collection transcending specific methods of analysis. Iosifides (2011), in particular, argued for the necessity to move away from separate and inherently opposing ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ epistemologies and engage in open, flexible, multi-sourced research practices that can supplement each other. This echoes the call for interdisciplinary research in sport management (Doherty, 2013; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015) discussed earlier in section 3.3.3.

Hence, this research employs a longitudinal time horizon, or a longitudinal case following Yin’s (2014) ‘before’ and ‘after’ logic (pre-post Games) to allow for analysing the processes and consequences of the London 2012 volunteering in the context of its history and anticipated changes over time, which reflects theoretical propositions posed for this study. Besides, this study uses both qualitative and quantitative sources of evidence, thereby utilising complementary data collected from documents, participant observations, the on-line survey and in-depth semi-structured interviews.

5.6. Research approach

When important decisions are made with regard to the ontological and epistemological direction of the research, the next step is to define the research approach (see Figure 5.1.). Given that this study is approached from the critical realist view, it adopts a top-down or deductive qualitative approach to research. As discussed in section 5.3., the research benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions about *what* and *why* certain events, acts or structures are being studied. The research aims and research questions are pre-defined to further guide data collection and analysis. The solid theoretical framework is constructed prior to the empirical investigation, and is built on considering volunteering as a social aspect of legacy from London 2012 with its various dimensions (‘Legacy cube’), whereas the processes and benefits potentially accrued through participation are examined through the VPM and the HRM models. Moreover, this research deals with complex concepts that were operationalised (see Chapters 2-4). These are all elements of the deductive approach to research.

At the same time, the social constructivist epistemology requires the enquiry to be conducted in natural settings to capture understandings and interpretations of multiple realities of the research participants. In this case, the inductive qualitative approach allows the researcher to concentrate on understanding

the *meanings* (what meaning volunteers and managers attach to the Programme and volunteering experiences); a particular *context* (in what conditions volunteers act, and how it influences their behaviour); *processes* that lead to particular outcomes (tangible and intangible benefits). It is also the realisation that the researcher is part of the research process who actively collects and interprets qualitative data, and can change the research emphasis as the research progresses (Maxwell, 2012). Therefore, both inductive and deductive approaches work hand in hand for this study.

5.6.1. Documentary analysis

This research utilised documentary analysis in order to collect appropriate data in support of addressing the research questions. This secondary data provided background information and evidence to be used to corroborate or refute primary data in the form of observations, survey and interviews (Yanow, 2007). The documents used can be split into policy documents, documents directly related to the Games Maker Programme, and wider scholarly literature on the topic being researched. Whereas the latter group mostly informed the discussion of the literature review detailed in Chapters 2-4, the other two groups aid the analysis that follows later in this thesis.

One of the most fundamental documents used in the analysis was the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006), revealing the planning process used to design it. This document shed light on vision, aims, values, and the policy context with regard to acquiring, training, managing, rewarding and recognising volunteers, as well as pre-Games initiatives and legacy plans. It was accessed through one of the research participants, a Chair of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group. Other policy documents including various reports published by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS 2007; 2008; 2010; 2011; 2012), UEL/TGfS (2010), SkillsActive (2010, 2012), LOCOG (2013) and others were accessed on-line, and informed this research with some factual material on the Games Maker Programme and pre-volunteering initiatives. These facts included statistics, financial data, Programmes' goals and outcomes. Documents relating specifically to the Games Maker Programme became available to the researcher through her own participation as a volunteer. 'My Games Maker Workbook' (LOCOG, 2012a), 'My Games Maker Training CD' (LOCOG, 2012c) and 'LOCOG Volunteer Policy Games Time' (LOCOG, 2012d) were distributed to every Games Maker at the first training session. 'My Games Maker Pocket Guide' (LOCOG, 2012b) was given at the start of the first Games-time shift. These documents detailed the rules, procedures and protocols required of each volunteer.

5.6.2. Participant observation

In-depth understanding of the phenomenon under investigation in its real life context often means the need for fieldwork to get closer to the case being studied. Often valued but not limited to anthropological studies, participant observation allows the researcher to develop a holistic understanding of meanings, contexts and events through taking part in “*daily activities, rituals, interpretations, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture*” (DeWALT and DeWALT, 2011, p. 1). Malinowski (1922, 1935, 1967), an anthropologist, is credited with developing this method and ‘elevating’ it to a theory of intensive and systematic collection and interpretation of field data obtained from direct interactions and conscious observations.

DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) argue that the participant observation enhances the quality of data obtained during fieldwork and subsequent interpretation of its meaning, and increases the validity of the study. However, participant observation is difficult to conduct as the researcher has little control of the research situation. There is no universal ‘how to do’ approach, as the investigator is reacting to what is unfolding in the field, which makes the experience inherently personal. Behavioural and social skills such as active listening/perceiving, fitting in, short-term memory, informal interviewing, attentiveness to detail, and patience certainly aid the researcher in conducting successful participant observation. The literature suggests that the researcher should be able to combine two somewhat different processes, participation and observation, which require, on one hand, physical and emotional involvement and, on the other hand, detachment and reflexivity. Through observation, the researcher explicitly and self-consciously attends to the events and people in the context being studied. These observations are not just a physical phenomenon but involve all senses, and must be recorded in some fashion (diaries, field notes) in order to be considered as data for analysis (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). Through participation, the researcher places herself along the continuum of the degree of participation and level of membership, which range from ‘nonparticipation’ to ‘complete participation’ (Spradley, 1980) and ‘no membership role’ to ‘full membership’ (Adler and Adler, 1987). The extent to which the balance between participation and observation is found has implications for the kinds of data collected, its interpretation and analysis.

In this study, the researcher became a ‘full member’ and a ‘complete participant’ as a result of her role as a Selection Event Volunteer (SEV) and a Games Maker. This mode of participation most closely resembles the role of a classic participant observer (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). Indeed, the researcher took on the identity of the group and physically performed responsibilities and duties similar to other members of the group. As SEV, the researcher interviewed potential Games Makers during the selection events in Glasgow, UK in May 2011. She went to a one day SEV training and had four interviewing shifts. As a Games Maker, the researcher participated in Orientation, two days Role Specific Training, Venue Specific Training and Volunteer Uniform collection in London between February and June 2012. She worked 10 days during the Olympic Games (July 27-August 12, 2012) and replaced other volunteers occasionally. Albeit tasks and responsibilities ranged from one functional area to another, ‘being there’ in the fullest sense allowed the researcher immerse herself in the subculture of London 2012 and the ‘world’ of those studied. This provided new insights into the context, behaviour and meanings, which is in line with social constructivism. Therefore, it became natural for the researcher to consider herself an ‘insider’ who *knows* in a unique way, *experiences* first-hand and *observes* all aspects of volunteering. Importantly, the use of participant observation allowed for building greater rapport and access to activities and informants.

DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) suggest that every activity, conversation and observation should be recorded in a written form while on the scene. Unfortunately, this was not feasible due to the intensity of the Games; however, at the end of each shift the researcher audio recorded (dictated) field notes to capture the detail in a short period of time. These field notes were in the form of a diary, which included the description of everyday events and interactions, the researcher’s reactions to events and contexts, various observations and critical reflections. Particular attention was given to those events and experiences that were at the core of the research questions and the processes the researcher hoped to explore. It proved impossible to transcribe and translate these audio recordings into English due to time commitments. Nonetheless, it is believed that recorded diligently in researcher’s native language, this information helped elicit feelings and understandings that are difficult to describe. This allowed the researcher to relive the atmosphere in which the events took place, greatly aiding the writing stage.

Triangulation, mentioned earlier, allows crosschecking of insights gained through participant observation via comparing data collected by other methods. The use of an on-line survey and semi-

structured interviews as methods of data collection is detailed below. However, it is logical to first explicate the process of recruitment of research participants.

5.6.3. On-line survey and semi-structured interviews

5.6.3.1. Recruiting volunteers

Initially, this research was concerned with Games Makers from socially excluded backgrounds. Based on the documentary analysis, it was determined that these volunteers should be graduates of the London 2012 Personal Best Programme. This Programme targeted socially excluded groups from historically disadvantaged areas in Britain to give them the opportunity to become London 2012 Games-time volunteers through extensive pre-volunteer training. Beyond that, a goal of the programme was to equip volunteers with new skills and qualifications to help them gain employment or aid them in further education/training or volunteering beyond the Games. Therefore, the recruitment campaign aimed at accessing and interviewing Personal Best graduates as well as managers in charge of the Programme.

For nearly five months from February till June 2012 multiple recruitment strategies were tried out, however, with varied outcomes. LOCOG was the main gatekeeper at that time who centrally controlled the database of all volunteers. Contact details of LOCOG managers were not publicly available. Therefore, the researcher employed her ‘insider’ role as a Games Maker, and requested a formal permission from LOCOG to send out e-mail invitations to Personal Best graduates to participate in the study. Seemingly straightforward, this approach proved unsuccessful. After extended deliberations, LOCOG eventually refused to cooperate due to data protection formalities. After consultations with the Data Protection Act (TNA, 1998), it was found that data used exclusively for research purposes is exempt, which was communicated to LOCOG. However, they had other reasons for negation: *“All research conducted about London 2012 including any surveying of Games Makers can only be carried out by one of our Commercial Partners, Nielson. It's one of the legal parameters we have to adhere”* (LOCOG Partnership Manager). Nonetheless, the researcher was informally given consent to contact volunteers during her own training and volunteering for interviews and/or follow-ups. Concurrently, the same request was sent to managers in partner organisations in charge of the Personal Best (PB) Programme regionally: Glasgow East Regeneration Agency delivering PB Glasgow Pilot and Sport4Life Ltd. delivering PB Northwest. Similarly, both organisations delayed their responses, and ultimately refused to assist based on restrictions on such disclosure. Interestingly,

in March 2012 Sport4Life Ltd. was still collating statistics on those who attended Games Maker interviews and who received confirmation of their acceptance from LOCOG.

After attempts to access PB graduates fell short, other avenues beyond organisations immediately involved in London 2012 were considered. The researcher approached Manchester Event Volunteers (MEV), an organisation created as a legacy of the Manchester 2002 Games, which owned a database of Manchester 2002 volunteers, some of whom were involved in the Manchester Pre-Volunteer Programme (PVP), a role model of Personal Best (more on this in Chapter 6). Apart from PB graduates, the research sample was broadened to include PVP graduates who became Manchester 2002 volunteers and 10 years later became London 2012 volunteers. The assumption was that these volunteers could offer valuable insights on how both pre-volunteer initiatives and mainstream Games-time Volunteer Programmes contributed to the creation of a volunteering legacy. Negotiations with a MEV manager resulted in an agreement to send out a research invitation (see Appendix B) to 1,500 volunteers on the database, regardless of their participation in programmes of interest. A more targeted approach was not possible, and this increased the likelihood of having responses from a broad range of volunteers. By the end of May 2012, 17 volunteers in total expressed interest in participating in the research, of whom the majority were solely Manchester 2002 volunteers. Only one volunteer indicated herself as a PB Northwest graduate, and five as Olympic Ambassadors in Manchester, the Programme affiliated with London 2012. This aspect was not envisaged at the start of the recruitment process.

Although some progress was made in recruiting volunteers, most were not from the initial target group. It was not clear how they could contribute to the research. Therefore, a direct (informal) recruitment campaign was initiated by the researcher with a hope of increasing the pool of participants. Leaflets ‘Call for Volunteers’ (see Appendix A) were distributed during the Manchester 2002 Parade and volunteers’ Reunion in Manchester in June 2012. At that time, the researcher met three Manchester PVP graduates who later became research interviewees, but only one volunteered at the London 2012 Games. Also in June 2012, as a Games Maker, the researcher took part in Venue Specific Training and Volunteer Uniform collection events in London where she utilised her access to volunteers, inviting them to take part in the research. By the end of June 2012, 262 volunteers were invited to take part in the on-line survey. The decision was made to utilise the survey to identify volunteers from the target group and invite them for face-to-face interviews.

In reflection, although the Data Protection Act (TNA, 1998) was a formal obstacle, a less effective than hoped recruitment campaign might be attributed to other factors, too. A narrow focus on participants from socially excluded backgrounds, a lack of personal contacts in LOCOG and organisations associated with pre-volunteer initiatives, as well time constraints related to the start of the Opening Ceremony on July 27th, 2012 made the process logistically challenging, time consuming and frustrating. Although the researcher wished to have had better access and a more targeted recruitment campaign, it was not feasible. Dickson *et al.* (2013) rightly stated, “*in the real world of researching the Olympics and Paralympics, researchers are constrained by the decisions of the organising committees about access to volunteers and sampling of volunteers while offering of financial incentives to populations that may reach 70,000 is outside the realms of most University-based research*” (p. 90).

5.6.3.2. Surveying volunteers

A link to the on-line survey was sent via e-mail to 262 volunteers in late June 2012. With the invitation e-mail, volunteers received a token they needed to enter on-line in order to access the survey. All completed surveys were assigned a unique ID number. The content of the survey is presented in Appendix M. The survey was piloted before it was activated. A draft was given to supervisors as well as a PhD colleague for comments and suggestions. The survey questions were devised to help address research questions. The content was informed by the literature on volunteer management, motivations, and learning. Some questions were borrowed from the Report on Beijing 2008 volunteers (Wei, 2010). Particularly, the aim was to find out volunteers’ profiles, including socio-economic status, motivations and barriers to volunteering, previous volunteering experience, outcomes of volunteer training, overall satisfaction and willingness to volunteer in the future. The survey was grouped into three parts: previous volunteering experience, motivations and barriers; sport event volunteering and training; and demographics. In the beginning of the survey participants were provided with a brief description and purpose of the research, confidentiality agreement, terms and conditions for dissemination of research findings, details on who oversees the project, contact information of the researcher and approximate time needed to complete the survey. Volunteers were asked to complete it before the start of the London 2012 Games.

Out of 262 potential respondents, 151 replied to the survey. However, it was possible to elicit only 71 usable responses (27 % response rate), which can be attributed to the length of the survey and no

option to finish it in parts. Given the small sample, statistics derived from survey responses do not necessarily reflect the profile and volunteering experiences of all London 2012 volunteers. Therefore, it is not possible to make statistical generalisations of the whole population of Games Makers. However, available descriptive statistics suited the purpose of this study. The socio-demographic profile of surveyed volunteers (see Appendix H) showed that the majority (63%) were women, over 45 years old (52%), well-educated with a degree, either employed or retired, middle class, predominantly white British citizens not considered socially excluded.

Similar findings were published by Dickson and Benson (2013) on their sample of 11,451 Games Makers surveyed just after London 2012. This evidence largely conformed to the ‘dominant status model’ by Smith (1994), who identified that those with higher educational and socio-economic status are more likely to volunteer, similar to findings by Lukka and Ellis (2001). This can explain non-participation of this particular group in pre-volunteer initiatives targeted at socially excluded groups. Of the whole sample, the researcher was able to identify only two respondents who were PVP and PB graduates. This disappointing result inevitably forced the researcher to reconsider the focus of the study and move it away from solely socially excluded to incorporating volunteers from broader socio-economic groups. Interestingly, the composition of the sample varied not only in age or employment status, but also in their participation in multiple London 2012 related volunteering, as well as previous event volunteering experience (see Table 5.3.).

Table 5.3. Survey respondents: Games volunteering experience

Games volunteering experience	Number of volunteers
Manchester 2002 volunteers only	2
Manchester 2002 and London 2012 volunteers (incl. 1 PVP graduate)	8
London 2012 volunteers only (Games Makers)	43
London 2012 Olympic Ambassadors in Manchester (incl. 1 PB graduate)	14
London 2012 Olympic Ambassadors in London	2
London 2012 Ceremonies volunteers	2
Total number of volunteers	71

Although the majority (51) identified themselves as Games Makers, some had previously been involved in the Manchester 2002 Games. Others were either solely Manchester 2002 volunteers, London 2012 Ceremonies volunteers or Olympic Ambassadors.

5.6.3.3. Interviewing volunteers

At the end of the survey volunteers were asked to identify their willingness to be further contacted for an in-depth interview. 31 out of 71 agreed to participate. A closer analysis of their profiles helped in the selection process. The researcher purposefully recruited people with prior and no volunteering experience at mega sport events as well as of different age and employment status to allow for comparisons. For example, having a number of Manchester 2002 volunteers who later became London 2012 Games Makers provided an opportunity to compare their experiences with both Games, and make assumptions about the transferability of their accumulated skills and experiences. Ultimately, four groups of volunteers were interviewed (see Table 5.4.): PVP graduates who later became Manchester 2002 volunteers, but did not take part in London 2012; both Manchester 2002 and London 2012 volunteers (among whom was one PVP graduate); solely London 2012 volunteers (Games Makers, including one Opening ceremony volunteer), some with no prior volunteering experience; and Olympic Ambassadors in Manchester (including one PB graduate). The latter group was comprised of those who did not apply, were unsuccessful with their Games Maker application or became Games Makers but ultimately withdrew before the start of the Games.

The expectation was to get insights from a diverse range of volunteers about their experiences, both positive and negative, with the Games Maker Programme and gain an understanding of the Programmes' overall organisation and management. Therefore, the Games Maker Programme became the major focus of this research. Yet, a much broader context in which it operated was accounted for. The PB Programme, a mirror of the PVP Programme, was approached as a valuable contribution to the mainstream Volunteer Programme in supplying volunteers from socially excluded backgrounds. The Olympic Ambassadors Programme, in turn, was viewed as an opportunity to volunteer for those who did not take part in the Games Maker Programme.

Table 5.4. Interviewees: Games volunteering experience

Games volunteering experience	Number of volunteers
Manchester 2002 volunteers only but PVP graduates	2
Manchester 2002 and London 2012 volunteers (incl. 1 PVP graduate)	5
London 2012 volunteers only (incl. 1 Ceremonies volunteer)	5
London 2012 Olympic Ambassadors in Manchester (incl. 1 PB graduate)*	4
Total number of volunteers	16

* 1 person withdrawn from the Programme later in the process

The demographic and socio-economic backgrounds of this group are provided in Appendix K. Even though more female volunteers took part in the on-line survey, the researcher was interested in having views from both genders and various backgrounds, which was achieved; however, the sample was skewed toward white ethnicity. Evidence shows that the majority of these volunteers were locals from London, Manchester, or elsewhere in England. Having non-British participants is explained by their temporary student status in the UK. The majority of interviewees were married, either with grown or no children, with a high level of education or some degree. At least half had a stable financial situation, either retired or fully employed with savings. The most financially deprived volunteers were among students and unemployed with an annual income below £10,000.

Table 5.5. (below) provides statistics split by volunteering and employments status. Those who took part in the Manchester 2002 Games comprised the majority of the ‘retired’ group. Most of them first started volunteering because of the Games. Three interviewees in this group became involved in Manchester 2002 prior to the Games through administrative or other volunteering roles. The rest in the ‘retired’ group did not take part in Manchester 2002 but were familiar with sport event volunteering through Manchester Event Volunteers. Of 8 Manchester 2002 volunteers, only 2 decided not to take part in the London 2012 Games and, therefore, did not participate in follow-up interviews. The rest became Games Makers or Ambassadors. For others, especially younger volunteers, London 2012 was their first sport event volunteering experience.

All 16 volunteers were interviewed before the London 2012 Games. To provide an atmosphere conducive for the interviews and to avoid undesired situations during fieldwork in unfamiliar locations, the time and place were arranged in advance (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Given that data collection took place away from the University of Glasgow and the researcher’s residence, all interviews were scheduled for several consecutive weeks, within which participants could choose their interview time. The interviews were conducted at first in Manchester and then in London (with the same order for follow-up interviews). The majority of interviews took place in relatively quiet public spaces. Manchester-based interviewees were invited to come to Manchester City Library, Cornerhouse Café on Oxford Street, or the lobby of Holiday Inn Express. Those who lived 10-30 miles from Manchester were visited by the researcher in their homes. This, according to Smith and Osborne (2008), provides for the most familiar and, therefore, most comfortable atmosphere for the researched. In this case the researcher was accompanied by her friend, who was present during the

interview (silently, with consent of interviewees). London-based participants were interviewed in Starbucks in Westfield Stratford City, a new shopping Centre in East London.

Table 5.5. Prior volunteering experience and employment status of interviewees

Current volunteer status / Games experience	Manchester 2002 Games	London 2012 Games	Total
Manchester 2002 volunteer	2 retired (PVPs)	-	2 M2002 only volunteers
Games Maker (London)	3 retired 1 unemployed (PVP)	1 retired 2 students	7 Games Makers in London, 4 with M2002 experience
Games Maker (Manchester)	1 retired	1 retired	2 Games Makers in Manchester, 1 with M2002 experience
Olympic Ambassador (Manchester)	1 retired (turned down a Games Maker's role)	1 employed (was not chosen to be a Games Maker) 1 unemployed (PB) 1 student (dropped out from Ambassador Programme)	4 Olympic Ambassadors in Manchester, 1 with M2002 experience
London 2012 Opening Ceremony volunteer (London)	-	1 employed	1 Opening ceremony volunteer, no prior volunteering experience
Total	7 retired (2 PVPs) 1 unemployed (1 PVP) 8 total	2 retired 3 students 1 unemployed & PB 2 employed 8 total	16 volunteers in total

The researcher employed semi-structured interviews in order to increase the likelihood that all topics were covered in each interview in much the same way (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). Yet, in comparison to structured interviews, this form allows for greater flexibility and facilitation of rapport. Although an adopted form of interviewing takes longer to carry out, gives less control over the situation, and is much harder to analyse, it gives interviewees more freedom to share their experiences, providing richer data for investigation (Smith and Osborne, 2008). Thus, the researcher prepared the interview schedule in advance to have a clear idea of what it may cover, what difficulties and sensitive areas may arise, and how these could be handled. The initial list of topics was developed from the literature, the theoretical framework employed, and the research aims and questions. Then, appropriate questions and their sequence were devised to target the issues under investigation.

The process of devising questions and prompts for this study was iterative rather than linear, with developing and re-drafting the schedule before actual interviews. The first draft was given to

supervisors for comments and approval. Then, it was reviewed by two PhD colleagues who critiqued it on the tone, style and the level of difficulty. Some questions were simplified while others removed completely; clarifying questions were encouraged if more information was needed. Different probes and prompts were thought through for those questions that might appear too general or difficult for participants to answer. ‘Funnelling’ technique (Smith and Osborne, 2008) was used to move the interview from general to more specific issues, encouraging the participants to express their own views before asking them specific details of interest to the researcher.

Prior to actual interviews, the schedule was piloted via Skype with two volunteers. No major corrections were made to the content as a result, but the pilots highlighted the need for modifications. The importance of listening to every response carefully, without interrupting, was absolutely crucial to understand the details of individual experiences and meanings, yet keeping the interview moving forward by building on what was shared. This implied interpreting answers fairly and ‘on the go’, capturing not only direct information but also the larger context. Therefore, the role of the interviewer was to guide rather than dictate how the interview should proceed. It became clear that disclosing the researcher’s ‘Games Maker’ identity greatly helped in building rapport with interviewees. Indeed, they became more relaxed and open to conversation knowing that the researcher is one of them! In addition, the researcher was able to more easily relate to the stories told by the research participants. Given this experience, the process of devising schedules and conducting interviews with managers and follow-up interviews with volunteers was expedited.

Roughly within three months after the London 2012 Games, fourteen volunteers (with the exception of those who were only PVP graduates and Manchester 2002 volunteers) responded to an e-mail (Appendix N) in which the researcher asked about their immediate after-Games impressions. Fourteen months after the Games, these volunteers were contacted for a follow-up interview in order to trace changes in their lives after the Games. Eleven eventually took part in the second round of interviews, and one took time to answer to the interview questions via e-mail.

5.6.3.4. Recruiting and interviewing managers

Albeit restricted by access issues, a purposive sampling technique was used to select those from whom the most insights can be gained (Merriam, 1998; Amis, 2005). Amis (2005), in particular, highlights the importance of ensuring that those interviewed can provide both a meaningful contribution and

different perspectives on events being studied. Therefore, to gain a better understanding about planning and operational details, the aim was to interview managers who took part in both design and delivery of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy, the Games Maker Programme, and the PB Programme.

Six managers took part in the interviews. One manager was a member of the LOCOG HR team in charge of the Selection Events. The researcher met this person when the team arrived in Glasgow in May 2011 to interview prospective Games Makers. This informant was knowledgeable about recruitment, selection and training of Games Makers. Other two LOCOG managers – deputy venue managers – were directly involved in the delivery of the Games Makers Programme ‘on the ground’. The researcher encountered them during her training and volunteering. In the hope to network, the researcher took part in the conference organised in London in September 2013 to discuss the London 2012 Olympic legacy. During her presentation, the researcher met the Chair of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group who was responsible for the design of the strategy and, eventually, became a research interviewee. The PB Chair agreed to be interviewed after she was contacted by the researcher with the invitation to take part in the study. All six interviews were conducted one year after the Games, and took place in person (Westfields in East London, workplaces in Manchester), and one was done over the phone. The tactic of interviewing was the same as that used with volunteers.

5.6.3.5. Audio recording and transcribing interviews

All interviews were audio taped using a digital tape recorder, which enabled the researcher and the interviewee to fully focus on the interview process, such as asking and answering questions, providing listening cues (eye contact, nodding). Tape recording was essential to not miss out on details and nuances that are difficult to capture by handwritten notes alone. Overall, the quality of the recording went well.

Semi-structured interviews are characterised by their intensity and involvement and can last for up to two hours, which results in up to 40 pages of transcriptions per interview (Smith and Osborne, 2008). In this research, interviews with volunteers resulted in 33:22 hours of taped conversations. Interviews with managers took 10:03 hours total. All interviews were transcribed verbatim by a professional transcriptionist hired under a confidentiality agreement. Transcriptions resulted in 763 pages, presenting a rich volume of data for analysis. It was important to have the transcription on the semantic

level, without ‘cleaning up’ the transcripts, because the details can be revealing (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Therefore, the transcriptionist was asked to reproduce all spoken words and sounds, including false starts, hesitations and emotion signs to convey the atmosphere most accurate to the interview. The researcher conducted checks through multiple readings of the transcripts and listening to the audiotapes, the first step in data analysis: the researcher becomes familiar with the data via listening, reading and making observational notes on the margins (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

5.7. Thematic data analysis

Thematic Analysis was applied to the transcribed data generated from these interviews. Thematic Analysis is considered the most flexible method because it can be applied across the entire data or focus in depth on a particular aspect of a phenomenon; can be conducted in a number of different ways; and, therefore, can suit a wide variety of research topics (Braun and Clarke, 2006; 2012). Moreover, it is the most commonly used method that helps answer research questions by means of capturing the complexities of experiences and their meanings to both researcher and the researched (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012). Thematic Analysis sits well within the philosophical approach taken for this study because *sense-making* is a cornerstone of the critical realist approach (Pawson and Tilley, 2004). If identifying patterns of meaning is central, then the major task of the investigator is to deeply engage with the text and interpret at each stage of analysis (Smith and Osborne, 2008).

The analysis involved a combination of deductive and inductive approaches to thematic analysis. On one hand, it is deductive because the overarching themes and the analysis itself are theory-driven. The researcher interpreted based on ideas and constructs derived from sport event management and volunteering literature to render the issues not explicitly articulated by participants. On the other hand, it is inductive in that the researcher coded mainly from the raw material and on the basis of participants’ experiences where their personal stories were the focus. The researcher’s own participant observation and personal experience as SEV and Games Maker also influenced data interpretation. Therefore, both deductive and inductive approaches were in constant interplay in the process of producing this study.

Thematic Analysis follows a number of steps such as generating codes, finding or constructing and reviewing themes, connecting or clustering these themes, and, finally, translating them into a narrative account (Braun and Clarke, 2012). Codes are “*the building blocks of analysis...[that] identify and provide a label for a feature of the data that is potentially relevant to the research question*” (Braun

and Clarke, 2012, p. 61). Codes are usually attached to words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs connected to a specific setting (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This requires from the researcher another thorough, line-by-line reading of transcripts and analysis of what each item means. At first sight, some data extracts seemed very rich whereas others had little or nothing to say in relation to a particular research question. Nonetheless, following the advice of ‘inclusivity’ provided by Braun and Clarke (2012), the researcher coded the entire data set, including potentially promising data. Each created code and sub-code were succinct and corresponded to certain data items. Clear definitions were ascribed to each code to reveal its meaning for the study (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). This allowed the researcher to consistently apply codes across the data set and pull out segments associated with a particular code (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Whereas some codes and sub-codes were informed by the theory, others reflected participants’ language (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). For example, ‘*Motivations*’ became a code with multiple sub-codes, such as ‘*prestige and high profile of the event*’ and ‘*employment opportunities*’ (theory), ‘*helping others*’ and ‘*get a new set of skills and experiences*’ (in participants’ own words) (see Figure 5.3. below). The very process of coding was iterative. Some data extracts were coded several times under different codes or sub-codes. New codes were introduced whereas some were expanded or collapsed to better fit the transcript. This involved ‘revising codes’: some re-coding and new coding of previously coded data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The intention was to generate as many codes as necessary to capture the complexity of various patterns within the data, yet not overload the analysis. Each interview transcript was examined and coded individually prior to making linkages across transcripts.

If codes are individual ‘bricks’ and ‘tiles’, then themes are the ‘walls’ and ‘roof’ of the analysis because a theme or idea usually ties together the extracts told by different people in different settings (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). A theme “*captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and presents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set*” (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Themes for this analysis were pre-defined at the start of the coding, guided by the Omoto and Snyder’s (2002) VPM model. The researcher was looking for similarities, overlaps and differences between various codes that could be clustered around three levels of analysis (personal, organisational and societal – themes), each split by three stages (antecedents, experiences and consequences – sub-themes). For example, the theme ‘Antecedents’ on ‘Personal Level’

comprised such codes as ‘Motivations’, ‘Barriers’ and ‘Expectations’ to volunteer; ‘Demographics’ (see Figure 5.4. below). These codes with corresponding sub-codes were grouped together to address the research question: Who did become engaged, trained and, eventually, volunteer for the Games, and why? Thus, codes were not only placed within the themes, but also situated in the VPM model to capture the meanings and experiences of participants within the dimensions of the framework.

The ultimate aim of the analysis was to tell an analytic narrative informing the reader of interpretations of the data in relation to the scholarly field within which the study is situated. For that to happen, as argued by Braun and Clarke (2012), a balance should be considered between data and analysis, with examples or quotes provided to substantiate arguments, and enough data should be analysed to convince the reader. Therefore, quality checks were undertaken regarding boundaries of the theme (relevance), the data to support the theme (quantity and quality), and data range and diversity within themes (coherence). This made it possible to identify whether the themes worked in relation to the data; whether they were interconnected logically and meaningfully; what concepts cut across themes; and whether sufficient and relative data were used in significant places. Thus, the researcher became engaged in an iterative process of reviewing, summarising, and interpreting large quantities of data into usable information, cross-checking, looking for patterns, and drawing well-supported conclusions that add to the understanding of the phenomenon under study (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011).

The software program N-Vivo 10 was used to assist in filing, organising and managing transcripts, running complex searches in the text, adding memos to documents, coding (nodes within the programme) and creating links between the data. For example, searching for codes in N-Vivo 10 made it possible to return to the original text in ways appropriate for building an argument most efficiently. Given the longitudinal nature of research and over 750 pages of transcripts, this increased the amount of data that can be handled and provided quicker access for coding and retrieving data, making the whole process more efficient rather than “*the chaotic task of photocopying, cutting, highlighting, and filing interviews and coding by hand*” (Bringer, Brackenridge and Johnston, 2004, p. 248). Importantly, pre-post Games interview transcripts were stored in one N-Vivo file for the purpose of ‘simplifying’ the task of managing the data set. Multiple backups and security passwords helped protect data and analysis from loss or theft (Richards and Richards, 1994). The structure of themes, codes and correspondent portions of data are presented in Figures 5.3. and 5.4.

Figure 5.3. Data extract on ‘Motivations’ from the N-Vivo project ‘My thesis’

The screenshot shows the N-Vivo software interface. The left sidebar contains a tree view of nodes, with 'Motivations' selected. The main workspace displays a list of references and their corresponding text excerpts. The references are organized into a table with columns for Name, Sources, References, Created On, Created By, Modified On, and Modified By.

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
1. PERSONAL LEVEL	34	2192	12/3/2013 5:11 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
1.1. ANTECEDENTS PERSONAL LEVEL	28	1084	11/17/2013 11:41 PM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
1.1.1. ANTECEDENTS PERSONAL LEVEL						
A. DEMOGRAPHICS	21	359	11/23/2012 12:44 PM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
B. MOTIVATIONS	18	509	10/27/2012 8:52 AM	G.N.	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
C. BARRIERS	15	143	10/27/2012 8:49 AM	G.N.	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
D. EXPECTATIONS	20	73	10/27/2012 9:01 AM	G.N.	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
1.2. EXPERIENCES PERSONAL LEVEL	30	642	11/17/2013 11:44 PM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
1.3. CONSEQUENCES PERSONAL LEVEL	32	466	12/3/2013 5:12 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
L2012	26	239	12/5/2013 5:18 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
Education related	2	6	11/23/2012 3:55 PM	OLESYA	12/9/2013 5:44 AM	OLESYA
Expectations change	8	10	11/23/2012 11:43 AM	OLESYA	12/11/2013 9:32 AM	OLESYA
Job related	6	16	11/23/2012 3:55 PM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 7:13 AM	OLESYA
Learning, new things, ppl and yourself	9	55	12/7/2013 10:18 PM	OLESYA	12/11/2013 9:52 AM	OLESYA
MANAGERS	4	12	12/12/2013 3:27 AM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 3:27 AM	OLESYA
Job related	2	5	12/12/2013 3:29 AM	OLESYA	12/13/2013 4:13 AM	OLESYA
Managers about volunteers	1	1	12/13/2013 3:26 AM	OLESYA	12/13/2013 3:27 AM	OLESYA
Other benefits	4	6	12/12/2013 3:29 AM	OLESYA	12/14/2013 10:19 PM	OLESYA
Motivations change	8	12	11/23/2012 11:43 AM	OLESYA	12/11/2013 4:26 AM	OLESYA
Other benefits	10	16	12/7/2013 10:51 PM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 7:14 AM	OLESYA
Things to improve, looking back	1	1	12/8/2013 1:30 AM	OLESYA	12/8/2013 1:31 AM	OLESYA
Training	19	81	12/4/2013 3:03 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 10:50 PM	OLESYA
Satisfaction	13	33	12/4/2013 2:18 AM	OLESYA	1/16/2015 1:21 PM	OLESYA
Skills learned	15	32	12/4/2013 2:18 AM	OLESYA	1/16/2015 12:58 PM	OLESYA
Skills not learned or taught	11	16	12/4/2013 2:18 AM	OLESYA	1/16/2015 12:58 PM	OLESYA
Volunteering related	15	30	11/23/2012 3:55 PM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 2:50 AM	OLESYA
L2012 Ambassadors	5	56	12/5/2013 5:19 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
M2002	10	72	12/5/2013 5:21 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
PB	4	29	12/5/2013 5:25 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
PLP	2	70	12/5/2013 5:26 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA

Some scholars expressed concerns that the computer might distance the researcher from the data (Weitzman, 2000), and transform qualitative research into a rigid, automated text analysis that, in fact, requires human interpretation (Kelle, 1995), potentially leading to omissions and misconceptions.

Figure 5.4. Nodes (codes) organised in themes from the N-Vivo project ‘My thesis’

Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On	Modified By
1. PERSONAL LEVEL	34	2192	12/3/2013 5:11 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
1.1. ANTECEDENTS PERSONAL LEVEL	28	1084	11/17/2013 11:41 PM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
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C. BARRIERS	15	143	10/27/2012 8:49 AM	G.N.	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
D. EXPECTATIONS	20	73	10/27/2012 9:01 AM	G.N.	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
1.2. EXPERIENCES PERSONAL LEVEL	30	642	11/17/2013 11:44 PM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
1.3. CONSEQUENCES PERSONAL LEVEL	32	466	12/3/2013 5:12 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
L2012	26	239	12/5/2013 5:18 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
Education related	2	6	11/23/2012 3:55 PM	OLESYA	12/9/2013 5:44 AM	OLESYA
Expectations change	8	10	11/23/2012 11:43 AM	OLESYA	12/11/2013 9:32 AM	OLESYA
Job related	6	16	11/23/2012 3:55 PM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 7:13 AM	OLESYA
Learning, new things, ppl and yourself	9	55	12/7/2013 10:18 PM	OLESYA	12/11/2013 9:52 AM	OLESYA
MANAGERS	4	12	12/12/2013 3:27 AM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 3:27 AM	OLESYA
Job related	2	5	12/12/2013 3:29 AM	OLESYA	12/13/2013 4:13 AM	OLESYA
Managers about volunteers	1	1	12/13/2013 3:26 AM	OLESYA	12/13/2013 3:27 AM	OLESYA
Other benefits	4	6	12/12/2013 3:29 AM	OLESYA	12/14/2013 10:19 PM	OLESYA
Motivations change	8	12	11/23/2012 11:43 AM	OLESYA	12/11/2013 4:26 AM	OLESYA
Other benefits	10	16	12/7/2013 10:51 PM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 7:14 AM	OLESYA
Things to improve, looking back	1	1	12/8/2013 1:30 AM	OLESYA	12/8/2013 1:31 AM	OLESYA
Training	19	81	12/4/2013 3:03 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 10:50 PM	OLESYA
Satisfaction	13	33	12/4/2013 2:18 AM	OLESYA	1/16/2015 1:21 PM	OLESYA
Skills learned	15	32	12/4/2013 2:18 AM	OLESYA	1/16/2015 12:58 PM	OLESYA
Skills not learned or taught	11	16	12/4/2013 2:18 AM	OLESYA	1/16/2015 12:58 PM	OLESYA
Volunteering related	15	30	11/23/2012 3:55 PM	OLESYA	12/12/2013 2:50 AM	OLESYA
L2012 Ambassadors	5	56	12/5/2013 5:19 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
M2002	10	72	12/5/2013 5:21 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
PB	4	29	12/5/2013 5:25 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA
PLP	2	70	12/5/2013 5:26 AM	OLESYA	12/7/2013 2:55 AM	OLESYA

On the other hand, others argued that using the software might enhance rigor and make analysis more systematic (Weitzman, 2000). Although technology can make it easier to conduct such analysis, it will not analyse transcripts for the researcher, nor will it decrease the amount of time needed to read, interpret, conceptualise, examine relationships or document decisions. Hence, N-Vivo 10 was used only as a tool, albeit valuable, to facilitate organisation and management of the data.

5.8. Ethical considerations

Research involving human beings has ethical implications that should not be overlooked (Burns, 2000; Yin, 2014). In order to protect the rights and welfare of participants and conduct the research the most ethical way, it is advisable to become familiar with the ethical guidelines of the researcher's institution and do the research in compliance with all ethical procedures (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Therefore, in order for this research to be undertaken, prior approval was obtained from the Ethics Committee for Non Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects at the College of Social Science, the University of Glasgow (UK). The purpose of the research, the summary of design and methodology of the project, and ethical considerations were explained to the ethics committee. A list of thematic questions, an interview information page and interview consent forms were attached for the review and approval.

The next step was to ensure informed consent from the participants about the nature of the research and the voluntary nature of their participation. Indeed, people have the right to know they are being studied, and they must have the right to refuse to participate (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). Although it is the researcher's responsibility to decide how much and what kind of information to provide, it is suggested to avoid deception and be honest with participants. Moreover, it is imperative to protect their privacy and confidentiality to ensure they are not put into undesirable situations (Bryman, 2008; Yin, 2014). Thus, before each interview, participants of this study were provided with the Plain Language Statement which assured anonymity, privacy and confidentiality, stated the purpose of the research, usage of findings, and other pertinent information (see Appendix C). Also, they were given the Consent Form to express their written informed consent about voluntary participation in the study (see Appendix D). To ensure confidentiality and provide anonymity to research participants, names of interviewees have been changed.

Particularly challenging was the issue of revealing the researcher's role during participant observations. The decision was made to be explicit during informal conversations, yet not to emphasise the role of the researcher elsewhere, such as during the actual performance of a

volunteering role or while observing others in their roles or interactions. It was suspected that complete uncovering would restrict gaining truthful or sufficient information needed for the study but put a barrier between the researcher and the researched, thereby undermining the gathering of data in the natural setting. Therefore, it is argued that this balance allowed for not jeopardising the research while still building rapport with informants and obtaining sufficient data.

Another aspect had to do with having competency for ethical research, which may highly influence the quality of data gathered. This involves the ability to establish credibility with participants, treat them with dignity and respect, state clear, relevant questions, listen, respond and stay adaptive (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003; DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). The role of the researcher is to create a 'safe' environment and guide the process, ensuring that the research issues are covered in required depth, without influencing the views of the participant. Especially important is the ability to be sensitive to contrary evidence and to see what evidence is available or lacking, which is only possible when the interviewer has a firm grasp of the issue being studied (Yin, 2014). Having ethical responsibilities toward interviewees, the researcher was committed to monitor the effect of the interview on the respondent, paying attention to the ways in which questions were answered explicitly or to non-verbal cues that would point to sensitive areas. In these cases, the decision was made to either approach the area more gently, or give up on it altogether. For example, some sensitive areas were related to family issues or economic status of the participants.

5.9. Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter was to explain the choices made by the researcher related to the philosophical underpinnings, the research approach and strategy, the timeline, data collection and data analysis methods. The metaphor of the research '*onion*' by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012) was used to aid in this process.

In order to construct a research design suitable for this study, methodological deficiencies of the published research on mega sport event volunteering were considered and weighed against the research aims, research questions and resources available for this study (time and cost). The decision was made to adopt critical realism as an ontological stance and social constructivism as an epistemological stance to help answer *who*, *why*, *how* and *what* of the Programme under study. Importantly, this Chapter demonstrated how three domains of reality by Bhaskar (1975; 2008) are approached in relation to the VPM model by Omoto and Snyder (2002) and the critical realist

evaluation by Pawson and Tilley (1997), which makes it an original contribution. Particularly, the critical realist evaluation is used to study the Programme's contexts, mechanisms and outcomes and the VPM model to embed the analysis within mega sport event volunteering. Learning about the structures, circumstances and experiences of research participants became possible through interpretations of meanings and perspectives of both volunteers and managers attached to various events. Information was gathered with the help of semi-structured interviews, participant observations, on-line survey responses and various documents. Thematic analysis was used to make sense of the data, and ethical issues encountered by the researcher were addressed. This Chapter also detailed the process of recruiting research participants, which involved challenges and obstacles the researcher had to transcend to complete the study.

The rest of the thesis is devoted to the results of this research. The theoretical framework consistent of the Legacy Cube and the VMP model (Chapters 2-4) will serve as useful tools in addressing research purpose, aims and questions of this study detailed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 6. Pre-Volunteer Initiatives: Manchester 2002 and London 2012

6.1. Introduction

As outlined in the previous Chapter, critical realism does not view programmes in isolation but embedded in a very complex social, economic and political environment. Therefore, it becomes essential to explore the history and tradition of sport event volunteering in the UK. For this research, the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games became the most relevant historical context as volunteer experiences and practices have been used to inform the practices and delivery of the Games Maker Programme. The Pre-Volunteer Programme, in particular, became a blueprint for legacy aspirations of the London 2012 Olympics, which was documented in the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy (see Chapter 2). A key ambition was to involve local communities from socially excluded backgrounds in the Personal Best (BP) course to address unemployment. Sport event volunteering served as a hook to achieve this end. LOCOG aimed to capitalise on this opportunity and recruit 10% of Games Makers from the PB course. This Chapter will analyse personal experiences, management practices and outcomes of both programmes, drawn from interviews with managers, PVP and PB graduates and published reports. This will elicit successes and failures of PVP and PB for comparison in order to understand what London 2012 learned (or not) from Manchester 2002. Attention will be given to the contribution of PB in developing employability and social skills (Individual level in the VPM model), achieving equity and diversity of the Games Maker Programme (Organisational level) and delivering London 2012 legacy promises (Societal level). Manchester Event Volunteers (MEV) will be discussed as a volunteering legacy from Manchester 2002, which serves as a model of good volunteer management, and a resource of potential volunteers for London 2012.

6.2. Manchester 2002 and their Pre-Volunteer Programme

The Manchester Games were held in July-August 2002, and required 15,000 volunteers to support the largest sport event in the UK to that date. The Games were purposefully staged in East Manchester, considered the most disadvantaged area of the city, and ranked 28th among deprived localities nationally (NEMURC, 2001). A long history of industrial decline adversely impacted the area and its residents. From the 1970s it suffered severe economic and social problems, including depletion of population, job scarcity, low educational attainment, high crime rates, poor environment and health, poor family and community relationships. These are clear signs of multiple social exclusion by which many other cities in North West England could be characterised at that time (Jones and Stokes, 2003).

Hence, the area needed substantial regeneration and investments beyond simple revitalisation of physical infrastructure (Smith and Fox, 2007).

Therefore, Manchester City Council was determined to use the hosting of Manchester 2002 to spur regeneration and leave a legacy for local communities, especially those on the margins of society. To achieve this, they incorporated a comprehensive volunteering strategy that would differ substantially from other schemes. In Smith and Fox's (2007) terms, a 'Games-themed' approach was taken to use the brand of the Games to push the boundaries of any previous mega events and target the most disadvantaged and least skilled groups through an innovative Pre-Volunteer Programme. Its participants had to take a course, which led to the first nationally accredited qualification in Event Volunteering. Its successful completion would make graduates eligible for an interview to volunteer at the Games, providing equal access for them to participate in what was considered *inclusive* Games, under the slogan 'Count Yourself In' (Manchester 2002, 2003):

It is unprecedented because it hasn't been done [before] ...there isn't another product that is so closely attached to global events and that can leave a difference to an individual. (Malinda, PVP Chair).

The ultimate goal was to equip the most disadvantaged groups with confidence, job-related and social skills that would enhance their employment opportunities, thereby closely linking social exclusion with an employability agenda (for more information, see Levitas, 2005). This was perhaps a reflection of high unemployment rates in East Manchester (Jones and Stokes, 2003).

6.2.1. PVP planning and recruitment

Despite the concentration of the Games in East Manchester, PVP was expanded geographically to 16 areas in the North West as part of the larger 2002 North West Economic and Social Single Regeneration Budget Programme, the first in the UK legacy programme linked to mega sport events (Gratton, Shibli and Coleman, 2005). The scheme was funded through the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Challenge Fund, which was integral to its viability. The condition of funding was to target long-term unemployed individuals in the most disadvantaged areas who had not achieved any qualification to help them with improving skills, attaining education and personal development. This coincided with PVP aims to reach those furthest from the labour market: unemployed, black and ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, and youths. Other sources of funding included the Further

Education Funding Council (later the Learning and Skills Council), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the private sector (Manchester 2002, 2002a; 2002b; 2003).

The PVP programme was piloted in Spring 2000, and ran till March 2003 in four stages (Manchester 2002, 2002a; 2003): engagement of people living in disadvantaged areas; their recruitment to the accredited training programme; engagement of PVP graduates to become Games-time volunteers; and further provision of support in seeking employment or education opportunities. The aim was to recruit 3,000 individuals across pre-determined areas. As discussed, having strong partnerships and the commitment of various sectors of society is considered vital for successful delivery of mega sport events and ensuring a sustainable legacy (Jones and Stokes, 2003; Warrior, 2007; Leopkey and Parent, 2012; Coakley and Souza, 2013). Thus, the PVP strategy and operations were directed by a central steering group, which was established in May 1999 and included Manchester City Council, the Manchester 2002 Games Organising Committee (Manchester 2002 Ltd.) and many colleges, employment, volunteering and sport groups in the region. The programme utilised a project manager, guidance officers and further education liaison officers. Similarly, the regions established local steering groups with representatives from various sectors of society, appointed administrative groups and started courses (Manchester 2002, 2003). The programme had visibility, being located where participants lived, and served their needs so that they did not feel excluded from the event benefits. The scheme aimed to reach out to people without making them search for their place. Thus, the Games were used to build on and utilise the existing resources of the area (Smith and Fox, 2007).

The programme designated a project manager who was initially based within Manchester 2002 Ltd., which showed strong commitment on both sides and made coordination of the programme easier in the early stages. Organisationally and operationally, PVP was built into the Games-time Volunteer Programme with an aspiration to increase equality of opportunity and diversity of individuals who applied:

The organising committee's commitment [was] that 10% of the volunteers will come through this [PVP] programme...the whole idea is...about encouraging every individual in our society to have their chance of demonstrating their civic and national pride. (Malinda, PVP Chair)

At the planning stage, the target was to have 1,500 PVP graduates as Manchester 2002 volunteers. Various means of engagement were planned to spread awareness. To make the programme inclusive,

leaflets were produced in eight languages. They were sent to potential participants and also displayed in public venues such as libraries and doctors' surgeries. On-line resources were used to enable volunteers to sign up. Local areas were encouraged to generate their own publicity materials and means of engagement through outreach workers who would cooperate through local community groups (Manchester 2002, 2003; Warrior 2007). Special arrangements were made between Job Centre Plus and Manchester 2002 Ltd. to ensure that those on job seekers allowance could participate:

My benefits won't be affected because the Job Centre will see it as you're updating your skills... because it was run at night, it wasn't affecting my job search in the day time...they counted it towards job searching. (Ken, PVP graduate, unemployed)

6.2.2. PVP support and training

Given the nature of the participants, training was free of charge, and travel expenses were reimbursed. As noted in Warrior (2007), informal and flexible support was developed to meet the needs of people who might be intimidated by formal courses. Venues were user-friendly local centres; seldom were they educational establishments:

If you're an adult and you were not happy about a classroom environment, and that's what switched you off from learning...you fall out of education...By taking them into a very relaxed learning environment...you actually help them break down the barriers. (Malinda, PVP Chair)

PVP training and certification were designed to be a strong incentive to join. The course aimed at helping people gain skills in event volunteering and sports development (Manchester 2002, 2002a). The educational content was standardised to three different modules: Background of the Leisure Industry, Introduction to First Aid, and Health and Safety (Manchester 2002, 2003). It consisted of three stages. Stage 1 was moderated by the Greater Manchester Open Colleges Network and consisted of 30 hours leading to basic Level 1 National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) in Event Volunteering award. Stage 2 consisted of 60 hours leading to BTEC Level 2 Award in Stewarding at Spectator Events. The course included career development and units of study such as security, venue safety, stewarding, and crowd control. Stage 3 offered volunteers a range of courses to progress toward mainstream education and qualifications relating to Games skills, regional needs and post-Games employability e.g. NVQ in customer care, sport, recreation and related occupations (Warrior, 2007).

Thus, all three stages provided participants with transferable skills useful in different spheres during and beyond the Games. At the end of the course, each participant had to submit a portfolio with written assignments, which were assessed by tutors. The course was very short, up to 12 weeks. Participants were supported by guidance officers through one-to-one conversations about personal progress, and encouraged through e-mail group communication to volunteering at local events before the start of the Games. This aimed at promoting inter-group involvement and giving a sense of purpose, thereby helping develop portfolios of volunteering (Jones and Stokes, 2003).

Throughout the programme, participants who showed outstanding accomplishments were featured in local media. At least several graduation ceremonies took place where all who passed the course were formally presented with a Commonwealth Games certificate of completion, a t-shirt, cap, pin badge and car sticker. A formal certificate from the awarding body came later in the post (Manchester 2002, 2003). Yet, research discovered that not all graduates took part or even were aware of the graduation.

6.2.3. PVP outcomes and challenges

According to published reports, the programme was successful in meeting its objectives on schedule for engagement and providing an opportunity to take part at the Games (Manchester 2002, 2002a; 2003). The scheme even received international recognition from the United Nations for making a significant contribution to volunteering and referring to PVP graduates as the true engine of society, the backbone of the sport movements across the world. As statistics show, by March 2003 the programme exceeded most of its targets (Manchester 2002, 2003, pp. 9-11):

- 5,982 people engaged in PVP, vs. a target of 3,000
- 2,134 people have achieved NVQ, vs. a target of 1,000
- Over 20% of these were of ethnic minorities, vs. a target of 10%
- 5% were people with disabilities
- 160 people obtained employment through PVP, vs. a target of 250
- A total of 862 served at the Games, vs. a revised target of 735 (10% of Games volunteers)

Despite reported successful outcomes, evidence from academic literature as well as from this study suggests missed opportunities to enhance sustainability of PVP. It proved challenging to ensure that the maximum number was recruited, stayed on course and proceeded to the Games. Interviews with

both a PVP manager and volunteers uncovered underlying reasons for seemingly successful outcomes. Benefits were reported, yet varied depending on motives, age and demographics of participants. Since the programme was devised in close connection to the Games, it seems sensible to evaluate outcomes against the Games timeline: before, during, and after the Games.

6.2.3.1. Before the Games

It should be noted that all PVP graduates interviewed for this research stressed their strong desire to engage in the PVP course to volunteer at the Games. Other motives were connected to their age and socio-economic status. Thus, the desire of retired interviewees was mainly to enhance their lifestyle:

You don't want to get old and be old, you want to keep active and we thought it would help us meet people, if we could be of assistance to someone. (Liam, PVP graduate, retired).

The training sessions were free and conveniently based in Manchester, their place of residence, which was another incentive to take part. On the contrary, younger and unemployed participants joined to increase their employability and life skills, and gain a more positive outlook on life:

My first goal was to get into the Commonwealth Games...The second one was to get employment... paid, either permanent or at least temporary. (Ken, PVP graduate)

Given different motives, training expectations and learning outcomes were not the same for everyone. Having a positive experience seemed to enhance levels of satisfaction with the course and maintain interest in the programme, whereas dissatisfied volunteers dropped out. Thus, retired interviewees had quite an enjoyable experience: good team spirit, friendly and helpful tutors and other participants. Yet, they admitted that apart from purely Games-related skills they did not learn anything new:

If we were at the younger end, it would have been beneficial to us...I think a lot of it [training] is common sense...but if you didn't pass, you couldn't volunteer for the Games. (Rae, PVP graduate, retired)

It should be noted that retired graduates interviewed for this study both had some level of prior education (secondary school and a professional degree), which questions their eligibility:

We did have pensioners involved, but not many. They bring enormous value to the programme because they have life skills...maybe they never achieved any qualifications at school so they would meet the criteria. (Malinda, PVP Chair)

It can be assumed that either the selection process was informal, without entry requirements, as mentioned by Warrior (2007), or at the initial stages they accepted all those interested, contradicting stated eligibility requirements.

For those concerned, the PVP course seemed to help boost employability skills. In accord with other published research (e.g. Jones and Stokes, 2003), one interviewee reported increased self-worth and a sense of achievement, as well as confidence:

The certificate that we got after PVP training actually proved...that you could start something and finish it... It helped me with my confidence being a bit low...I hadn't been able to get any work...But once I'd done the course...I see the outcome of it so that lifted me up...It certainly made my life easier with looking for work. (Ken, PVP graduate)

However, despite reported positive outcomes, evidence shows that keeping motivation high was challenging and the attrition rates were disappointing. The reasons can be attributed to difficulties in programme delivery such as ineffective recruitment and using different procedures in different areas across the North West. In Manchester it seemed to be well advertised, whereas in other areas advertisement was by word of mouth. Presumably, despite the fact that the recruitment targets were almost doubled, the campaign did not reach its potential of widening access of the most hard to reach groups. Some courses were cancelled or merged due to a shortage of participants. One example shows that by early April 2001 out of 153 applicants only 79 started the course, and 49 graduated (Jones and Stokes, 2003). It was the coordinators' role to ensure an enjoyable experience. The challenge, though, was to provide meaningful support through developing a certain level of empathy with participants, getting to know them well enough to make training match their capabilities and interests. Thus, interviewed volunteers had the impression that some of their class-mates dropped out because of the lack of inter- and intra-group membership, and mismatch between their expectations and the course content. Having a long-term (18 months) rolling programme that recruited new participants every three or four weeks allowed people to enter and re-enter at any time, which added flexibility, but made it difficult to track and retain trainees.

Group composition might have also contributed to attrition rates. Participants tended to be from disadvantaged backgrounds, but differed in age, gender, ethnicity, disability, and nationality. Some

had difficulties with written and spoken English. These factors might have prevented PVP participants from bonding with the group:

You tended to find that the older ones stayed and the younger ones dropped out...You could tell that they didn't want to be there...with one group there was only one young person. (Ken, PVP graduate)

However, having diversity in the course was stressed by organisers as an important factor in achieving positive learning outcomes and enhancing the overall experience in which older participants become mentors for younger ones, and people from different backgrounds learn from each other:

It is powerful. These people...bond extraordinarily...and that's how it begins to change. (Malinda, PVP Chair)

Possibly, if this combination had been attained as planned and adequate support provided, the quality of the experience would have been better with fewer drop-outs. As evidenced elsewhere (e.g. Jones and Stokes, 2003; Warrior, 2007), organisers tended to raise motivation levels by giving participants an opportunity to use the Commonwealth Games facilities and even informally provided swimming and other courses. This was supposed to give volunteers a sense of belonging to the place, which was considered accessible solely by high profile athletes. Attending venues was also an important part of training and aimed at better learning outcomes and commitment to the course:

The fastest way of making adults understand is got to be practical, hands-on learning. So today they're learning about health and safety and tomorrow we...take them through the Velodrome...so it becomes real to them. (Malinda, PVP Chair)

However, evidence shows that not all PVP participants were given this opportunity, which diminished the richness of their experiences:

A tutor was...a very experienced health and safety person, he'd worked on many events so he'd got lots of photos which he put up onto the wall, and we had to pick out what was hazardous. (Ken, PVP graduate)

6.2.3.2. Progression to and during the Games

Over 1,000 interviews with PVP graduates for Games-time roles took place in between November and December 2001 (Manchester 2002, 2003). The majority of these interviews were conducted by the PVP staff in coordination with the Games-time Volunteer team. Successful candidates took up Games-time roles and were supported throughout the Games. To minimise attrition rates and provide guidance to those experiencing difficulties, one-to-one assistance was provided, including a hotline. Volunteers with special needs and disabilities worked limited hours, and those residing outside Manchester were given accommodation and reimbursed travel expenses. Everyone was given meal vouchers, and childcare was also available. A number of tickets for events were allocated for those from disadvantaged communities, including PVP graduates, but timing and logistics prevented their full use (Manchester 2002, 2003).

Statistics show that the PVP programme achieved and even exceeded (by 1.7%) its goal of engaging 10% (735) in Games-time roles (862) (Manchester 2002, 2003, pp. 9-11). It can be argued that this became possible as the actual number of volunteers needed for the Games decreased by nearly half; hence, the initial target of 1,500 PVP participants as Games-time volunteers also reduced to 735. Yet, a closer look suggests that out of a total of 2,134 PVP graduates with earned qualifications, only 694 had a role at the Games. Of these, 92 got a paid role with a contractor and 602 had volunteering roles, which still exceeds the initial projection by 15%. The remaining 168 of the total 862 involved in the Games were still on PVP during the Games. But it is not clear from the report how many of them had volunteering or paid roles at the Games, or whether they eventually graduated from PVP after the Games. This analysis suggests that although passing the course was supposed to guarantee an interview, in practice this was the case for only a fraction of PVP participants.

Indeed, having a mixture of those with the qualification and those referred directly from the PVP engagement was initially built into the programme by having the target of 1,500 Games-time volunteers versus the target of 1,000 obtaining the qualification. Although the revised target of 735 increased the potential of having all 10% Games-time volunteers with the qualification, it did not change the outcome. At the same time, the chances to volunteer at the Games for those 168 without qualification increased. But once admitted to the mainstream Volunteer Programme, incentives to graduate from PVP could decrease, especially if the major motivation to join PVP was to volunteer at the Games. Hence, it is clear that having the qualification in Event Volunteering as a progression stage

toward Games-time volunteering was compromised in favour of enlarging the pool of Games-time volunteers from excluded backgrounds.

On the other hand, based on statistics provided by Jones and Stokes (2003) on East Manchester PVP graduates, not all who graduated and wished to become volunteers were successful. Of 165 graduates, 145 applied and only 65 were accepted. The question, then, is whether the numbers of those who graduated on time for the Games and those accepted for Games-time roles could have been improved. One of the reasons was the time constraint the Games put on the programme. It had to begin far ahead if the PVP participants were to pass the course and get their qualification in time for the Games application (by December 2000) and a subsequent interview (by the end of 2001). Although first recruits started the PVP course more than 2.5 years before the Games, not all were able to complete the course on time. Yet, those who managed to meet deadlines might have failed to become a volunteer due to other reasons such as lost interest or gaining paid employment. Although completing the course aimed at personal development, some still might have not overcome their deficits, especially in view of having to compete for Games-time roles with well-educated professionals. Having criminal records, as suggested by Warrior (2007), might have also prevented potential volunteers from fulfilling requirements and passing security checks. Though Manchester 2002 Ltd. did not have an explicit policy on that issue, no 'Positive Action Scheme' was in place that would ignore some criminal convictions (Jones and Stokes, 2003). However, that would discriminate against mainstream applicants.

This reflects unrealistic expectations of organisers in terms of what PVP could deliver. They clearly failed to communicate these issues and find a viable solution among the stakeholders. Apart from that, the physical separation of the PVP team from the Games-time volunteer team at the delivery stage and unconnected, often incompatible databases contributed to communication problems such as lost paperwork, and inappropriate assignments. This is contrary to the philosophy to give PVP graduates a quality experience. Nonetheless, having as many PVP graduates help with the Games as they did could still be regarded as a significant achievement.

6.2.3.3. After the Games

Evidence from those PVP graduates who became Manchester 2002 volunteers suggests that the volunteering legacy is mixed: retirees did not begin to volunteer more, whereas unemployed participants became regular sport event volunteers:

During the Games I proved to myself I've got the stamina to do long days again. My confidence was high because of the feedback...I wanted to do more. (Ken, PVP graduate)

Following the Games, he was able to secure a job and later set up his own event management company in Manchester, thereby changing his career from 20 years in retailing:

After [the Games] I got a job...in less than 2 weeks!...I was still buzzing from the success of the Games...I came with a positive attitude, I think that helped me a lot more. (Ken, PVP graduate)

Although undoubtedly positive, this case might not be representative of all PVP graduates. Indeed, the programme did not meet its target numbers of employment, but only 2.7% of the total number engaged, and 7.5% of graduates (Manchester 2002, 2003, pp. 9-11). The projected outcome was not achieved despite having commitments from the private sector to provide PVP graduates guidance and support. In this case, it is questionable whether the 'employability' programme can be considered successful. Yet, the successes can be viewed optimistically in the context of areas and individuals involved.

As evidenced by this research, reported low employability numbers can be attributed to the fact that PVP graduates had much broader motives than just employability. Some were not looking for employment in the first place. Others started further education, which is positive, but cannot be considered as employment (Manchester 2002, 2003). However, some volunteers managed to combine both education and employment:

It all goes back to the pre-volunteer programme. That's the lynchpin. The thing that made me start. Because I had a positive experience, it's had a snowball effect and it was the key to starting me off on this education journey. (Ken, PVP graduate)

Difficulties in achieving employment targets can be attributed to problems with gathering evidence from employers and PVP graduates as well as a delay in obtaining employment information by guidance officers while instead, recruiting volunteers to achieve Games-time targets (Manchester 2002, 2003). It can be suggested that there was confusion with regard to the PVP purpose, either training, employment, volunteering in general or volunteering for the Games. Hence, it was difficult

to communicate this focus to staff and participants, which might have contributed to disappointing outcomes.

6.2.4. Post-Manchester 2002 volunteer initiatives

Despite operational challenges and comparatively small numbers, PVP is considered successful in making a difference in lives, which might have not otherwise happened. Based on this success, the programme received additional funds and was expanded to 23 areas. In January 2003, the Post-Games Volunteering Programme (PGVP) was established for a 12-month period within the Manchester City Council's Games Legacy Team (Manchester 2002, 2003). The aim was to continue the PVP model of targeting disadvantaged groups and helping them gain employment, as well as encouraging continued sport event volunteering.

By the end of the Commonwealth Games we had a celebration event for all the volunteers in the town hall where it was announced that they were hoping to keep the momentum [of enthusiasm and commitment] going with other sporting events. (Hazel, Manchester 2002 volunteer, MEV member & Games Maker)

Volunteers were given 18 months after the Games to sign up to be on the database. In August 2005, the PGVP was rebranded to the Manchester Event Volunteers (MEV) to reflect its Manchester focus. Since then, as funding came from Manchester, only those who lived in the city were eligible (Nichols and Ralston, 2012), which restricted the extent of the outreach. Nonetheless, it is argued that MEV played an important role in developing the sport event volunteering infrastructure in the UK:

The major thing the Games did for Manchester is...the opportunity for organizations who had seen what the volunteer force had done at the Games, to ask for help with a variety of things...that's the biggest legacy that the Commonwealth Games left. (Daniel, Manchester 2002 volunteer, MEV member & Games Maker)

Deemed the longest running organisation of its type, MEV directs volunteers toward over 150 events annually, with over 1,000 events since 2002 (Nichols and Ralston, 2011). Having more than 1,500 active members, MEV helps successfully deliver these events:

They [volunteers] got the expertise; they're a trained pool of individuals...therefore you can actually take it [the scheme] from a global event, bring it all the way down to regional and national events (Malinda, PVP Chair).

As a volunteer broker organisation, MEV developed procedures that fully protect and support volunteers including insurance coverage, health and safety procedures, reimbursement of expenses, food, and uniforms (Nichols and Ralston, 2011). Volunteers' needs and interests are taken into account by giving them freedom to choose when to volunteer and how often:

I'm not committed to [volunteering] every week...because my work is all hours....But with MEV and sports events, you're able to pick them...and say 'I can do this one', so I enjoy that flexibility. (Bill, MEV member & Olympic Ambassador)

MEV has an excellent recognition scheme, which keeps motivation high and contributes to longevity, giving its members a sense of status as MEV volunteers and citizens of Manchester:

They've got bronze, silver, gold, platinum and extra. Bronze is 50 hours, silver is 100, gold is 200 and platinum is 400 and the plus is over that...Every so often they get...volunteers together...when the Lord Mayor does a presentation of certificates and pin badges. (Ken, Manchester 2002 volunteer, MEV member & Games Maker).

Till today, MEV continues the PVP tradition of developing volunteers by offering basic induction and further training leading to a nationally recognised qualification in Event Management. Likewise, people out of work are helped to gain confidence and encouragement to seek jobs. They are provided with job opportunities, advice on writing a CV and preparing for interviews. The course is free; the benefits are significant. Others for whom employment is irrelevant can still upgrade their skills to retain a sense of purpose and engage in more volunteering. Hence, MEV meets the needs of a wide range of people. As Nichols and Ralston (2011, p. 17) mention, 41% of MEV volunteers are over 60 and retired, 35% are employed or self-employed, 10% unemployed. As evidenced from this research, MEV gives activities to look forward to and networks for long-term connections. In fact, some volunteer for different events together in camaraderie since Manchester 2002, a starting point in their volunteering 'career'. Importantly, they continued their tradition to volunteer for mega events, and became involved in London 2012 as either Games Makers or Olympic Ambassadors.

6.3. London 2012 Personal Best Programme

One of the central aims of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006) was to capitalise on the Manchester model. Inspired by its success, the commitment was to launch a similar programme in London five years prior to the Games. Particularly, the ambition was

to regenerate East London, a deprived area marked by multi-cultural diversity, high unemployment and low skills compared to national average (Experian report, 2006; SQW, 2011). PVP was rebranded the ‘Personal Best’ programme (PB) to emphasise it as a *mechanism* that helps individuals at risk of social exclusion raise their aspirations and achieve their potential. The former head of PVP took the reins for its design and delivery, which allowed for continuity of the key principles ingrained in the programme, although on a grander scale. Originally it was piloted in host London boroughs in early 2007 (PB London programme). Then, it was gradually rolled out across nine regions in England (PB National programme), including the North West, and also piloted in Scotland in preparation for the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (Bashir, 2012):

We demonstrated a track record across...Manchester, London and Glasgow...that there's a genuine desire...to use this product to touch the social and economic legacy and raise the bar.
(Malinda, PVP/ PB Chair).

It was offered through 50 providers, including local colleges and private training institutions (SQW, 2011), which had implications for programme delivery. For example, as will be evident from the analysis below, PB North West had quite different performance indicators from PB London.

6.3.1. PB planning and recruitment

Similar to PVP, PB was developed and funded within a multi-agency partnership including SkillsActive, London 2012 Organising Committee (LOCOG), national government and its agencies, regional and local governments (SkillsActive, 2010). Substantial funding came from London Development Authority (LDA) and the European Social Fund (ESF) to cover PB's total cost of £4.05m for the period 2007-2010 (SQW, 2011). In view of LDA's priorities and condition of ESF funding, PB aimed at addressing chronic long-term unemployment and low skills in the region through training and support with progression to the labour market. The aim was to maximise employment opportunities presented by London 2012 for workless populations, thereby supporting the traditional view of social exclusion as an employability problem. The mega event was used to inspire a new generation of volunteers, considering it a ‘stepping stone’ toward paid employment (SQW, 2011).

Like PVP, it was planned to recruit 10% of 70,000 London 2012 volunteers (Games Makers) from PB graduates to be part of the best qualified workforce ever helping with a mega sport event (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). Out of projected 20,000 PB recruits (SQW, 2011), the target was to have at

least 7,000 or more complete the course with Level 1 NVQ in Event Volunteering (Personal Best) to be eligible for an interview for Games-time roles. Inspired by London 2012, PB was viewed as its tangible legacy that would justify public funding:

[Out of] potentially the £9 billion that's been spent on the London Games...this programme...which still is a drop in the ocean...is a very clear demonstration...it can make a difference. (Malinda, PVP/PB Chair)

To take part in the programme, a person must have been long-term unemployed, not have a level 2 qualification or above, a resident of London (or a region where the programme was running), be eligible to work in the UK, and not be in education or training at the time of the programme's initiation (Bashir, 2012). Exceptions were made in the regions, for example North West, where PB became accessible even for those with Level 2 qualification, provided they had been unable to use it due to disability or long-term unemployment. The aim was to keep the programme free, which was sensible given the nature of the participants: unemployed and economically inactive, from black, Asian and minority ethnic groups, people with disabilities, ex-offenders, refugees, lone parents, low income households, and the homeless. For example, one interviewee was qualified for taking the PB North West course based on her residency in Manchester, unemployed status and long-term health problems:

Personal Best is funded so you don't have to pay for it...You don't get money out of it, but you get...dinners and bus fares...you get certification...I enjoy doing it. (Inga, PB North West graduate, unemployed)

Big organisations committed to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) showed an interest in the programme. Ford Dagenham, for example, agreed to set up a free Assessment Centre in East London in order to give PB graduates an opportunity to go through a mock job interview and provide feedback. KPMG provided a consultant to help with business planning. Microsoft IT and learning centres across the UK became accessible to those who wished to improve their computer skills. British Telecommunications staff provided one-to-one support to PB graduates in filling out an on-line application for Games-time volunteering to ensure meeting the initial selection criteria:

It was all CSR so there's no cost to the programme, but that was the level of commitment and it happened in very different guises. (Malinda, PVP Chair)

The recruitment campaign was planned to be part of a wider London 2012 Human Resources strategy and was based on the principle of ‘differentiation’, including marketing directed at under-represented groups (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). To ensure that the scheme was relevant to local needs, support of local authorities, volunteer centres, colleges and community centres was solicited. In the North West, in particular, PB was offered through Sport4Life, a not-for-profit community enterprise based in Eccles, UK (SkillsActive, 2010). They were working in partnership with local volunteer organisations such as MEV and Manchester Sports Volunteers Bureau (MSVB) to raise awareness about the course locally.

Similar to PVP, participation was promoted through free certification, which was used as a reward in hopes of increasing participation (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). Also, a guaranteed interview for a Games-time volunteering role was envisioned as a significant incentive:

It's a gold dust opportunity...being part of something that's bigger than you... working in an environment...outside the normal routing that...allows you to step outside your comfort zone.
(Malinda, PVP/PB Chair)

6.3.2. PB support and training

Based on the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006), the training was set to be delivered through partnership with existing education providers. It was hoped to use the incentive of the Games to open opportunities for qualifications, further development and investment in community sectors to support marginalised groups. Importantly, being tied to the Games, the aim of training was also to equip volunteers with skills needed for successful fulfillment of their Games-time roles.

To provide maximum support, the employer-led CSR mentoring programme was planned to give participants personalised assistance in skills and competency assessments, including literacy and numeracy. Based on this information, an individual learning plan was devised with milestones for progress. Each PB graduate was supposed to receive a Volunteer Passport listing the training and qualifications they have achieved as well as a record of their volunteering in the lead up to London 2012 to be used for job applications (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). Thus, based on evidence from PB North West, each participant was given a personal advisor. Focussing on individuals' needs and capabilities, they helped participants achieve their best, ensure the completion of training and

support future progress. With the help of approachable staff and an overall friendly atmosphere, participants were not stereotyped, but encouraged to overcome barriers (Sport4Life, n.d.).

The PB course included 120 guided learning hours leading to a Level 1 NVQ in Event Volunteering (Personal Best). The first part of the course was class-based accredited learning (SkillsActive, 2010; SQW, 2011). Nine units of the programme comprised of: Becoming a volunteer; Volunteering and the Olympics; Developing effective customer relations; Emergency and basic fire awareness; Public safety; Equality and diversity; Conflict resolution in a public environment; Developing team and interpersonal skills; Preparing for and reflecting on a volunteer placement (Bashir, 2012). The Olympics element was specifically designed to cover the history of the Olympic and Paralympic movement. Although the core elements of this training menu were devised for both PB and Games-time volunteering, additional support was aimed at PB individuals without qualifications to boost their skills for life such as personal and social development, IT, languages, CV writing, and interview skills (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). The requirement was to complete the class-based part of the course within 6 weeks. Graduates were expected to become role models for new candidates, and were encouraged to assist others:

I was helping...how to do [Word processing], showing them what to do and we were working...as a group. (Inga, PB graduate)

Group tasks were intended to develop team building and communication skills. At the end of each unit, participants were assessed, marked, and became part of the individual portfolio. The interviewee's reflections suggest that participants were provided with opportunities to enhance various skills:

The health and safety part, and the fire safety part, I wouldn't have learned that if I hadn't have done it [a PB course] ...you learn more about the sport...it was all a bit new to me, but I managed to do it... I really enjoyed it...I did learn a lot off it... I've got a lot more confidence now...it has helped me to focus on what I want to do [volunteering]. (Inga, PB graduate)

The other part of the PB course included volunteering at events, and aimed to contextualise learning to everyday life and the workplace (SkillsActive, 2010). As noted in the Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006), volunteer placements were supposed to be in local communities and aligned to various sport and cultural events leading up to the Games. In North West, Sport4Life

was in touch with MSVB to arrange and direct volunteering opportunities. Eventually, successful completion led to Level 1 qualification. Participants could progress to the next stage leading to BTEC Level 2 Award in Stewarding at Spectator Events:

The Games has given [graduates] their first piece of paper that is a qualification. That is a commodity that no-one can take away from them. (Malinda, PVP/PB Chair)

Upon successful completion, PB graduates were invited to a graduation ceremony to recognise their hard work as well as keep the programme in the spotlight:

The value of that [recognition] for these individuals is phenomenal because it actually brings hope to them, and to me...those case studies are...true testament to a global event...The Games disappear and what's left behind for the individuals? Physical infrastructure? For the elite few? (Malinda, PVP/PB Chair)

PB North West held two graduation ceremonies, both with representatives from Manchester City Council, Sports4Life and MSVB (Sport4Life, n.d.). Testimony from graduates shows their profound satisfaction with their achievement:

It was a dinner presentation...I got the certificate from Jonathon Edwards...an athlete... and a photograph with him...I was the only one from Trafford College there...and Gemma [mentor] went on stage with me...I really enjoyed it! (Inga, PB graduate)

Although she was late to apply for a Games Maker Programme, a Level 1 award qualified her for an interview for Olympic Ambassador in Manchester, which she successfully passed. She was positive about her experience with the Games:

The Olympic Games were good in Manchester and I loved them at home...Also I did the touch relay... I thought it was going to be good but it was even better than I expected! Met good friends...and the visitors who I helped while there (Inga, PB graduate).

6.3.3. PB outcomes and challenges

Statistics below are based on PB London and PB North West performance indicators. As of January 2012, PB London delivered and even exceeded some targets, particularly in numbers engaged and completing the course (SQW, 2011, pp. 57-58; Bashir, 2012):

- 21,000 individuals engaged vs. the target 20,000
- 7,000 registered for the training courses
- 41% of registered participants were female, 7% disabled
- 4,380 participants completed their training, vs. the target 4,000
- Of 4,380 graduates, 1,300 (30%) began employment
- Over 800 applied for London 2012 Games volunteering

Performance indicators of chief concern are employability and Games-time volunteering. However, the statistics above do not show how many were successful in securing Games-time roles, suggesting that the outcome is lower than projected. In fact, even if all 800 applications were successful, which is doubtful, this would only make 11% of the original target. Also, it is not clear whether any targets were set for each region. Given that the programme was larger in London, regional numbers can be anticipated proportionally lower. Indeed, as of March 2012 Sport4Life provided the following statistics (Sport4Life, n.d.):

- 477 individuals engaged in the BP North West
- 51% were 16-24 year olds not in employment, education or training; 77% unemployed for more than a year, and 52% for more than three years; 41% had disability, 20% were offenders
- 348 (73%) graduated with the Level 1 Award
- Of 348 graduates, 29% (104) successfully gained an employment, 30% (108) progressed to further education and 21% continued to volunteer
- 106 first year PB participants applied to volunteer for London 2012, of whom 36 were selected for interviews, 26 were offered Games Maker roles, and 16 accepted

It is difficult to evaluate the success of PB North West without knowing the targets, though the programme has been acclaimed as one of the most successful nationally, receiving the Gold Medal Award from Podium (SkillsActive, 2012). While comparatively small in numbers, it gives an indication of some success in supplying Games-time volunteers from disadvantaged backgrounds. All who accepted volunteer roles in London were in need of financial support (roughly £2,500 per each person), which was funded by Sport4Life, SkillsActive, and other partners. Virgin Trains provided

complimentary First Class travel to London. Out of 26 who applied, 5 PB graduates became Olympic Ambassadors in Manchester and did not require financial support (Sport4Life, n.d.).

As stated in the Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006), the final figure of those who came through PB depended on the numbers of people going through PB and their interest to become Games Makers. However, an interest did not automatically qualify PB graduates for a role, as they needed to go through the standard procedure:

They had to pass everything to be guaranteed an interview for a role, but...they weren't guaranteed...roles and it was always kept from people in recruitment...who was Personal Best and who wasn't so there was no possibility of discrimination. (Andy, LOCOG Manager).

Statistics (or the lack thereof) on the achievement of the 10% target are further supported by evidence from this study. The Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006) stressed that to ensure long-term sustainability of the programme, further funding from government on all levels and the private sector was needed, which proved to be a challenge. As confirmed by the PB graduate, some courses at Trafford College in Manchester stopped because of the issues with funding, which made some to quit or go to a different college.

Funding was the major reason it didn't expand the way we envisioned...it worked pretty well in London, but not very well in other parts of the country where funding dried up in the end... I don't believe that our aspiration to get 10% of the workforce... through the Personal Best was reached. (Rick, Chair of London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group)

The support given to PB North West graduates during and after the course appeared to be insufficient to keep participants committed, which does not seem to align with the Award Sport4Life received for the quality of services provided to graduates (Sport4Life, n.d.). Apparently, PB faced the same challenges as Manchester PVP outlined earlier. Dropouts were commonplace. As reported by the interviewee, only three out of eight classmates in her group completed the course. Issues with inter- and intra-group attachment prevailed as well. Some had mental health issues; lack of Internet access was also reported as a barrier (SQW, 2011).

In addition, organisational and political arrangements contributed to PB outcomes. Initially, it was planned as an integral part of the overall London 2012 Volunteering Strategy and responsibility of

LOCOG. However, the programme was taken away and set up separately within LDA and under the responsibility of the Mayor of London. This made it difficult to work in sync with the Games Maker Programme, suggesting PB did not adequately deal with similar challenges encountered by PVP. Although later PB management was placed back under LOCOG, this did not improve the situation:

I always supported the notion that LOCOG and the LDA should have overall responsibility for legacy, rather than it being split up. (Rick, Chair of London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group)

In reality it was not possible because of divergent goals these two organisations had:

LOCOG is very much about putting on the sporting spectacle...For the Mayor's office, it was very much around how we could make a difference to individuals and address the worklessness agenda, lifting skills and capabilities...it's a much bigger picture than just delivering the Games. (Malinda, PVP/PB Chair)

Like in Manchester, the Games Maker Programme had a very strict timeline, which made it difficult to provide 10% graduates for the Games. Indeed, it was reported that missing the deadline for submission was a common obstacle faced by PB participants across London (SQW, 2011). Although PB started five years prior to the Games, not all PB volunteers had a chance to complete the course in time to apply, which repeats the experiences of PVP graduates:

Unfortunately two years before the Games, the application window...closed for the Volunteer Programme, so we missed that huge opportunity...In Manchester the window was left open longer...but in London they couldn't do that because there is so much that's automated... you can't do it [manually] ...with the scale of...250,000 individuals applying. (Malinda, PVP/PB Chair).

This issue was closely related to raising the profile of the Games among participants and the emotional aspect of being part of something as grand as the Olympics. As this research interviewee mentioned:

This will be more than likely my last chance to do something big like this. So that's why I decided to do it...I want to volunteer because I like helping people out...to give something back...I don't like staying in the house. (Inga, PB graduate/Olympic Ambassador in Manchester).

However, according to SQW (2011, p. 31), only 72% of the respondents based in London boroughs connected PB and London 2012, and 67% of these felt that the Games had influenced their decision to take part at least ‘a fair amount’, which seems to be in conflict with the philosophy of PB to use the Games as a ‘hook’ for engagement. Perhaps this contradiction can be explained by the fact that in London PB started earlier than in the regions; hence, the connection was more obvious and the motivation to take part in the Olympics seemed to make more sense. The excitement seemed to escalate with the time approaching for the Opening ceremony:

Two years before the Games [application deadline] ...it's still too early for some of our people. The Games wouldn't mean anything until they got closer to it. (Malinda, PVP/PB Chair)

Hence, it can be concluded that a perception of the Games as being too far ahead to plan for was an obstacle to enlist the required numbers.

Another reason was the preference of PB graduates to secure paid jobs during or even before the Games. As statistics show, out of 4,380 graduates, 1,300 entered employment (SQW, 2011, pp. 57-58). This conforms to the aim of providing employment opportunities for people out of work, and can be considered a positive outcome on its own. However, those who found a job believed they would not have time to volunteer. At the same time, it was acknowledged that “*supplying a large volume of 2012 Games-time volunteer candidates...did not always sit well alongside the objective of supporting individuals into sustainable employment*” (SQW, 2011, p. 62). This is similar to tensions confronted by PVP. Not surprisingly, given the same origin with its predecessor, PB was seen by its founders as an employability programme, and securing employment was considered desirable:

The greater value for me was people...getting a job, their first ever chance of employment. What greater legacy can you have than that?...we've created choices for them which they've never had before...go and apply to be a Games-time volunteer, or...secure a job (Malinda, PVP/PB Chair)

Yet, whether PB achieved its primary target of employability seems to be questionable. But the programme operated in a changing political climate and harsh economic environment of the deepest recession in post-war UK history (especially in 2008-2010), which adversely affected the labour market. Unemployment in London rose by nearly 40% during that time, hitting women and single

parents particularly hard (SQW, 2011). These circumstances surely impacted employment outcomes of the programme.

6.4. Similarities and differences between PVP and PB

The analysis strongly suggested that PB significantly replicated its predecessor, PVP, in its vision, design, delivery, and outcomes, leaving substantial room for improvement. Both programmes aimed at combating issues of social and economic deprivation in the most disadvantaged areas in the UK, and showed some positive outcomes, although diverse in scale and sustainability. The priority was to equip disadvantaged participants of both programmes with skills to aid them in finding paid employment. Sport event volunteering was used as a tool to help achieve this goal, whereas the Games were used to boost engagement. Both programmes guaranteed their graduates an interview with the Organising Committee to become Games time volunteers. The aim was to supply 10% of the total Games workforce. However, this was not achieved due to multiple obstacles, which had implications for inclusivity and diversity.

Both programmes reported over-subscription, but the engagement campaigns did not seem to meet expectations of widening access to hard to reach groups. Each course offered Level 1 NAQ in Event Volunteering, with progression to Level 2. Although the content of training was similar in both programmes, the PB course was more comprehensive. Participation was free, and aimed to enhance confidence and employability skills. Graduates were encouraged to build a portfolio to have better job prospects. Yet, statistics showed underachievement on this front, or did not mention the targets at all. At the same time, both programmes evidenced a higher than projected number of graduates. Those who did graduate showed higher levels of satisfaction. However, dropout rates in both programmes were disappointing, which suggests insufficient support in terms of tailoring personal circumstances to course requirements. Possibly, these programmes could have been more successful had they addressed personal barriers and disadvantages more diligently.

It was stressed that building strong partnerships between all stakeholders and securing funding is a key practice in volunteer management, which was achieved in both programmes to a various degrees. The commitment from CSR companies was significant, although it is arguable whether these organisations genuinely believed in the philosophy of making a difference to individuals, or simply promoted their corporate interests. Collaboration between PVP and Manchester Ltd. seemed to be stronger and more aligned with the Games schedule, being it almost the opposite in case of PB. The

PVP funding was more sustainable whereas PB experienced challenges, especially when LDA ceased to exist. These issues prevented the smooth operation of the programme and contributed to somewhat discouraging results.

Combining seemingly contradictory goals proved to be overly ambitious and even confusing. Although declared as employability programmes, inconsistencies were detected between published reports and practices adopted as to whether the primary target of PVP and PB was employment, volunteering or further education and training. Clearly, graduation from the course was a priority in both programmes. But Games-time volunteering was also important, given it was central to the programmes' design, and served as an incentive for involvement. Yet, finding paid employment was considered the preferred outcome, which can also be responsible for low levels of engagement in Games time volunteering.

6.5. Conclusion

This Chapter highlighted the role of the historical context in the design of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy and, ultimately, the Games Maker Programme. From the outset, London 2012 pledged to capitalise on the experience gained from the organisation of the Manchester 2002 Games, especially the Pre-Volunteer training, which was used to trigger social change. This was attained through enrolling a socially excluded population in the employability programme and providing them with the opportunity to volunteer. London 2012 replicated this pioneering initiative, albeit with mixed outcomes. Despite this, they achieved some positive results in engaging individuals from target groups into the PB course, helping them develop employability and social skills, and giving them their first qualification. Importantly, PB also served as a mechanism to achieve 'Equality and Diversity' in the London 2012 Games workforce. The commitment, outlined in the Volunteering Strategy, was to employ Games time volunteers from the broadest possible range of backgrounds, with a special emphasis on marginalised groups. Yet, evidence showed that London 2012 failed to deliver on this promise due to missed opportunity to engage 10% of Games time volunteers from PB graduates.

MEV is a post-Games initiative aimed at delivering legacy benefits after Manchester 2002. It serves as a successful example of legacy creation where local government played a key role in developing volunteering through capitalising on event euphoria and using the Games volunteer database. However, no explicit references were made to MEV in the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy. Therefore, it is unclear as to what extent London 2012 used insights offered by Manchester 2002 in

their desire to leave a legacy of a stronger, more integrated volunteering infrastructure beyond 2012 (to be discussed in Chapter 10). Meanwhile, it can be argued that MEV played a vital role in keeping a strong event volunteering tradition in the UK. Evidence from this research suggests that some Games Makers and Olympic Ambassadors are long-time volunteers and current MEV members. However, as will be shown later, their participation in London 2012 was not a result of a targeted recruitment campaign employed by LOCOG, demonstrating a missed opportunity to build on existing MEV volunteers, thereby contributing to making the Games 'UK-Wide', promoting participation of volunteers from across the UK. Still, prior volunteering of this cohort of participants is of interest to this research, as it brings an important dimension to London 2012 volunteering experiences.

Chapter 7. Motivations and Expectations of Volunteers

7.1. Introduction

Descriptive analysis of the demographics, socio-economic profile and previous volunteering experience of the research participants were provided in Chapter 5, which helped answer part of the research question: “Who became engaged, trained and, eventually, volunteered for the Games, and why?” The ‘why’ reasoning, which conforms to the premises of critical realism and social constructivism, is of primary concern in this Chapter. It aims to examine what gives meaning to, justifies and shapes behaviour and, consequently, influences the decisions of 71 surveyed and 16 interviewed volunteers to engage in volunteering experiences in general and for the Olympics in particular. That is, beyond the profile of volunteers, to explore complexities of volunteers’ motivations and expectations volunteers had ahead of the London 2012 Games. The discussion corresponds to the *Antecedents* stage of the adopted VPM model on the Individual level of analysis, and represents a *Real* domain in the critical realism ontology (see Table 5.2.).

7.2. Volunteer motivations and expectations

This section provides the results of in-depth interviews triangulated with the survey results to allow for understanding volunteer motivations and expectation. This is also called a ‘bottom-up’, the best approach according to Ilsley (1990) to hear experiences from volunteers themselves. This research correlates with existing literature on volunteers’ motivations in non-sport contexts (Morrow-Howell and Mui, 1989; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Caldwell and Andereck, 1994; Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Clary *et al.*, 1998; Clary and Snyder, 1999), and in the context of sport events (Farrell, Johnston and Twynam, 1998; Strigas and Jackson, 2003; Green and Chalip, 2004; Wang, 2004; Downward, Lumsdon and Ralston, 2005; Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray, 2008; Bang, Alexandris and Ross, 2008; Bang and Ross, 2009; Dickson and Benson, 2013; Dickson *et al.*, 2013) (for more details refer to Appendix L). The results below are grouped into a 4-factor multidimensional model, which reflects the systematic analysis of the literature provided in Chapter 4: Olympic/Sport related, Altruistic/Purposive, Egoistic/Transactional, and Solidary/Interpersonal Contact motivations. To highlight a variety of motivations and benefits of volunteering, each factor incorporates several relevant motives.

7.2.1. Olympic / Sport related motivations

Evidence from the survey showed that Games-related motivations such as ‘Prestige/high profile of the event’ and ‘Because of sport/hope to watch the Games’ were ranked number 6 and 8, on the list of 16 motivations (see Appendix I). This outcome can be attributed to various characteristics of respondents such as age, gender, employment status and prior volunteering experience. Females, for example, were more inclined to volunteer for these reasons than males, as well as people of younger age with less volunteering experience. The majority of in-depth interviewees also stated that being part of a prestigious event such as the Olympics positively influenced their decision to volunteer. For some, this factor dominated other motivations, which corroborates research on Olympic volunteer motivations by Green and Chalip (2004), Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008) and Dickson’s *et al.* (2013), on Commonwealth Games volunteers by Downward, Lumsdon and Ralston (2005), and special sport events by Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998). This, again, was especially true for young volunteers with no prior volunteering experience, which suggests that Olympic volunteering has unique motivation factors than volunteering in other contexts:

People are involved because it’s the Olympic Games...Just because of the profile of the Olympic Games. (Glen, student, first-time volunteer)

The prestige of these events is closely connected to people’s sentiments about not missing the opportunity to be part of the historic event (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). This was true for people from varying backgrounds, and even for those who did not mention Games-related motivational factors as a top priority in their survey responses. These volunteers were prepared to incur expenses and put up with bad weather and long shifts because for them, ‘It’s all about the Games’ (Dickson *et al.*, 2013):

I was thrilled when I was asked if I wanted to do it...I would like to see the Olympics...it is a once-in-a-lifetime thing, it is a worldwide event...I do think that when you look back...you will have participated in one of the greatest shows on Earth...we have staged...a show that...the world will see...And if I don’t see it through now, I will regret it. (Nancy, full-time employed, first-time volunteer)

This [Olympics] will be more than likely my last chance to do something big like this. So that’s why I decided to do it. (Inga, unemployed, regular volunteer)

An overwhelming number of respondents mentioned the adrenaline rush and fun they get out of sport event volunteering, which corroborates the socio-emotional benefit of volunteering mentioned by Chanavat and Ferrand (2010). Enthusiasm escalates with expectations to meet celebrities and famous people such as athletes or having the chance to meet the Queen: “...*nothing could beat that*” (Hazel, Games Maker). Another interviewee exclaimed when found out about the researcher’s volunteering role, “*You’ll get to see all those superstars like Michael Phelps...that’s fantastic!*” (Nancy, first-time volunteer). Indeed, the Olympics provide an opportunity to watch different events while volunteering, an additional incentive.

Although interviewees differed in their sports background (some played sports, professionally or amateur, and others were simply sport fans), many had Olympic volunteering as a lifelong dream come true:

I was going to go to the Olympic Games in London when it was last here in 1948 with my Dad. And the week that it started, I was called into the army. I missed it. I thought ‘I’m going to see it again in London; I’m not going to miss it this time!’ (Mathew, informal player)

Informal sport players mentioned learning new sport activities through event volunteering, which is in line with volunteering as an informal learning activity. For example, one interviewee was fascinated by watching athletes compete at the wheelchair basketball Paralympic World Cup, thereby acquiring a new understanding about the experience of being disabled. Similarly, another volunteer tended to volunteer for sports because he enjoyed it, and is enthusiastic about experiencing new things:

I’ve learned about sports that I knew nothing about, which I absolutely adore now... I always volunteer for them now...I work 12 hours a day. Happily. (Daniel, informal player)

On the contrary, former professional sport players had an abundance of existing sport knowledge, and were motivated by giving back to sport through volunteering:

I had the right background to be sufficiently interested...I wanted to give something back to sport because I had enjoyed it all my life. (Hazel, former athletics coach)

This is consistent with Daly’s (1991) research on Australian volunteers in sport who reported that people volunteer as a consequence of their ‘love for sport’ and a need to ‘give back to sport’. Yet, evidence from this research also seems to support the perception that sport preferences can negatively

influence involvement in sport volunteerism. Some potential volunteers had strong feelings about one sport or another; in which case, prestige is not a significant motivator:

I'm not interested [in football], I don't want to do it, I'm not going to give my time for nothing, something that's not interesting for me and may be stressful...It could be [a missed opportunity], but not enough for me to do it. I always have my doubts... (Lucy, London 2012 training camps volunteer)

For these volunteers, other factors are more important, such as the quality of the volunteering experience and the event organisation, which is congruent with findings by Green and Chalip (2004) and Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998).

Even though the Olympics is a multisport event, the opportunity to volunteer for the sport of your choice, watch competitions or meet prominent people is highly contingent on the venue and the job assignment (which will be discussed in detail in the following Chapters). Some responsibilities such as 'meet and greet' in the Olympic Park, IT support or stewardship provide a different kind of volunteering experience. For those whose motivation is to watch the Games, for example, this would likely be disappointing:

The best volunteers aren't interested in the sport, because if they are...they're not doing their job properly. That's why if you see an event like the football match that's on television, you see a ring of stewards all the way around facing the crowd. The match is behind them. If you're a mad keen supporter, you couldn't help doing that [turns head] every now and again could you? (Bruce, Games Maker)

Those who are genuinely committed to help with the event are not put off by what others may consider a 'trivial' role. They are prepared to perform any assignment professionally:

I always say volunteers are unpaid professionals...your attitude, the importance you attach to it...To me that's very important...being a volunteer is a responsible job. (Mary, Games Maker)

7.2.2. Altruistic / Purposive motivations

The survey indicated that to 'be able to contribute towards community/society' was the most important motivation to volunteer (ranked number 1). This can be explained by the way the question was asked, "What motivates you to volunteer (in general)?" If asked more directly, "What motivates you to

volunteer for the London 2012 Games?” the result would have been different. However, the research does not have evidence to confirm this. Another explanation lies in demographics, economic status and previous volunteering experience of the respondents (see Appendices H, I). As noted in the literature review (see Chapter 4), those who are older and retired or close to retirement, particularly women, are more likely to volunteer because of altruistic concerns. They are usually economically stable so can devote free time to volunteering. Indeed, the survey indicates that the average annual income of a third of the respondents was £30,000 or more. Of all volunteers in the sample, 63% were women, 62% were over 35 years old, nearly 23% were retired, and 49% were full- or part-time working.

Evidence from the interviews demonstrated that those with prior volunteering experience, and particularly in sport contexts ranked their altruistic motivations high, which is congruent with findings reported by Caldwell and Andereck (1994), Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998), and Strigas and Jackson (2003) in sport (non-Olympic) studies. These volunteers derive personal satisfaction from being helpful to others. It shows that their motivation is reinforced by intangible benefits they get from the volunteering experience, which is consistent with the literature. Indeed, Clary and her colleagues (1998) found that feeling good about oneself (‘Enhancement’) is a powerful motivator that contributes to personal psychological development, also described as ‘Ego Enhancement’ by Wang (2004):

It just gives you more confidence and the self-esteem that you’re doing something worthwhile.
(Bill, regular volunteer)

I don't look for a reward for what I do...except ego I think, maybe I did a good job and that's enough. (Bruce, regular volunteer)

A further example provides an indication of how these altruistic values can overshadow the glory of mega events as a sole motivation to volunteer:

Researcher: *Do you volunteer because of the prestige or high profile of the events?*

Interviewee: *No, not necessarily, because for three years I did...a midnight walk for ladies for a local hospice for fund raising and that wasn't high profile at all...I enjoyed it.* (Bruce, regular volunteer)

These interviewees were predominantly retired or near retirement who felt they have something to contribute and feel useful. For example, apart from sport-related volunteering, some volunteer at

educational trusts for retired people, cancer support, and city government. Thus, through their involvement in various groups that serve their communities, these volunteers contribute to a ‘greater cause’, which is a clear indication that they want to play an active role in their communities:

I feel I've had a very good life; that society has given me a lot. I want to give something back.
(Daniel, retired)

These volunteers acknowledge that helping through volunteering is good for society, which, on a bigger scale, can develop solidarity among people (European Commission report, 2011). At the same time, interviewees indicated that they also enjoy helping their city and country put on sport events. They view volunteering at these events as an opportunity to contribute through representing their home communities and promoting the image of the city (‘Promote image and values of my city/country’, ranked 13 in the survey). Thus, those who contribute to the society mainly in the form of labour would like to take something back in the form of shared pride and belonging. Statements from both Manchester 2002 and London 2012 volunteers illustrate this point:

I wanted to give something back to help Manchester with a big event [M2002]. I suppose it was some sort of expecting Manchester and the Northwest to do well and so there was...pride about the Northwest, showing people that we were friendly up here and very helpful. (Hazel, Manchester 2002 volunteer)

I help Manchester to stage events that otherwise it might not be able to without volunteers...It's [Olympics] again a case of Manchester being visible on a world stage ...I'm proud of the way the city can provide all the facilities and accommodation for events like these. (Bill, Olympic Ambassador)

Unlike in Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008) and other Olympic-related research in which the glory of the Olympics was the major motivation to volunteer and altruism was the least, evidence from this research suggests that these motivations are inseparable. Respondents believed that contribution towards community/society and the promotion of the image and values of the city/country are both possible through volunteering at major sport events. They were eager to contribute to the event in any way they could. The feeling of being helpful even in small things motivated volunteers. Personal satisfaction flowed into the tremendous feeling of responsibility for the event to run smoothly, which was the case with both new and experienced Games Makers:

Just in our first training, they told us that if it is a good Olympic Games, it depends on

you...This sentence is very motivating. You feel that your job is very important to the success of it. (Lily, first-time volunteer)

I like the challenge and I like the responsibility; I think, "I've got to do this, if I don't, what's going to happen...?" So you get a high on that and...when an event's finished...everybody's happy and they get the satisfaction. (Bruce, regular volunteer)

Volunteers did not expect material rewards as a result of their volunteering, but 'Recognition' (ranked 13 in the survey). During interviews, volunteers acknowledged that they would expect at least a simple 'thank you' for their services.

7.2.3. Egoistic / Transactional motivations

As discussed, Egoistic/Transactional type motivations are related to personal benefits volunteers expect to derive either in the form of intrinsic or extrinsic rewards in exchange of their services, and can be divided into career-oriented and personal development.

7.2.3.1. Career orientation

As discussed earlier, people involved in volunteering acquire soft benefits of higher self-esteem, better mental and physical health, for example, in lowering depression, boosting life satisfaction and general well-being (e.g. Wilson, 2000; Clary *et al.*, 1998; Wang, 2004). Evidence from interviews shows that it is especially true for those seeking employment:

It helped me with my confidence being a bit low. I was in between jobs and I felt low because I hadn't been able to get any work...I was a little bit depressed...But once I'd done the [training] course I proved to myself that I can actually do something and see the outcome... I proved to myself I've got the stamina to do long days again. My confidence was high. (Ken, unemployed before Manchester 2002)

Aiming at employment, people assume a rational 'give and take' frame of mind, which concurs with the exchange theory and income rational choice theory (Wilson, 2000). Particularly, people give up their time in the expectation that volunteering and associated training will build skills and networks with people, which can help them become more employable. This is reinforced by the belief that employers value volunteering, which is supported by evidence from interviewees. Thus, one interviewee's nephew, who owns an IT business, gives a credit to applicants with volunteering experience, as he believes they are not 'take only' type of people. On several occasions interviewees mentioned that if they were in a position to hire people, they would give priority to those who

previously volunteered, as volunteering cultivates attributes such as loyalty, commitment, ability to work under pressure and devote themselves to a cause over an extended time:

If they will make that commitment and not be paid, they must be a person who can make that commitment when they are being paid. (Mary, retired)

People have said to me in an interview that it was a very positive factor that I had worked on the Commonwealth Games. (Daniel, retired)

Evidence from the interviews clearly indicated a career-oriented approach towards volunteer work, confirmed in the literature by Clary *et al.* (1998) and Bang, Alexandris and Ross (2008). Volunteers indicated ‘Enhancing employment opportunities’ as one of their major motivations to engage in volunteering. One volunteer strongly believed that a new set of skills and experiences he learned during Pre-Volunteer training and Manchester 2002 helped him get a job in less than 2 weeks after the Games. Another interviewee used volunteering experience to help him in transitioning his career from an IT office type position to the hospitality industry. He decided to volunteer for different events to develop his customer service skills. Being exposed to the public, he learned how to deal with ad hoc situations and help different customers, through which he acquired personal confidence and improved his self-esteem. He used this experience in job applications where customer service background was needed, and believed this helped him get a hotel job. Working full-time, his main motivation is no longer seeking employment. However, he continues volunteering as he considers it an added extra to his experience:

Certainly when I was unemployed I thought improving my customer service skills would be useful...With volunteering you're exposed to the general public...When you deal with a difficult case and it has a good resolution...you then have the ability to become a team leader...so I may use the volunteering experience to my advantage. (Bill, Olympic Ambassador)

The researcher encountered many students through her own London 2012 volunteering who explicitly stated that they volunteer to enhance employment prospects. Students approached their volunteering experience strategically through building credentials while still studying. Observations from other volunteers concur: young people, especially in their 20s, were looking to take more from volunteering to include on their CVs:

For young people...it could be a fantastic thing on their job application that they have given up their time...done the job well, and that could be a great incentive for employers to employ them. (Hazel, Games Maker)

These sentiments correspond to findings directly from young interviewees. Thus, an undergraduate student from China thought that the Olympic experience could help her grow and improve herself into a self-confident and knowledgeable person. She felt that she was doing something meaningful, and was hopeful that this experience would help her in future job interviews:

[Volunteering is] a very positive thing, it's a plus, a bonus to have on your CV...I try and get the experience...to get to the next level and see if it could be transferred to another event... and maybe if you apply to a job in the future, you need to write your CV...so the more it says on your CV... when I took the Olympic Games interview, I feel that the job experience has helped me so I think...maybe in the future another chance might come, maybe you feel this experience really helps you. (Lily, Games Maker)

Survey evidence showed that younger volunteers were motivated by the desire to 'Get a set of new skills and competences' (ranked number 3), supporting evidence from other sources (e.g. Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray, 2008) that young volunteers are more material and career-oriented, which may have contributed to higher ranking of 'Egoistic' concerns over 'Altruistic' ones.

An important aspect not directly addressed in the current literature on motivations in the sport event context is related to people with a non-English-speaking background. Those who come to English-speaking countries often have a deficit in their CVs due to, for example, non-transferrable educational credentials. Volunteering can help them acquire local experience, which local employers can identify with:

Sometimes when you emigrate from another country your CV is not valid as someone from here...so interviewers cannot judge on something familiar like the Games so I think it's something that can help them. (Glen, Games Maker)

Even full-time employed people, who might not volunteer to increase their employment opportunities, thought that volunteering is useful, as it teaches the habits and discipline needed for employment, which is in line with Low *et al.* (2007). At the same time, there is an alternative view of volunteering supported by, for example, Rochester, Paine and Howlett (2009) that volunteering is not a direct route into employment, no matter how much one wishes to believe it will help. These issues will be

discussed in more depth in Chapter 10, consequences of volunteering.

7.2.3.2. Personal development

Volunteering can contribute to personal growth and development through both acquiring new and applying existing skills and experiences (e.g. Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Clary *et al.*, 1998; Wang, 2004; Bang, Alexandris and Ross, 2008; Dickson *et al.*, 2013). Survey results showed that volunteers wanted to ‘Apply existing skills and competences’ (ranked 6, Appendix I). Evidence from interviews is consistent with the literature in finding that older volunteers make use of existing skills and experiences, applying them to volunteering roles. Previous experiences matter as they give confidence to perform assignments, thereby sustaining the sense of feeling needed, a motivation named in Bang, Alexandris and Ross (2008). The majority in this group were retired interviewees with extensive work experience, who continue self-actualisation through volunteering. Interestingly, these people also had rich volunteering experience, which was not necessarily true about all retired volunteers. Some moved from one event to another because they already equipped themselves with the fundamentals of volunteering, which contributed to a volunteering legacy (discussed in Chapter 10). Some volunteers stated that without their previous sport volunteering experience, they would not be able to cope with or get more responsible volunteering roles:

Researcher: *Would you feel more confident to do [London 2012] without your [volunteering] experience?*

Volunteer: *Maybe not; I wouldn't have known what it was all about. I wouldn't have had all that background knowledge.* (Mary, Games Maker)

Researcher: *Would you do it [London 2012] without your experience with the Commonwealth Games and being on the MEV database?*

Volunteer: *I probably would have applied, but...I don't think I would have become a team leader.* (Hannah, Games Maker)

However, the ability to apply existing skills and advance in a volunteering ‘career’ depends on the role volunteers are assigned. For example, having volunteering experience as a driver in previous sport events did not assure a similar role in London 2012. This method of role allocation made it difficult for volunteers to utilise skills accumulated in prior volunteering. This management issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

For those who are long-term ill or disabled, involvement in volunteering was a substitute for

employment. One interviewee, for example, met people who due to a medical condition cannot work, but volunteering gives them a purpose in life:

I met quite a few who are medically or psychologically unemployable. They would never find jobs...But I've met some wonderful people with the MEV. Great people. (Mathew, Games Maker)

A volunteer from a socially excluded background who took part in this research was physically ill, which prevented her from full or part-time employment. However, she volunteers whenever she gets a chance, and is particularly keen on learning different skills through training and volunteering, such as communication, team-building and IT skills, self-confidence and self-esteem. In particular, the certificate she gained after the completion of the Pre-Volunteer training was an additional incentive for her to engage in further volunteering and apply learned skills. She is happy to be able to volunteer, which she finds significant:

From what I've done, I've learned about stuff and it's really helped me, like at the moment, because I'm volunteering, it helps you to get something, with all the skills I've got, it helps me to get where I want to be, to volunteer more...(Inga, Olympic Ambassador)

Some retired interviewees also acknowledged that they expected to learn new skills through volunteering to apply to future volunteering roles, which is consistent with the literature. One interviewee gives examples of skills she expects to get from her London 2012 volunteering experience that can be useful:

I'm sure I will [gain new skills] and...use them in future volunteering roles, like customer service skills or registering competitors that you can use in another event. (Hannah, Games Maker)

It was identified that volunteer training and Games-time experience may create a bridge between volunteering and learning activities. For instance, one interviewee as a result of his participation in Pre-Volunteer training (discussed in Chapter 6) gained self-confidence and was motivated to upgrade his skills further through a formal course:

My imagination has been sparked...I found it [a Master's course] myself. I went and did this and passed my diploma! (Ken, PVP graduate)

Evidence from this research shows that volunteering can motivate not only mature people to engage

in different learning activities, but also helps enrich the educational journey of current students of diverse majors, thereby ‘learning new skills’ becomes their additional incentive to devote time and efforts to volunteering. This is congruent with the accumulation of human capital “*being embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual*” discussed by Coleman (1998, p. 100). For example, one interviewee, an undergraduate student in business, expected that her London 2012 volunteering might deepen her knowledge about marketing, sponsorship and corporate finance associated with big events. Moreover, she was hopeful that this knowledge and the UK experience might help in her future application for a Masters’ programme. Yet, several other interviewees were already in the process of doing their Master’s degree in event management or pursuing a PhD in sport management. The expectation of this group was to familiarise themselves with the process of staging the Games and, particularly, volunteer management, which was also the case with the researcher as a participant observer:

I do research connected with the Olympics or the Olympic movement so it’ll be interesting to be inside and see how it works. (Glen, Games Maker)

This evidence corresponds to the ‘backstage feel’ described by Green and Chalip (1998, p. 18), who believe that the attraction to volunteering is enhanced for those who consider the sense of being “*on the inside*” and “*see what paying patrons cannot*” important benefits that can outweigh the “menial” tasks volunteers perform, such as giving out accreditation badges or ‘meet and greet’.

7.2.4. Solidarity / Interpersonal contact motivations

As evidenced from the survey, the social component that comes from interactions among individuals was a strong motivation to volunteer (‘Socialise and make friends’ was ranked 2), which was supported by interviews and is in agreement with wider literature on ‘social capital’ (e.g. Coleman, 1988; Harvey, Lévesque and Donnelly, 2007; Brown, Tidey and Ferkins, 2011). Due to the scale, mega events such as the Olympics provide many opportunities to meet people of different age and backgrounds (‘Work in teams with people of different ages/gender/nationality’ was ranked number 3). Through volunteering, volunteers connect with others at events, which combined with the atmosphere, provides a sense of fun (‘Do something fun’ was ranked number 1). Some interviewees stressed that volunteering at big international events is particularly exciting as they deal with people from many cultures and nationalities. For instance, one volunteer shared how he enjoys meeting tourists, athletes and new volunteers who come from different parts of the world:

Manchester has quite a lot of people from overseas, so it's quite nice mixing with people, like people from Spain...from Ireland, so I enjoy the cosmopolitan feel that the city has. (Bill, Olympic Ambassador)

Whereas some volunteers were able to build close relationships as a result of their involvement in sport events, others did not believe it was possible to make good friendships through volunteering, and especially at mega events when people meet thousands of people:

After the Commonwealth Games obviously the scheme was kept on and you see a lot of familiar faces, but I didn't make any permanent friendships...from that. (Jane, Manchester 2002 volunteer)

However, the social aspect of London 2012 volunteering was clearly expected:

Do I have any expectations? Meeting a lot of new people, both volunteers and...thousands of other people. I don't think you'll be making any friends, but there's something worthwhile in a happy smile. (Mathew, Games Maker)

Local events provide a different feel for volunteers. Many know each other as they volunteer for the same community events, which allows for closer connections. For example, belonging to an organisation like Manchester Event Volunteers (MEV), a legacy from the Manchester 2002 Games, gives volunteers a sense of community, even family, for some. Through regular volunteering they form a network of good friendships and socialise:

In the day-to-day [community volunteering] work a lot of the volunteers are from the pool of Manchester Event Volunteers and they're good people to work with. They're friendly people, so it's a friendly face...a social side to it. (Bill, Olympic Ambassador)

I know ladies who go out for lunch...with someone who they met as a volunteer. They're both widows but they met somebody, so they socialise outside the event. (Bruce, Games Maker)

Evidence collected through the interviews seems to prove the legitimacy of both the rational choice theory, which predicts an increase in volunteering at retirement due to free time, and the exchange theory, which explains volunteer work at retirement by the desire to replace social benefits formerly derived from employment (Fischer, Rapkin and Rappaport, 1991; Wilson, 2000). Retired interviewees, in particular, see volunteering as an integral part of keeping them active, both physically and mentally. They want to make worthwhile use of their time and do something spontaneous,

enjoyable and different from their normal routine:

When you retire...Have you got something that keeps you happy outside the home... something to do?...I think the important thing is it gets you out of the home. It gets you seeing another area of life. (Mathew, Games Maker)

What else would I have done with my time?...[volunteering] is being outside your own... four walls, seeing what goes on outside... your own home...What's on my birth certificate doesn't matter. And that's how I like to do it, it keeps you active, it keeps your brain active and once you stop doing that, you may as well go and order your coffin. (Mary, Games Maker)

Evidence suggests that retired people who are financially stable and still full of energy do not want to stay at home or be unoccupied. They can become isolated and lonely. One consequence, as the social capital theory predicts, is a decline in volunteering, but not for those who are regular volunteers. Another possible outcome is a decline in opportunities for those who would like to start volunteering (Wilson, 2000). Therefore, an organisation similar to MEV is crucial in providing those opportunities to enable retired people to offer and make use of their accumulated skills and experiences.

Interviewees of various employment status expressed that they are motivated to volunteer to build networks for future volunteering opportunities and events, either through personal contacts or contacts in volunteering organisations. Retired interviewees, in particular, mentioned that the more they volunteer, the more volunteering opportunities come to them, which in a sense creates a volunteering legacy. As one interviewee confessed, continuing volunteering helped her get a volunteering job as an interviewer for the London 2012 Games irrespective of her age (76), and thus prolonged her volunteering 'career':

As long as I can volunteer and feel able and fit...and my brain works, I can do volunteering as well as I want to do it, I will continue to do it but when you get older, you just don't know, do you? I would encourage anybody else to do volunteering. (Mary, Games Maker)

In the same vein, another interviewee's primary motivation to be involved in London 2012 was to do something different from paid work (ranked 3 in survey), and see whether she can cope with the challenge:

This is not something I'd normally do, so let's try it!...The motivation was just have a new experience. (Nancy, Opening Ceremony volunteer)

Likewise, for the unemployed and those who cannot work due to health issues, volunteering can be a way of enhancing one's general wellbeing:

[Volunteering] kept my energy levels up whilst I was unemployed...I wanted...to be active.
(Bill, Olympic Ambassador)

I don't like sitting down doing nothing all day. I prefer to get up and do stuff...(Inga, Olympic Ambassador)

7.3. Conclusion

As detailed in the VPM model, volunteers' personal attributes corresponded to various pre-dispositions that, together with other factors, influenced engagement, the quality of volunteering experiences and benefits volunteers derived from their participation. In the logic of critical realist evaluation, motivations and expectations served as internal mechanisms that impacted how volunteers made decisions to participate in activities and interpret their experiences.

Of primary interest to this Chapter was to explore how expectations and motivations of individual volunteers were related to age, gender, employment status and prior volunteering experiences in order to understand "Who became engaged, trained and, eventually, volunteered for the Games, and why?" Evidence confirmed that volunteers had a variety of motives and expectations of their volunteering experience. Their motivations fell under four categories discussed in this Chapter, with most volunteers fitting into several categories at once. Contrasting motives such as instrumental versus altruistic ones were significant and varied by demographics and prior experience. The unemployed, students, and, to a lesser extent, employed people were willing to give up time for volunteering to enhance their employability. They sought to gain new skills, which directly corresponded to volunteering as an informal learning experience. Retired and/or disabled people, in turn, found volunteering to be a meaningful alternative to work. Those with long life experience preferred volunteering in order to apply existing skills and knowledge and feel useful. Many also desired to contribute towards community and society, and proudly represented their city. This illustrates that people volunteer not only from self-interest, but with altruistic motives, as well.

Other motivations significant to the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games are the prestige of such events, which inspire individuals from various backgrounds, including disadvantaged ones, to

volunteer. A celebratory atmosphere and an 'insider' feeling such events give to participants especially attracted young people and those with minimal volunteering experience. All interviewees mentioned that they do not want to miss out on a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, and were eager to participate in making history. For some, it was their primary motivation. The social benefit of volunteering such as meeting new people and making friends was expected as a valuable asset of volunteering. In addition, some volunteered because of interest in a particular sport or to enhance educational opportunities. Enthusiasm and enjoyment can lead to further volunteering; however, this activity is influenced by expectations and role assignments. Those who volunteer can be very selective about when and where they do so as the quality of volunteer management mattered for them. Therefore, understanding motivations and expectations of Olympic volunteers can greatly aid organisers in attracting the right people and meeting their needs and interests while gaining a diverse and committed workforce. Particularly, this knowledge can enhance understanding of how personal motives and expectations can influence volunteers' efficacy and satisfaction with every stage of the volunteer programme, which will be explored in the following Chapters.

Chapter 8. Recruitment, Selection and Training of Games Makers

8.1. Introduction

Chapters 8-10 are dedicated to the analysis of the official London 2012 Volunteer (Games Maker) Programme, guided by the VPM and HRM models discussed earlier. This Chapter is focussed on recruitment, application, selection, training and support provided to Games Makers before the Games, which represent *Acquiring* and *Maintaining Human Resources* in the HRM model (Figure 4.2.). In critical realist evaluation terms, these components of the Programme become underlying mechanisms that were activated under certain conditions within the *Actual* domain of reality, and triggered certain reactions from volunteers at the *Experiences* stage of the VPM model (Table 5.2.). The intention of this Chapter is to analyse these patterns of events via exploring volunteer management practices and volunteering experiences, both positive and negative. Particular attention will be given to inconsistencies between declarations made by the organisers and practices actually adopted, and the extent to which these impacted the outcomes and satisfaction with the pre-Games phase of the Programme. To meet these ends, interview evidence with managers and volunteers was used and triangulated with evidence from participant observations, the on-line survey, official Games documents and understanding of good volunteer management practice from the wider literature.

8.2. The make-up of the Games Maker Programme

According to the HRM model (Figure 4.2.), the process of acquiring volunteers begins with planning current and future needs in terms of the numbers of volunteers and roles to be performed. LOCOG based their projections for the Volunteer Programme on the Transfer of Knowledge data available on previous mega sport events, on the expected needs of various LOCOG functional areas and spectator numbers (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). The diversity of assigned jobs and functions resembled various functions of the organisation, which conforms to the principle of good practice identified by Chelladurai and Madella (2006). An ‘army’ of approximately 70,000 Games-time volunteers to perform 3,500 roles were projected to be required for the Games. This number comprised 35% of the total Games workforce of 200,000 members of staff, volunteers and contractors (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006; DCMS. 2012). “*We are committed to signing up the 70,000 volunteers needed to develop a successful Olympics in 2012...It is [quite an] amazing thing when you see people getting involved from all sorts of different walks of life, and the sense of unity for the city that gives is something quite remarkable*” (Tony Blair, April 2006 in Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 1). In agreement with the IOC Manual, the roles were split into three areas: technical (sport) roles, technical

(volunteer) roles and generalist roles (IOC, 2005). ‘Specialist’ volunteers (first two categories) must have had specific skills, knowledge and qualifications and show evidence to enable them to effectively perform their roles, such as medical or technology-oriented. ‘Generalist’ volunteers did not have these pre-requisites, but still needed to meet requirements of a functional area, and had to receive training to perform their roles in, for example, spectator services, transport, or venue operations. This study captures the views of some of these generalist volunteers.

8.2.1. Recruitment

Recruitment of Games-time volunteers was set to begin two years before the Games (see Table 8.1.).

Table 8.1. The Volunteer Programme Timeline

27 July, 2010	Specialist volunteers applications start
15 September, 2010	Generalist volunteers applications start
29 October, 2010	Applications deadline
January 2011	Invitations to Selection Events (face-to-face interviews)
February 2011 – August 2011	Selection Events in 9 selection centres across the UK
September 2011-January 2012	Games Makers offers made
February 2012	Orientation training
March 2012 – July 2012	Role specific training
May 2012 - June 2012	Event Leadership training
June 2012 – August 2012	Venue specific training
April 2012 – September 2012	Accreditation and distribution of uniforms
June 2012 – September 2012	Games time shifts*

* Games Makers were also invited to take part in test events in the first half of 2012

Source: Games Maker Zone (2012)

LOCOG aimed to attract people who would bring passion and enthusiasm to the Games. For that reason, a rigorous process of recruitment, application, interview and selection was set up to ensure consistency, quality and equity (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). Successful applicants had to meet key criteria based on age, availability and eligibility to work as volunteers in the UK, and pass security screening and background checks, following the guidelines of the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce (IOC, 2005).

In accordance with the Volunteering Strategy and LOCOG values and principles, an emphasis was placed on transparency, equality, diversity and inclusion (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). The aim was to bring together people from different backgrounds, skills and abilities that had an equal chance to apply and enhance the capacity of volunteer workforce, which is encouraged by Cuskelly and Auld (2000a) and Green and Chalip (2004). A strong commitment to ensure advancing more

robust regional volunteering infrastructure was also developed. To this end, a fully-devolved franchise model to nations and regions was recommended in the Strategy. It was envisioned that in comparison with a centralised scheme, this one would be more efficient and effective in building on the existing volunteer infrastructure to *“help to ensure the volunteering programme is inclusive; as those with responsibility for recruitment...will be better placed to reach out to, and work with, local diverse communities”* (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 23). At the same time, the legacy of London 2012 was to be maximised by *“leaving in place after 2012 local teams of committed, skilled volunteers able to participate in on-going community projects and large-scale events”* (ibid., p. 23). However, despite leaving overall accountability for maintaining the quality of the process with LOCOG, this arrangement would bring challenges such as greater organisational complexity, less control, uneven engagement and management across regions. This, in turn, would inevitably interfere with the immediate management task of recruiting the required numbers of volunteers to deliver the Games. Ultimately, LOCOG utilised a centrally controlled recruitment scheme. While using regionally-based selection event volunteers (SEVs) in recruitment and selection encouraged tapping into regional volunteering resources, this scheme potentially limited the diversity that might have been created otherwise.

To build awareness and generate interest, LOCOG employed various means of engagement, such as the media, Internet and recruitment agents throughout the country. People of different genders, ethnic groups, sexual orientations, religious beliefs and levels of disability were encouraged to apply (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). However, evidence from interviews suggests that the effectiveness of this recruitment was not clear. Those who had previously volunteered for mega sport events knew about the opportunity through their networks, whereas those new to volunteering admitted that information on how and when to apply was not obvious, which corroborates the researcher’s own observations:

It was not something that I was made aware of, there was no surge in...local advertisement, on the library walls or something like that, ‘you should be involved, you should get here, here’s who to contact; here’s what to do’. (Nancy, London based Opening Ceremony Volunteer).

The initial plan was to produce a leaflet outlining the recruitment process and the range of roles available, which would be disseminated nationally prior to the application (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). However, in practice, volunteers had access only to the description of functions prior to the application, but not to job descriptions, which became available only later in the process. This

made it difficult for the researcher, for example, to estimate at the outset the level of commitment expected of her and the complexity of assignments to determine whether she fitted the role, a requirement of good volunteer resource planning (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Hoye *et al.*, 2006).

Multiple incentives were used to attract volunteers, such as offering a chance to have a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to be part of the most exciting event in the UK, develop skills, get free meals and an official uniform to keep, which is in accord with the accepted practice (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). Yet, no tailoring to a wide range of volunteers' motives and expected benefits was observed, although encouraged by Green and Chalip (1998).

8.2.2. Application

The cut-off point for the applications was at the end of October 2010. Some interviewees mentioned that the process was lengthy, taking nearly eighteen months to complete. This suggests that LOCOG, being bound by internal deadlines, took substantial time for screening applications. In contrast, as recalled by the researcher, the completion of the application itself was a quick process, taking less than an hour. Both on-line and paper-based applications were available. Apart from providing demographics and contact details, volunteers were asked about their skills and experiences as well as their availability for training and volunteering and their desire to be a team leader. LOCOG allowed volunteers to indicate their preferences of functional areas but not the roles, which only partly meets the IOC recommendations (IOC, 2005). Some volunteers were lucky to get what they wanted, but no guarantees were given. For example, the researcher's appeal to serve in Language Services was satisfied by LOCOG, but the details of the role were only available during training. Some volunteers assumed that organisers needed specific skills in areas related to sport, which made them hesitant to apply for certain functions:

If you go for a more high-powered position [the Athletics], you have to...have some experience to get involved with that. I was worried that if I asked for something like that I'd just get turned down...If you put down three impossible things, you're likely to get nothing so try and keep it fairly wide. (Jane, Games Maker)

However, LOCOG had a separate cohort of sport volunteers to cover technical roles (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006), which was not properly communicated to generalist volunteers.

On the other hand, some applicants restricted their choice to a particular sport, which limited their options in the first place. For example, one of the interviewees wanted to work with the football team in Manchester, but was not chosen. His chief frustration was caused by not being given a chance to further take part in the selection process:

I would have liked to have an interview; it was disappointing not to get [it]. I just felt like if you applied for a job and they just send you back a 'No, thank you'; it felt like that, without serious consideration... (Bill, unsuccessful Games Maker)

Given the outcome of his application, it is no surprise he believed that the Programme was “*very long, very remote, and seemed like a bureaucratic exercise*”, without concern for individual preferences.

8.2.3. Selection and screening

The selection process consisted of two sequential stages: applications and interviews (IOC, 2005). In total, more than 250,000 volunteers expressed their interest (LOCOG, 2013), with 40% indicating that London 2012 inspired them to volunteer for the first time (DCMS, 2012), which falls under one of the London 2012 promises to “*Use the enthusiasm generated by the Games as a catalyst for inspiring a new generation of volunteers*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 5). The selection revealed that around 60,000 applications were incomplete, which was possibly due to the lengthy process and complicated on-line forms (Nichols and Ralston, 2014), although this was not supported by the researcher’s observations. Some applications were unsuccessful due to criminal records. The rest suitable for generalist roles had to meet criteria required by each functional area thereby went through a rigorous ‘gold’, ‘silver’ and ‘bronze’ sift process, from the most to the least essential criteria. Given the scale and the complexity of the event, a task-based rather than preference-based approach to select volunteers was used. Although LOCOG pledged to put every effort to take into account volunteers’ interests, the primary concern was to provide an adequate workforce, making sure people have the required skills to perform generalist roles, which corresponds to ‘person-task fit’ in the traditional HRM approach (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a). As a result, those who had the skills that did not meet the need criteria were not considered.

Using this selection process, LOCOG reduced the total pool of applications to 100,000 people eligible for interviews. The experience of the previous Games and other sport events showed that some attrition was inevitable, and needed to be accounted for (IOC, 2005; Hoye *et al.*, 2006; Ferrand and

Skirstad, 2015), which proved to be true for London 2012. Organisers planned to have leeway numbers of volunteers to choose from in order to fill 70,000 places. Eventually, 85,000 people were selected, of whom around 15,000 were put on a reserve list. Given the numbers of applicants, LOCOG did not predict problems with recruiting the required numbers. Indeed, by February 2012, 95% of offers had been accepted (Nichols and Ralston, 2014). The bigger challenge was envisioned in turning away those who applied unsuccessfully. In this case, the procedure was outlined in the Volunteering Strategy to notify each volunteer with a ‘thank you’ letter and an explanation of the reason for a failed application (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). Nonetheless, this was not carried out, which points to the fact that LOCOG provided insufficient feedback.

Interviews were done between February 2011 and March 2012 (up to sixteen months after initial applications) in nine selection centres across the UK. Volunteers were allocated an interview based on their place of residence, which cut their costs of transport and accommodation otherwise not reimbursed by LOCOG. International applicants and some specialist volunteers were interviewed via phone, although the vast majority went through a face-to-face interview. This was the preferred way of selecting and connecting potential volunteers to the organisation:

A lot of emphasis was put on the experience of the volunteer...So they would have what they would call ‘the volunteer journey’. (Andy, LOCOG manager).

It was planned to interview around 10,000 Games Makers based outside of London, with the majority to come from London and the surrounding area. Around 2,500 unpaid SEVs interviewed 100,000 potential Games Makers. They were recruited from among students and others who expressed interest, which is in line with the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce (IOC, 2005). Successful SEVs were not required to have prior experience in either interviewing or volunteering, but were given a mandatory one-day training (Nichols and Ralston, 2014). The aim of the training was to equip SEVs with interview skills and techniques and to familiarise them with LOCOG’s values and principles. SEVs training booklet, which the researcher gained as part of her SEV’s assignment, contained very specific guidelines on how to conduct an interview with a check-list of ‘do’s and ‘don’ts’ and tips on how to communicate with people from various backgrounds. SEVs were educated beforehand on how to use a rating scale to fairly and consistently reflect on volunteers’ answers to interview questions. SEVs role was to provide written evaluation reports with a score attached to each volunteer. The passing score was in range ‘20-24’ for ordinary volunteers and ‘70-74’ for those who expressed their

interest in leadership roles. Final reports were used by LOCOG and functional areas to assess whether a person fits their needs.

Interviews lasted 15-20 minutes, which was considered acceptable from the management point of view, given that large numbers of volunteers applied. As stated in a Salt Lake 2002 example cited by IOC, *“Of the 68,000 applications received...almost 43,000 people were interviewed in 15-minute one-on-one sessions. Salt Lake 2002 considered an interview to be an important step in assessing the candidate’s commitment to volunteering and ensuring the candidate exhibited preferred volunteer behaviours”* (IOC, 2005, p. 101-175). London 2012 interviews included seven standardised questions, generic and function-specific. No role was offered at that point, which seems to contradict the guidelines on volunteer selection process: *“Interviews are conducted to determine the suitability of candidates for a position and to provide an opportunity for volunteers to obtain more information about the roles they are applying for”* (IOC, 2005, pp. 100-175).

Nonetheless, LOCOG Volunteer Policy Games Time (LOCOG, 2012d) indicated that offers made of role, venue or functional area, dates and shifts were subject to change any time, given prior notice, which explains lack of details on roles provided by LOCOG at the time of interview. In order to be successful, potential Games Makers needed to demonstrate the ability to speak and read English fluently, have a commitment to the Games and the principles of the Olympic and Paralympic movement, and express appropriate personal behaviours, such as being friendly, polite, outgoing, and enthusiastic. They were encouraged to provide examples to illustrate their approach to managing conflicts, making a difference, going the extra mile, and others.

The outcome of an interview depended on both the ability of the interviewees to express themselves and on the skills of the interviewer to adequately evaluate and probe, which corroborates the ‘quality selectors’ approach advocated by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015). For the most part, LOCOG relied on SEV’s ‘common sense’ in judgment, thereby putting a lot of responsibility on their shoulders:

If you take the normal recruitment for a paid job somewhere, you can only really go off what the person says plus references, and we didn’t have time to ask for 70,000 references...so we could only really know based on the answers that were given in the interview...and the opinion of the person interviewing. (Andy, LOCOG manager)

However, as evidenced, the professionalism of SEVs was questioned, along with the quality and depth of their training. Despite the high standards set by LOCOG, the majority of SEVs were not trained to be interview experts, which would have taken more resources and would not answer the call for a cost-effective approach in conducting volunteer interviews advocated by the IOC (IOC, 2005). The spectrum of people who became SEVs differed in their background, age, experience, and levels of motivation, which had implications for the interview process and the confidence with which SEVs could undertake their roles. For example, the researcher had previously been in the position to interview people applying for paid jobs. Therefore, performing a SEV's role was not different from her previous experience. Training was needed only to become familiar with LOCOG's requirements, for which one day seemed to be sufficient.

Yet, as recalled from personal observations, SEVs with no previous interview experience struggled with the task when asked to practice at the time of training. Given that LOCOG was encouraged to use students whenever possible for these roles (IOC, 2005), the quality of experiences with interviews differed. Younger volunteers were generally satisfied whereas experienced volunteers, although showing loyalty to the organisation, expressed a wish to have been interviewed by more experienced people. Similar sentiments were reported in research done by Nichols and Ralston (2014), where interviewers were evaluated as inexperienced, lacking knowledge and unable to answer questions. It can be suggested that, given the ultimate responsibility of SEVs to evaluate potential Games Makers, this might have had an adverse impact on the outcomes of interviews and roles allocated.

Evidence from this research showed that volunteers had mixed feelings about the interview and selection process. Being unaware of selection criteria and having no prior expectations helped some volunteers avoid disappointments of not getting exactly what they wanted. They had positive attitudes toward the interview and were generally satisfied. Among them were both those who had never volunteered for sport events and had limited life experience (young, students) as well as experienced volunteers. For instance, one retired interviewee mentioned:

The interviews were fine; they were well-organised, slick, quite impressive. They saw a lot of people, everything was specific, [and] it was good. I liked that. (Jane, Games Maker)

However, there were volunteers who expressed concerns with their interview, which was compared by some to a ‘conveyor belt’ of people coming in and out, which, as believed, left minimal time for SEVs to properly evaluate applicants. Besides, standardisation, although intended “*to ensure equity in the recruitment process*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 27), did not necessarily allow for a proper match. Alternatively, interviews tailored to specific jobs would seem more appropriate to accommodate individual preferences, as evidenced by one of Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games volunteers:

We had questions to ask for specific jobs...and then we'd say 'There's this range of jobs on offer, which do you think would suit you best?' And if they wanted any more details, we'd explain it...If they didn't like what they were offered, they had a choice...to take something else within the organisation...And they'd eventually get the job that they wanted. (Daniel, dropped out Games Maker)

Still very much task-driven, the approach utilised by Manchester 2002 allowed for more flexibility, which created a higher level of satisfaction among volunteers. However, this scenario seemed to be unrealistic for London 2012, given the scale of the event and no details on roles provided to volunteers at the time of interview. Manchester 2002 was smaller in scope, and the whole process was under control of the recruitment firm Adecco, which looked after volunteers. Although Manchester 2002 also used SEVs to interview potential volunteers, the whole process seemed to be much more personalised.

A proper match between volunteers’ prior work, volunteering experience, skills and a role allocated greatly influenced volunteers’ level of satisfaction. Those volunteers who could clearly see the connection were particularly happy, which is consistent with the literature (e.g. Green and Chalip, 2004; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Some credited their previous volunteering and work experience with giving them a valuable Games Maker role; although, as evidence suggests, this was rather an exception than the rule. Thus, one interviewee without any managerial experience was given a team leader’s role, which immensely enriched her volunteering experience:

In the team leaders’ course, there were 60 people in the room and the training person said, “How many people here have managerial experience?” and nearly every hand went up. They said: “How many people have got experience of being involved in a very important large sports event?” and there were five of us...that really opened my eyes. (Hazel, Games Maker)

This confirms that prior experience was not officially a selection criterion, which, otherwise, would contradict the declaration to inspire new volunteers to come forward and volunteer for London 2012 (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006).

Despite some positive outcomes, instances of a mismatch were recorded. This was precisely the reason some interviewees decided not to apply after all, as they felt that organisers were mostly concerned about recruiting large numbers to stage ‘the show’, without any substantial concern for volunteers:

I just feel like the process isn't good enough...that people are not being matched to their skills so if you were lucky enough to find yourself volunteering somewhere that matched your skills and interests, then wow. Maybe you'd make some good contacts. But...it's a lot of taking people's time. (Lucy, London 2012 training camps volunteer).

One experienced volunteer, after being offered the role mentioned by him as the least desirable, assumed that LOCOG did not properly read his application. Another volunteer wished his experience of being a team leader at other sport events was taken into account. He believed that the role of steward would not utilise his skills:

I can only...put it [role allocation] down to the fact that the report he [SEV] did on me...didn't do me any favours...I don't blame the people in London at all because they can only act subject to the information they're fed with... I'm not running down stewards...but I was prepared to do more, I'd have found it more acceptable to pay for all the travelling, to be doing something...[commensurate to] my own capabilities. (Bruce, Games Maker)

Thus, despite the fact that organisers took over a year to match volunteers to jobs, they did not always meet the expectations of volunteers nor utilise those they chose to their full potential. This can be attributed to an over-subscription for certain functions on one hand, and the quality of the interview and overall selection on the other hand, affecting both the role distribution and the level of volunteers’ satisfaction with the process.

Additional disappointments were expressed with running applications for both Olympic and Paralympic Games in parallel rather than in series, which could have provided greater opportunities for those unsuccessful in the Olympic application to still get a chance to become a Paralympic

volunteer. However, in this case, the whole process would have taken more than two years, and the resources required for interviewing and training would have been greatly increased. On the other hand, those who applied for both Olympics and Paralympics had some anxieties with inconsistencies in role allocations. They were either chosen for Olympic or Paralympic Games, or were not selected at all, or accepted, but their roles vanished from the website. From the management point of view, these instances seem to contradict the principle outlined in the Volunteering Strategy of having ‘*One Games*’ via utilising the same volunteers for both the Olympics and Paralympics (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). This could have made the process more efficient, as one volunteer working at both events could have been trained once for the same role.

These issues are at odds with the aim to have a Volunteer Programme that is “*an exemplar in the management of volunteers*” and ensures the delivery of “*both a skilled and effective volunteer workforce and a happy, motivated and contented one*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 42).

8.2.4. Organisational support

As acknowledged in the literature (e.g. Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b), proper support provided by the organisation is one of the key components that influence the performance of volunteers and underpin the success of the organisation. Among the elements of support discussed below are clear communication and the approach with regard to financial matters.

8.2.4.1. Communication

As stated in the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce, “*A significant part of retention is good communication. An OCOG should develop a comprehensive, ongoing communication plan...that provides regular communication with staff and volunteers*” (IOC, 2005, pp. 75-175). Therefore, managing communications was declared as a “*vital part of staging successful Games*” (LOCOG, 2012b, p. 33). Games Makers who successfully went through the selection process were invited to confirm the acceptance of their role within two weeks of notification. Yet, even at that point, volunteers were not informed of any details of the job they were required to perform, nor its location, dates and shifts, to make an informed decision about the offer. Those who accepted became members of one big team of the Games workforce. From then on, LOCOG had to sustain close communication “*to enhance motivation and track progress during the years leading up to the Games and beyond*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 2). E-mail, an official website (a Games Maker Zone), the London 2012 Games Maker Facebook page and a telephone helpline became vital communication

channels to maintain the dialogue. In addition, it was planned, although not realised, to establish a ‘volunteer representative or body’ which would *“capture suggestions and complaints from volunteers, provide advocacy and representation...and its priority should be problem-solving and communications”* (Ibid., 2006, p. 83).

As evidenced from this research, despite all these plans, the communication between LOCOG and volunteers was poor before the Games. The Games Maker Zone was created to aid volunteers in managing their application, and was used to inform them of important news, such as allocation of roles, shifts or training sessions, invitations to special events and general Games-wide updates. It was personalised with the information volunteers provided at the application stage. However, the content did not always reflect reality, which shows poor management of the website. For example, one interviewee noticed that her training shifts disappeared off her Games Maker portal. Besides, the layout of information was not easy to navigate even for experienced users. This suggests that organisers did not use the website properly as a communication tool. Some interviewees were especially concerned with lack of feedback and demonstration of no interest in volunteers:

You could never speak to anybody or communicate. When I decided I wasn't doing it [London 2012], I went on my portal...and declined. I had to do it three times before it was recognised and when it was...my portal was gone instantly. I couldn't go on it any more. I never had any communication to ask why I'd declined. (Daniel, dropped-out Games Maker)

Indeed, managers did not provide follow-up, as they believed that they could have no influence on those who opted out, but concentrated on those volunteers who were still on board or on LOCOG's reserve list:

Once they dropped off, there is nothing else we can do; we focus on the people that are volunteering. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

As mentioned by Nichols and Ralston (2014), having a pool of thousands of other volunteers on reserve made LOCOG unconcerned with those who withdrew, or with their reasons. This seems to be at odds with the procedures outlined in the Volunteering Strategy, which acknowledged that disappointments had to be handled appropriately, otherwise, *“we run the risk, not only of leaving a sour taste amongst many during the Games itself, but more seriously of creating a dissatisfied group*

of people who are disinclined to ever put themselves forward to volunteer again” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 26).

E-mail communication was facilitated via a generic LOCOG address. Any requests were returned from an automatic ‘no-reply’ address and were rarely acted upon, which did not meet volunteers’ expectations:

I was not very happy because I’ve had one or two questions and I’ve sent e-mails off three or four times and only one was replied...but it took a fortnight to come through. (Hazel, Games Maker)

On the other hand, interviewees who built close connections with LOCOG staff and could send direct e-mails to them were quite happy and able to bypass formal procedures. The rest, who were not satisfied with one-way e-mail communication, had to phone a help line, for which they paid additional-to-regular phone charges. However, as evidenced by the researcher and interviewees, on many occasions people on the front lines had no information to enable them to solve problems, such as cancelled or rescheduled training sessions or many others:

They can’t help you...they don’t know anything, they have no power to decide anything, they just take messages, but it’s very frustrating that you can’t speak to someone who knows...and can arrange things. (Jane, Games Maker)

It can be inferred that at this stage LOCOG was not particularly effective in liaising with volunteers. The quality of customer service was low, and various means of communication did not serve to support volunteers or resolve issues, let alone motivate them. This can be attributed to the lack of training LOCOG provided to their own staff members, which strengthens the argument that the management style was inflexible and volunteers were not valued.

I understand why they want to keep everything uniform...but we are grown ups, we are volunteers, you’re not paying us money...so you feel like saying ‘a little bit more of a humanistic side would be better. Treat us a little better’. (Nancy, Open Ceremony volunteer)

Unfortunately, being overwhelmed with the magnitude, complexity and a fast-approaching start of the Games, LOCOG seemed to prioritise immediate operational requirements over providing volunteers with the best experience:

They [LOCOG] were dealing with such large volumes of people...it wasn't feasible to offer that personal level of service throughout the whole period. They didn't have the people to do it. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

However, the approach toward volunteers changed dramatically a couple of weeks before and during the Games. Various social events were organised to promote the team spirit and belonging among volunteers. For example, as recalled by the researcher, LOCOG distributed one free ticket per each volunteer to attend the Grand Rehearsal of the London 2012 Opening Ceremony, which was used as a motivation boost as well as a gift to all Games Makers for their commitment. On the operational side, due to high volume of phone calls, LOCOG eventually established a centralised complaints procedure through which a dialogue between the organisation and volunteers improved. It was not a volunteer representative body in the full sense, as planned, but at least each inquiry was recorded and a unique number was allocated for future reference, to ease the process of problem solving:

They were helpful...all that you had recorded, they'd got on the database so you didn't have to repeat anything...So very good, excellent...Only once...I guess it was just somebody who didn't want to be bothered. (Mathew, Games Maker)

Further positive developments happened when LOCOG decided to devolve day-to-day management of volunteers to functional areas and venues (competition, non-competition and public domain), which aimed at ensuring that “*the operational needs of the Games are met whilst at the same time helping to deliver a more supportive, personalised environment in which the volunteers will operate*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 42). Indeed, the communication became more frequent, personal, quicker and tailored to individual circumstances. Venue managers were responsible for making contact with every volunteer who was allocated to their venue. They made themselves available by giving out personal contact information so they could be reached directly to confirm or reschedule shifts, or in case of an emergency. On one occasion, the researcher had an issue with her attendance of Venue-specific training, which proved to be impossible to fix via e-mails or the hotline. A prompt response from the venue manager was critical, which led to a positive resolution. This supportive approach LOCOG aimed to maintain throughout the Games, which is also advocated in the literature (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006).

After [the Games] started, the whole attitude to the volunteers from the organisation just seemed much better...They were very good...positive and enthusiastic towards us and they made a point of thanking people and...making [us] feel...we were valued, which didn't come across before the Games at all. (Hannah, Games Maker)

This change can be explained by two factors. It was easier to manage relatively smaller numbers of volunteers split into teams of several hundred instead of 70,000. Besides, employees who were in charge of recruitment and selection, and those who managed volunteers during the Games were not necessarily the same people, which is a common practice at the Games (Costa *et al.*, 2006). Many paid staff members were hired by LOCOG six to nine months prior to the Games. They were trained specifically in Games-time volunteer management, and one of the requirements was getting to know their team members in order to deliver the Games at the highest standard. Some venue managers were seconded from other organisations, such as the civil service, and never had a chance to work at the Olympics before. Others had the experience either in paid or volunteer positions at previous Games, which helped them relate better to volunteers. However, these factors varied across venues and teams. This research, in particular, benefited from interviewing managers from both groups.

8.2.4.2. Financial matters

In accordance with good practice in managing volunteers, the Volunteering Strategy initially envisaged to reimburse volunteers with out-of-pocket expenses including: *“travel to and from where the volunteering is taking place; travel while volunteering; meals taken while volunteering; post and phone costs; care of dependents while volunteering; and the cost of special clothing or equipment necessary for the role”* (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 46). Volunteers had to provide evidence of expenditure, such as receipts, transport tickets and the like, which would potentially facilitate enrolment of people across the country, and strengthen the commitment of those already on board. However, the execution of these plans and procedures was left *“purely at the discretion of LOCOG, rather than an enforceable right the volunteer gains as part of the relationship”* (ibid., p. 46).

Therefore, soon after the Games Maker Programme was established, it became clear that LOCOG would honour only commitments directly related to performing volunteer roles. Meanwhile, the difference in the approach taken by those on the planning versus the implementation sides is quite striking. Games Makers were given a full set of volunteer uniforms, meal vouchers to be used during shifts, and an Olympic Volunteer Oyster card to cover expenses within the London public transport

network (similarly, in other UK cities hosting football competitions). However, they were not reimbursed for travel to and from London for training and volunteering shifts, food outside ‘duty’ hours, phone calls, taxi charges and accommodation expenses. Notably, even the level of support provided had strict limitations. For example, an Oyster card could be officially used only for travelling on LOCOG business during the Olympics. If it was lost or stolen, a Games Maker was expected to incur personal expenses while waiting for the replacement, which were not reimbursed. Besides, organisers did not take into account the timing of volunteer shifts, which were sometimes outside work hours of public transport, which meant volunteers had to use taxi services that were not reimbursed.

The most concern for out-of-London volunteers was finding affordable and accessible accommodation. Volunteering Strategy Group proposed establishing a ‘homestay programme’ to enable volunteers stay in people’s homes during the course of the Olympics, a plan that did not materialise due to poor follow up:

This or providing other forms of cheap accommodation could have been one way in which the costs could have been reduced significantly for people coming from other parts of the country.
(Rick, Chair of London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group)

This is similar to the outreach campaign practiced by Torino 2006 (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010) where organisers encouraged the local volunteers to offer the accommodation to others from further afield. In fact, they in the first place targeted primarily those within a close proximity to the Olympic venues, which was not feasible for London 2012 due to their commitment to UK-Wide Games.

On the other hand, as evidenced by one LOCOG manager, additional volunteer support was neither feasible (logistically or financially) nor even necessary. The organisation clearly benefited from the fact that many people wanted to volunteer for the Olympics:

They could have created...a hardship fund that helped people from disadvantaged areas outside of London to volunteer in the Games...[or] building people accommodation...[but] we can do without...that sort of outreach exercise...which is a little bit expensive...It was massively over-subscribed and by virtue of how the Games went, we did have a great volunteer workforce. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

This suggests that volunteers were viewed more as a factor of service delivery and costs to the organisation to be minimised than a human capital to invest in and develop (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). Volunteers, in turn, strongly criticised a lack of proper support provided by LOCOG:

They had a golden opportunity in London...they could have taken over the university halls of residence...[for] really dirt-cheap prices...[but] they say 'we've done everything we can for you. If you want to volunteer, fine. If you don't, we'll find somebody else to do it'...I'm very lucky because it's not costing me anything for my accommodation but everyone else is having to pay lots of money for it. Hotels have gone up...It's a big rip-off. (Ken, Games Maker)

Indeed, survey respondents mentioned that apart from time, cost was a serious barrier for getting involved. London 2012 was perceived a very expensive enterprise ranging between five hundred to thousands of British pounds; even more for out-of-London volunteers. As noted by one of the interviewees, to his knowledge only 12 out of 15,000 volunteers on MEV database volunteered in London. Some volunteers did not apply at all or only for the Olympic (or Paralympic) Games because it involved a large commitment of both time and money. Indeed, the researcher had to make multiple trips to London for training and rent lodging during the Games, which would have proved too costly without the help of the research grant.

The only people...who could come...were people who could afford to do so, or who had relatives and friends to stay with and in that sense, it was going to be limiting, inevitably it enabled more middle-class people to [volunteer] than others. (Rick, Chair of London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group)

Indeed, the survey shows that the average income of the third of the respondents was £30,000 GBP or more, and half of the respondents were White English. It can be inferred that LOCOG policies discriminated between 'the haves and the have-nots' thereby undermining the declared slogan of the most inclusive Games with a diverse workforce (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006) and subverting the true meaning of volunteering, which is giving time without payment (Wilson, 2000; Snyder and Omoto, 2008):

I think volunteering is so underestimated and so important that it's not taken seriously... Volunteering has to be accessible to everybody...But you've got to face the fact that money matters. (Mary, Games Maker)

This practice seems to contradict one of the cornerstone principles of the Volunteering Strategy: “*Volunteering...is about offering an opportunity for **community engagement** and for utilising the spirit, energy and commitment of our **diverse population***” (emphasis added, Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 16). Moreover, it clearly put an enormous financial barrier for people from socially excluded backgrounds who completed the Personal Best Programme, but could not afford to become Games Makers (see Chapter 6). On the other hand, potential volunteers knew in advance that only limited personal expenses were to be covered by the Games organisers (LOCOG, 2012d), and had an option to either accept this policy and willingly pay their way within that stipulation, or decline the role:

If I couldn't have afforded it, I shouldn't have applied! There's no argument! It limits people who can do it...But that's life. Maybe you don't agree with me! (Mary, Games Maker)

It's unfair that so many volunteers are struggling to pay for their own accommodation... but...it would have been a tremendous job to try and find accommodation for everybody so I can't say that I disagree with them. I think that was probably the right thing to do. (Hazel, Games Maker)

As acknowledged in the Volunteering Strategy, volunteering is “*a cost effective way of helping LOCOG to deliver the best ever Games*”, however, “*is not a means of getting things done on the cheap and of undercutting wages or replacing paid staff*”, but “*about adding value and supplementing and enhancing the key role [of] paid employees*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 16). This approach corresponds to the recent literature on best practices in volunteer management (e.g. Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Nonetheless, some of the interviewed out-of-London volunteers, in particular, had a strong feeling that they were taken for granted. Dissatisfaction with the process of selection, interview and role allocation compounded with ineffective organisational support, high costs and time commitments made some Games Makers choose to withdraw:

I hope it's a great success...but I'm not sorry that I turned it down because I'm not happy with the organisation before the Games and I worry what will happen during the Games. (Daniel, dropped-out Games Maker)

8.3. Training content and delivery

As stated in the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce, OCOGs are encouraged to recruit a sponsor for their Games-time training programme. Although expenses can go beyond the initial value-in-kind scope, it can still “*defray costs and provide additional resources*” (IOC, 2005, pp. 123-175). Thus, London 2012 Games-time training was planned and designed by McDonald’s, the official Presenting Partner of the Games Maker Programme. LOCOG intended to use McDonald’s previous experience in designing “*award-winning training and education schemes*” that helped their employees deliver friendly customer service in a fast-paced environment as well as develop in their careers (LOCOG, 2012a, p. 2). According to IOC recommendations, workforce training should focus on “*providing the staff and volunteers...with the skills required to perform their Games-time assignments...[and] is typically delivered in four ways: Orientation, Venue-specific training, Job-specific training, and Event leadership training*” (IOC, 2005, pp. 116-175).

For London 2012, the provision of high-quality training for volunteers was required not only to ensure the success of the Volunteer Programme (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006), but also the success of the Games (LOCOG, 2012a). Mandatory orientation and training, along with indispensable parts of traditional HRM practices (see Figure 4.2.), intended to cultivate what Cuskelly and Auld (2000a) call ‘person-organisation’ and ‘person-task’ fit. The former was planned to be achieved through introducing volunteers to LOCOG values, and the latter – through helping volunteers carry out their roles safely and confidently, thereby maximising their experiences and making them “*the best qualified and most highly skilled of any recent Olympiad*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 35). The training programme consisted of five core elements: Orientation; Olympics and Paralympics; Health and Safety; Customer focus/care; and Equalities and Diversity. Delivered through LOCOG educational partners, these elements were provided in three separate training sessions. Team leaders had additional event leadership training.

Volunteers were required to attend all trainings. Even one skipped training session or uncollected uniform or accreditation could automatically disqualify them from volunteering (LOCOG, 2012d). Furthermore, the majority of interviewees expressed concerns that LOCOG allocated training shifts without taking into account personal circumstances, which contradicts good practice in volunteer management (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006):

They think you...should be at their beck and call...I don't think they realise that we've got lives to lead and we're not just waiting to jump when they want us to...they don't seem to be very considerate. (Hannah, Games Maker)

No attempts were made by LOCOG to coordinate, for example, training and uniform collection. Located in London, these events were scheduled by LOCOG on separate days and could not be merged together or moved to a different location. This made logistics especially difficult for out-of-London volunteers, both time- and cost-wise. According to this research, though, an exception was made for volunteers in Manchester who had their volunteering assignments locally. They requested and secured their training in Manchester. However, the change was done without sufficient notification, which caused additional problems:

They [organisers] should at least have had the decency to say 'We have now changed the system, you will no longer need to come to London' which would give me ample time to get a refund on the railway ticket and the hotel. (Mary, Games Maker)

There were instances when LOCOG cancelled role-specific training at short notice due to insufficient numbers of people for that day. Again, neither prior notification nor explanation was given, and volunteers had to reschedule at their own expense. Changing dates for already allocated training sessions was not straightforward either:

In Manchester, there's only one week in which you can pick your uniform...and they've only just told us when that is. If they had known, why couldn't they have told us ages ago so we could have made arrangements! (Hannah, Games Maker)

I wanted to go to Australia...applied for the visa and suddenly I received an e-mail asking me to the training...I asked them if I can delay my training and was waiting for about 20 days and they still haven't responded to me...So I changed my ticket and came back to take this training. (Lily, Games Maker)

These cases highlight once again that initially LOCOG did not have a proper complaints procedure in place or enough skilled staff to handle problems, subverting the needs of volunteers to the priorities of the organisation.

8.3.1. Orientation

Orientation was aimed at helping volunteers understand how they could contribute to the event (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). However, in practice it was done in very broad terms. 70,000 volunteers were gathered together at Wembley Arena in London, cheered by famous sports stars and actors. It was organised to integrate volunteers into the Games workforce, get them into the spirit of the Olympics, and reinforce a feeling of belonging and unity around a collective mission of staging a successful event, a common practice of Organising Committees (IOC, 2005; Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015):

It [Orientation] aimed at being fun and enthusing people...rather than hard-core learning...It was all done...with the volunteer experience in mind...so that they feel welcomed and part of the team. (Andy, LOCOG manager)

Particular attention was given to ‘*I Do Act*’ values, standing for being *Inspirational, Distinctive, Open, Alert, Consistent* and part of the *Team*, which were basic customer service skills volunteers had to learn as part of their major role as London 2012 Hosts (LOCOG, 2012a). To be exceptional, volunteers were encouraged to push beyond their personal best and become experts on London 2012. They were provided with information on the history and values of the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the London 2012 bid, sports, athletes and venues (LOCOG, 2012d). Indeed, 54.93% of volunteers surveyed indicated that ‘Games/Sport awareness’ was a major focus of their training sessions, after building communication skills (77.46%) and team-building skills (60.56%) (Appendix J).

Evidence from this research shows that young and new volunteers were satisfied with the Orientation, as they had an opportunity to experience novel things, be inspired by the celebratory atmosphere and feel part of one big team responsible for the Games. However, despite the attempts of LOCOG to use the event as a way to nurture the volunteering experience in a manner that builds a sense of community and enhances volunteers’ commitment to the organisation (Costa *et al.* 2006), Orientation was perceived by some volunteers mainly as a way to disseminate information. Hence, they were not impressed by a ‘big buzz’, which was perceived as PR, but expected more substance. Experienced volunteers, in particular, thought that both the content of the Games Maker Workbook (LOCOG, 2012a) and the presentation at Wembley were poor, as organisers did not clearly outline practical things such as the location of venues and details of volunteer roles, which is critical in encouraging proper attitudes and behaviour in volunteers (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Hoye *et al.*, 2006).

Although some volunteers had a chance to meet new people and see familiar faces, they felt that organisationally it was a duplicate of their previous volunteering experience, with the only difference in the name ‘Olympics’. Apart from Manchester volunteers who had their Orientation in Manchester, the majority out-of-London volunteers, including the researcher, incurred travel, accommodation and food expenses just to get to Orientation, which added to dissatisfaction:

I think it was expensive nonsense really, to have us all flocking down to London in 2 foot deep snow!...being given talks and then...a DVD with the whole thing on it and being sent away. Total and utter waste of money! (Matthew, Games Maker)

In contrast, organisers of the Torino 2006 Volunteer Programme, for example, sent out training guides by post to volunteers from different regions of Italy, thereby not requiring them to come for the Orientation in person (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010).

8.3.2. Role-specific training

Role-specific training consisted of two parts. The first had to do with operational knowledge needed to perform the roles (LOCOG, 2012d). It was a generic training which was similar to Orientation, although more in-depth. It covered LOCOG values, and included information regarding discrimination, child protection, disability and related information, essential to comply with legislation (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006), with special attention given to cultural awareness (see Appendix J):

They were very straight on being respectful to minority backgrounds, gender, [and] religions; it was good to see these at the forefront (Glen, Games Maker)

This training was delivered in smaller groups, which provided volunteers with opportunities to meet, socialise and bond with their team members, thereby strengthening their group identity, which is consistent with the literature (e.g. Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995; Elstad, 1996; Kemp, 2002; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). As acknowledged, fostering interactions among volunteers during training is one of the ways to build a sense of community (or *communitas*), which ultimately plays a vital role in volunteer commitment and satisfaction (Green and Chalip, 2004; Costa *et al.*, 2006; Getz, 2007). In this case, volunteers were invited to be part of the

community of Games Makers united by a shared purpose – successful delivery of the London 2012 Games.

Another significant aspect of Role-specific training was learning how to provide excellent customer service (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). The slogan '*I Do Act*', introduced during Orientation, was practiced in groups to instil its meaning into the minds and actions of volunteers. In order to perform their roles successfully, volunteers had to be positive and welcoming, possess strong verbal and non-verbal communication and conflict-resolution skills, be approachable and able to identify customer's needs, handle complaints and present themselves in a professional manner (LOCOG, 2012a).

The second part of training aimed to be more role specific, and lasted from several hours to several days, depending on the complexity of the position and the functional area, which is consistent with the literature (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). For example, the researcher went through a two-day training, which was split into two parts: Protocol and Language services. During training each volunteer was handed a training guide. Volunteers were supposed to learn the specifics of their job, the scope of their responsibilities and the reporting structure, which is congruent with IOC recommendations (IOC, 2005). Evidence from the interviews, however, shows that volunteers had mixed reactions and learning outcomes as a result of this part of training, which differed based on their previous volunteering experience as well as the functional area in which they operated.

Generally, younger and less experienced volunteers expressed positive feelings and found their training useful, especially regarding learning communication, team building, problem solving, and customer service skills. They thought that the whole process was quite effective. Much information was delivered within a short period by friendly and knowledgeable trainers. For example, training in Protocol and Language Services was well-managed, as observed by the researcher: "*It was quite helpful, especially with regard to translations and what my role will involve...they explained everything about mixed zone and flash quotes...[and] said that they'd allocated the role based on my native language and put me in the venue where they expect many Russian athletes...for Protocol, they gave us information on various VIP clients, differences in their accreditation, and certain behaviours we had to perform toward this group*" (personal diary). This shows that useful details were provided

to give volunteers an opportunity to learn both function-specific and job-specific skills, which is in line with the research by Elstad (1996) and Kemp (2002).

Some volunteers even reported that they learned responsibilities of other functional areas and agencies working alongside LOCOG, which was the case with a young volunteer from Accreditation. His training was specifically about how to use the Accreditation system and how to screen people arriving for the Games. He was responsible for security alongside the professional paid staff, which can be interpreted as a 'cost effective' way of using volunteers, mentioned earlier. Yet, overall, he had a positive experience:

[It] was a very warm...and a very helpful environment where everyone can rely on each other...I think this is the main asset of volunteering, the positive...feel-good atmosphere...in which to work. (Glen, Games Maker)

Similarly, some experienced volunteers were pleased with their Role-specific training, although it seemed to differ by various functional areas. Transport volunteers thought that their training contained all the information needed to perform their roles well, and gave them an opportunity to demonstrate that they were safe drivers. Many volunteers observed an increase in self-confidence, a common training outcome mentioned by Cuskelly and Auld (2000b) as well as by surveyed volunteers (67% of respondents indicated increase in self-confidence, see Appendix J). However, other volunteers evidenced a lack of job-related details, which puts at odds the main purpose of this training – provide volunteers with all necessary skills and information to perform their assigned tasks (IOC, 2005). For example, volunteers in Event Services, ironically, reported that their Role-specific training was lacking specifics, so they did not know what their role was, what was expected of them and the level of personal responsibility:

I don't know my role yet...only in broad terms. "But you'll find out at the venue"- they were just passing it on all the time...The role training I thought was a dead loss for me...it's a waste of time and a waste of money. (Mathew, Games Maker)

Another Event Services volunteer was clearly dissatisfied with management and the quality of her training. She thought that too much irrelevant information was transmitted, which, however, can be explained by LOCOG requirements to comply with Games-time operational and safety procedures:

It covered lots of things that I never experienced...the health and safety stuff really didn't apply...different code alerts and dangerous situations...luckily there weren't any major problems. (Jane, Games Maker)

Older and experienced volunteers, in particular, believed that they did not learn anything new because of previous volunteering experience:

I've been corresponding with MEVs who are doing the Olympics, and we have said the same thing...We've been through all this; it's very similar to what we did in Manchester. (Hazel, Games Maker)

Furthermore, they expressed the need to learn practical things specific to London in order to be effective at their roles, which is consistent with the research on Torino 2006 volunteers (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). Therefore, it can be inferred that London 2012 volunteers were 'organisation-centred' volunteers in Ilsley's (1990) categorisation, as they were clearly focussed on learning instrumental skills to be used in role performance. They were concerned with not getting necessary information about their day-to-day responsibilities, which could have negatively affected their effectiveness during the Games.

8.3.3. Venue-specific training

Venue-specific training generally takes place at the venue within several weeks prior to the Games, run by the managers for the venue concerned, and covers details on the venue site, layout and amenities; safety and emergency procedures; transportation information; communication protocols; and the venue team policies (IOC, 2005; Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). In London, above all, Venue-specific training was planned to help deliver the most safe and secure Games, as LOCOG was committed to be a leader in health and safety management and wanted to ensure that procedures were properly explained and adhered to (LOCOG, 2012d). For that purpose, volunteers were given a Venue tour and a pocket guide with practical advice to follow during the Games (LOCOG, 2012b).

All interviewed volunteers, even experienced ones, named venue-specific training the most useful of all trainings. It was conducted in venues where volunteers later performed their Games-time roles, which satisfied volunteers' expectation to learn about the physical location and logistics of their jobs:

The venue training...was about getting to see the venues that were newly built and...learning the layout, but...it was also health and safety more than anything... where the fire exits were, what the procedures were. (Andy, LOCOG manager)

Indeed, safety skills were mentioned by 40.85% of survey respondents as the focus of their training (Appendix J). Above all, Venue-specific training provided volunteers with an opportunity to meet other volunteers from their venue and functional area. Developing relationships before the start of the first shift proved to be important. The researcher, for example, felt more comfortable knowing volunteers and managers in person with whom she worked side by side during the Games. Having a social night out after training was a pleasant bonus: “A Venue Deputy manager said that in order for us to get to know each other better in an informal setting, he reserved a bar so everybody who wanted to have a drink after the venue training was welcome to come, and I did! It’s a nice idea! It gives us a chance to get to know those whom to work with for the next 17 days” (personal diary).

However, appealing to their previous experiences, some volunteers from other venues expressed concerns about the quality of the training content and the trainers. Some felt that the training was rushed and lacked details. One interviewee was disappointed with poor information on how to solve crowd control issues in the Olympic Park:

You’ve got a better idea of where we were going to be, and what we were going to be doing, that was obviously useful...we had the plan of the place, all the different sectors and where everything was...but I learned more on the job. (Jane, Games Maker)

McDonald’s provided 1.2 million hours of training to Games Makers in addition to further training opportunities available through test events before the Games (Nichols and Ralston, 2014). Despite this, in as much as having proper training is crucial, learning ‘on the go’ during the Games was a common practice for both managers and volunteers:

We were running around like headless chickens...because we didn’t know what to expect!...but it’s venue practice...you do things and you learn that way...every day, every hour...And not only myself, but the volunteers...as well. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

It can be partly explained by the fact that every Olympics create a unique environment that is hard to replicate and prepare for (Green and Chalip, 2004; Baum and Lockstone, 2007), which almost downplays the time and cost LOCOG along with MacDonald’s invested into these activities:

It's just a different ball game...People were involved in test events and training but nothing actually prepared them...they either cope, or they don't. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

8.3.4. Event leadership training

Event leadership training was set to equip volunteers who expressed their desire to be team leaders to undertake leadership roles (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). As recommended in the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce, it should aim to cover communication and problem resolution; performance management; recognition and retention; safety and security procedures (IOC, 2005). In fact, training in these competencies, combined with managerial and motivational skills, is essential for team leaders as they are in direct, daily contact with volunteers during the Games and, therefore, “*have a fundamental role to play in the smooth running of operations*” (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015, p. 80). In London, they were responsible for managing the tasks volunteers were supposed to perform, rotate them, support and help with any issues volunteers encountered.

Team leaders interviewed for this study expressed different levels of satisfaction with their training. Among the most useful things mentioned were how to conduct briefing and debriefing sessions LOCOG planned as part of volunteer management, which was found particularly useful by young volunteers. In contrast, experienced volunteers felt that the pace of the training was slow, and much content replicated Role-specific training. It was generic, the same for leaders of all functional areas, and was not particularly comprehensive:

[Leadership training] was more how to relate to people in your team. They kept emphasising that. How to chat to them, they gave instances of someone who was very quiet, what would you do about it, some problem-type things, how would you handle it. (Hazel, team leader)

Similar to evidence expressed by volunteers in ordinary jobs, leadership training did not seem to adequately prepare volunteers to perform their roles effectively. Therefore, the best training for them was by ‘doing’, which is not necessarily considered as learning in itself (Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013).

8.4. Conclusion

The main purpose of this Chapter was to examine volunteer management practices and experiences of volunteers with the first stage of the Games Maker Programme. Evidence showed diverse reactions and outcomes of recruitment, application, interviews, selection, training and role allocation. These depended, on one hand, on personal attributes, such as motivations, expectations, skills and prior experiences of volunteers, and on the other hand, on quality of support and management. This, in turn, had implications for the extent to which volunteers were equipped for the Games and the level of their satisfaction and commitment. Some volunteers, especially younger ones with no prior volunteering experience and fewer expectations were generally pleased with the activities. They found their experiences interesting and useful in learning new things, boosting self-confidence, communication and team building skills, Games and cultural awareness as well as knowledge about venues and safety procedures. Those who were properly matched to their roles expected to be effective and utilised to their full potential during the Games. However, other volunteers, especially older and experienced ones, found less novelty in their experiences, and were dissatisfied with issues such as the quality of interviews and trainings, especially in the lack of details on their roles, although it varied among venues and functional areas. Poor matches meant that volunteers were not in the position to apply their skills and be effective. A lengthy selection process, insufficient communication from LOCOG, high costs and inflexibility in allocating trainings and shifts were indicated as main disappointments, leading to resentment and drop-outs. Given that training sessions were not always successful in simulating the Games-time environment, many Games Makers learned their jobs-related skills during first Games shifts.

Nonetheless, the majority of interviewed volunteers, regardless the degree of their dissatisfaction, continued with their commitments. Their expectation of a ‘once-in-a-lifetime’ opportunity surpassed personal inconveniences, congruent with motives to volunteer outlined in Chapter 7. However, as noted previously, this might not be the case in other, less high profile contexts. It is suggested that the scale of London 2012, operational demands and strict deadlines pressured LOCOG at this stage to focus entirely on recruiting and training enough volunteers to deliver the Games, with everything else being subordinate to this grand target. Adopting a more personable approach to volunteers, such as aligning management practices with volunteers’ needs and interests, seemed to be beyond the organisation’s capacity. Although, as evidenced, meeting expectations could have clearly resulted in a more effective and satisfied workforce, which would also meet declarations to provide volunteers

with the best experience. Some other promises, communicated in the Volunteering Strategy (see Chapter 2), were further compromised. The adopted recruitment scheme along with the lack of a targeted approach and no policy on covering expenses of out-of-London volunteers violated initial promises to build on the existing volunteer infrastructure in the regions, deepen engagement and widen access to volunteering, especially from disadvantaged backgrounds (see also Chapter 6). This, in turn, diminished the diversity and inclusivity of a potential Games-time volunteer workforce. Not engaging Olympic volunteers in Paralympic volunteering undermined the promise to have ‘One Games’.

Chapter 9. Behind the Scenes: Experiencing and Delivering the Games

9.1. Introduction

The previous Chapter discussed the pre-Games phase of the Games Maker Programme, which centred on acquiring and preparing volunteers to deliver the Games. This Chapter is concerned with volunteer management and volunteering experiences during the Games. Particular attention will be given to interactions taking place between volunteers, team leaders, LOCOG managers and clients, and how these influenced Games Makers and their ‘behind the scenes’ experiences. Practices pertained to *Maintaining Human Resources* in the HRM model (Figure 4.2.) will be explored, such as volunteer placement and performance, support and supervision, working conditions, appraisal and acknowledgement, as well as retention and replacement. In a similar vein to Chapter 8, these components of the Programme are viewed as underlying mechanisms that were activated under certain conditions within the *Actual* domain of reality, and triggered certain psychological and behavioural reactions from volunteers. These events continue taking place at the *Experiences* stage of the VPM model (Table 5.2.), and lay grounds for the *Consequences* of volunteering on multiple levels of analysis to be discussed in Chapter 10. This Chapter draws on the interviews with managers and volunteers, and the researcher’s own experience as a volunteer in the Protocol and Language Services team.

9.2. Organisational context

It was acknowledged in the literature that the sport events context in general and the Olympics in particular provide a unique organisational context for volunteer management (Elstad, 1996; Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006; Baum and Lockstone, 2007; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). This assumption is confirmed by London 2012, which involved many elements not normally expected in other volunteering settings. Apart from being immersed in the atmosphere of elite sport, volunteers became the ‘insiders’ (Elstad, 1996) and part of the team or *communitas* (Chalip, 2006) who know in a unique way how the Games were produced, staged and themed, thereby exposed to the event’s subculture (Green and Chalip, 1998). The distinctiveness of the experience was in playing a prestigious role – “*the greatest hosts*” who welcomed the world to the UK and helped put on “*the greatest show on earth*” (LOCOG, 2012a, ‘My Role’ p. 39), albeit strictly on LOCOG terms. These terms and procedures were outlined in the Games-Time Workforce Code of Conduct (LOCOG, 2012a).

9.2.1. Workforce code of conduct

Formally, Games Makers were an important part of London 2012 workforce operations. As a condition of engagement, volunteers were expected to share the organisational goals and values (*person-organisation fit* in Cuskelly, Hoyer and Auld, 2006; Hoyer *et al.*, 2006), which was reflected in signing the *Games Maker pledge*. This statement described the standards of behaviour based on the principles of inclusiveness and respect volunteers should apply to all colleagues, spectators, workers and athletes at all times: “*It is everyone's responsibility to create one team and an inclusive environment and everyone's responsibility to report non-inclusive behaviour*” (LOCOG, 2012c, CD).

Every aspect of volunteers' behaviour was regulated by the rules outlined in London 2012 official booklets such as My Games Maker Workbook (LOCOG, 2012a) and My Games Maker Pocket Guide (LOCOG, 2012b), inculcated by McDonald's trainings before the Games, and day-to-day supervision during the Games. This aimed to encourage volunteers to perform at their best, thereby contributing to a successful and memorable Games-time experience. Thus, as part of the protocol, volunteers were instructed in their appearance, Games-time rosters and rotas; use of transport and technology; norms on health, safety, security and sustainability; catering; fatigue management; communication management, including how to deal with confidential information, media, and so on. They also had to learn specific details about their venues (field of play, stands, reception, lounge), special terminology and jargon used in certain competitions and numerous abbreviations related to accreditation codes and venue access codes. Volunteers had to adhere to policies of the LOCOG hierarchy of reporting in which they were expected to act only within their ‘responsibility boundaries’. The ‘chain of command’ included (from bottom up): team members, team leaders, deputy venue managers, venue managers, and cluster managers. Presumably, this approach aided in managing this scale of event via providing clear avenues for making quick decisions essential for acting under pressure.

While some volunteers were surprised with this system, others seemed to appreciate the realities of the Olympics:

The fact that there were... high security...strict regulations, strict procedures, they were not flexible, did not worry me in the least. It was what I expected. Others didn't. They thought the rules were a bit tight. (Mary, Games Maker)

I think dealing with that number of people; I can't see any other way...it has to be autocratic. I think it has to be dictatorial. (Matthew, Games Maker)

Yet, as argued by Bulley and Lisle (2014), volunteers' personal choice and freedom of expression were constrained at the London 2012 Games by an overly prescriptive uniformity. LOCOG required their entire workforce to wear the same uniforms to be identifiable, inspire pride and boost team spirit, thereby emphasising the uniqueness of the occasion. Any alterations to the uniform were not allowed, except for special needs due to disability or long-term health conditions, which must have been approved in advance. Uniforms were not available for purchase, and could be kept after the Games as a tangible symbol of participation and a reward for excellent performance and commitment, which is aligned with the common practice in volunteer management (Morrow-Howell and Mui, 1989; Green and Chalip, 1998; Kemp, 2002). Yet, being no different from paid staff in this sense potentially removed an element of *volunteer* identity of Games Makers, which might be considered important in boosting community spirit and loyalty to the organisation (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). It might even have caused some confusion over who were volunteering and who were regular employees:

It surprised me...the three managers above us, they were all being paid. They all had a proper paid job. (Hazel, Games Maker)

This seems to be at odds with one of the values in '*IDO ACT*' promoted at Orientation, be *Distinctive*, which means "*provide the personal touch – let yourself shine through*" (LOCOG, 2012a, 'My Role' p. 19). Yet, adhering to the code of conduct was critical in understanding what it meant to deliver the successful London 2012 Games as an ultimate goal. LOCOG rules and procedures had to be applied equally and consistently across all functional areas and venues. However, this is not to claim that the experience was the same across-the-board. As evidence showed, the manner in which this materialised varied depending on the management style of individual managers, the number of volunteers under their control and operational requirements of each particular venue. Some managers were quite distant and highly reliant on the formal structure, whereas others were more open and flexible, which seems to reflect the view that organisations need to have both bureaucratic *and* personalised mechanisms in place in order to be effective (Pearce, 1993).

A Games Maker from an Accreditation team acknowledged that his managers radically tried to provide the best experience to volunteers:

They were there to help...in a quite stressful moment...If some people made a mistake, they were there to transmit some confidence, to make them calm again, which perhaps is not the kind of thing you see in a normal office environment...and we could see that they had quite extensive hours...[but] remained very positive...thankful for what you were doing. (Glen, team leader, Accreditation team).

Yet, in the team where the researcher worked, a venue manager adopted a tough, task-driven approach. For her, volunteers were clearly subordinates who were there to help her provide excellent services. Deputy venue managers, however, had a softer, personable approach. Although preoccupied with delivering the Games, they tried to encourage a positive atmosphere within the team and make sure volunteers were looked after and enjoyed their experience:

If I had to list the corporate priorities, that wouldn't be number one...but for me, probably the most rewarding aspect of the job was making sure volunteers had a good time...if you keep everybody happy, they deliver a good service. These are not incompatible goals. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

It would appear from the researcher's observations that a management style, which combined clear information about what needs to be done with on-going support to meet these ends, helped volunteers in her team stay on board, perform well and have a good experience, which seems to correspond to the literature on volunteer satisfaction (Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001). Although some volunteers were observed to be quite upset with the remoteness of their venue manager, it was also evident that the attention provided by their deputies helped them feel as equals and respected, contributing to a sense of *communitas* (Getz, 2007). This appeared to encourage and sustain enthusiasm, productivity and a healthy atmosphere in the team as well as positive interactions among volunteers and their managers:

[After] the briefing...one of the volunteers...came and gave me a box of Quality Street chocolates: 'This is from the team, we think you're doing a great job, keep going!' And I couldn't speak. I welled up. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

9.3. Games-time operations

To perform their best and be committed to the organisation and the event, volunteers were expected to understand the details pertaining to their Games-time roles, such as workload, duration and time required for commitment, skills and competences essential to execute the role (Volunteering Strategy

Group, 2006). Whereas some details were delivered, to a various degree, via trainings (see Section 8.3.), more specific information surfaced just before and during the Games. Although it has been acknowledged in the literature that flexibility in accommodating volunteers' availability, needs and interests is essential in keeping them committed and satisfied (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a; Chelladurai and Madella, 2006), evidence from this research shows that this was not always possible to accomplish in the context of the Olympics.

9.3.1. Setting up rosters

A work schedule of every volunteer depended heavily on the activities taking place in their venue, functional area and the team. As evidenced, deputy venue managers (managers), in particular, were responsible for planning daily Games-time shifts. In practice, though, these shifts were not always tailored to individual circumstances, which added to problems encountered at earlier stages (discussed in Section 8.2.). Volunteers who lived far away and had too early or too late shifts found their rosters inconvenient time-, money- and safety-wise. Whereas some volunteers reported that they had a good balance of working shifts, others felt overloaded by the number and the length of days they had to volunteer. Quite sensibly, appropriate requests were sent to LOCOG to change shifts; however, not all of them were satisfied.

The researcher and some other interviewed volunteers had a positive experience: *"I have requested to change a couple of shifts, to move to either earlier or later since they were till 12 late night and the next day shift was early morning around 8.00 am. I needed more time in between to commute and also have proper night sleep to be refreshed and ready to start the next day shift...I did not expect that they would accommodate according to my requests, but they have done so...now I work 2 days and 1 day off, with a mixture of morning, afternoon and evening shifts"* (personal diary).

Other interviewed volunteers were left with their initial rosters, despite the requests. LOCOG also did not seem to satisfy those volunteers who lived close by, and could and wanted to afford an early or late start by doing double shifts, which could alleviate the issue. This suggests that it was beyond the organisation's ability to be consistent in matching volunteer locations with their roles. Accommodating individual preferences was contingent on the scale of the event, and largely depended on the venue and managers in charge. Understandably, any changes involved extra effort to make things run smoothly:

If one person wants to alter a shift, it can have a snowball effect. Unless you can find another person who's prepared to do a long one or swap, then you can do it. (Bruce, Games Maker)

Yet, as evidenced, interviewed volunteers chose to stay loyal to the organisation and commit to volunteering despite personal inconveniences. Some volunteers quite happily accepted whatever shifts they were allocated, as they understood the necessities of the organisation:

It was hard work. Some of the starts were 6 o'clock in the morning and some of the finishes weren't until 1 o'clock next morning...but it wasn't lasting for long, only for a fortnight. Only for two weeks. You can deal with it for two weeks. (Mary, Games Maker)

Moreover, some volunteers took control over their own safety and wellbeing, which was promised but compromised by LOCOG (LOCOG 2012a), and cared of each other. As shared by one interviewed driver, her male teammates replaced female drivers on their late shifts.

9.3.2. Assigning jobs

After having all rosters in place, the next critical step was splitting up the jobs into specific tasks and setting up the rotation plan, to help keep volunteers occupied and committed to their roles (Hoye *et al.*, 2006). Games Maker jobs varied in terms of requirements, level of responsibility and physical locations, such as inside or outside venues, 'front-of-house' or 'back-of-house'. 'Front-of-house' and inside venue positions were more desirable, as volunteers could potentially see competitions, medal ceremonies, or meet high-profile people.

Thus, being a Games Maker in Language Services, the researcher was just off the field of play asking questions and interpreting for high-profile athletes, "*national heroes...[who] just won a gold medal...a real moment to remember!*" (personal diary). Volunteers in this team were helping Press Operations tell the world the story about London 2012 as it unfolded. Assignments were stressful at times, yet perceived 'exciting', as volunteers were in the midst of the action (Elstad, 1996), which corresponds to Games-related motivations discussed in Chapter 7. Apart from the celebratory atmosphere, the role was intellectually stimulating as volunteers had to have a high level of attentiveness and language skills to be able to ask the right question at the right time to the right person. As recalled by the researcher, "*I learned a lot from the athletes, and not only about their emotions, but also about sport in which they compete, how they practice, their relationship with their coaches and other team members, so many interesting things! I loved to mingle with media people as they know lots of rumours, and they go from one Olympics to another. I learned the details of their*

business, and for a moment I even wanted to become a sport journalist!” (personal diary).

In comparison, other roles such as hosting in the Park or at the airports, driving or stewarding, although also required certain skills and were no less important and needed to make the Games happen, were considered less thrilling, and even tedious:

I finished up just being on a doorway to stop people...that shouldn't go through, hadn't got accreditation...I was hoping I would get something better because that was that boring...It was terrible, really...It's difficult to make a role efficient if it's letting people in and out of the door. (Bruce, steward)

This evidence suggests that the nature of the job plays an important role in volunteer satisfaction (Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001; Costa *et al.*, 2006). As noted by Elstad (1996), particular value is given to the opportunity for personal development, such as meeting new challenges and new experiences, which is consistent with egoistic motivations discussed in Chapter 4 (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Edwards, Dickson and Darcy, 2009; Bang, Won and Kim, 2009). Yet, it is not always possible to meet these expectations with menial ‘back-of-house’ jobs. Besides, such roles provide fewer opportunities for intense and meaningful interactions, which proves to be another important aspect of satisfying volunteering experience (Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001). As acknowledged, volunteers expect to derive personal satisfaction from interpersonal relationships and networking (Morrow-Howell and Mui, 1989).

As previously discussed, at recruitment, volunteers were assigned to certain functional areas, such as Transport, Protocol, Language or Event Services. Only at Games-time did they learn that jobs in each functional area were split into smaller tasks (*job simplification* in Hoye *et al.*, 2006) to accommodate operational requirements. This seems to be particularly true for competition venues. The question, then, is how volunteers were allocated specific jobs and tasks. Evidence of this research shows that most of all, managers were concerned with assigning the right people to the right posts (*person-task fit* in Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006; Hoye *et al.*, 2006):

The most important thing is making sure that they [volunteers] are equipped with the skills and knowledge to do their job. They're all there because they want to help deliver the Games and if they didn't know what they were doing, they weren't going to be happy. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

Yet, similar to the recruitment stage (see Chapter 8), managers did not take into account volunteers' previous experiences, which potentially could help them identify the best fit, but instead, "*the skills and the inclination, the competence to learn*" (Mason, LOCOG manager). One of the key skills they were looking for was 'adaptability' or the ability to resolve time-specific issues that needed an immediate reaction. Indeed, volunteers had to perform under high velocity and pressure:

You've got to get it right there and then, on the day...you have to be delivering at a very high standard all the time. There's no time to grow into it [the role]. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

However, detecting these skills was difficult and often only possible a few days into the Games. Hence, managers at first had to take 'a leap of faith' in their team. Volunteers, in turn, did not always know how to behave and were not adequately equipped with needed information. Some had a pre-conceived idea of their role, but it turned out to be entirely different, which forced them to learn on the job:

It was only literally at seven o'clock on the first morning that they said, "This is what we're going to do". (Matthew, Games Maker)

Managers attended Role-specific training to get a sense of their future team. Then, during Venue-specific training and the first few days of competitions they started to communicate with volunteers directly, explain their roles and observing them in action, such as the types of questions they asked or the degree of initiative they took. Quite quickly, they had to identify the most capable volunteers who would be competent to handle greater responsibilities, so they could be assigned to critical positions. As one interviewee admitted, he particularly appreciated when his manager shifted him from standing in a doorway checking accreditations to performing what he thought was a more fulfilling and mentally stimulating job he was ready to do:

If you've got responsibility then you've got to deal with problems which means decision-making and that's what I prefer to do...[I looked] after the athletes on a training area...conversed with them, all nationalities which wasn't easy because...if they could speak English, it suited them not to so they could ignore what I was saying...[but] they were obliged to leave there at a specific time...So I was watching the clock on their behalf...and looked after the showers and made sure everything was OK, kept the place fairly tidy. (Bruce, Games Maker)

This, in contrast to *job simplification*, points to what Hoye *et al.* (2006) call *job enrichment*, which potentially gives room for personal growth and ability to perform the role independently, which is also consistent with the literature on job satisfaction (Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001; Costa *et al.*, 2006). However, the extent to which this practice was commonplace is not clear. Although aimed at benefiting Games operations, selectivity inevitably added a tinge of favouritism among the volunteers.

It can be argued, also, that differences in jobs and task assignments led to variations in volunteer deployment, which resulted in instances of under- and over-utilisation. Some volunteers felt under-utilised because their jobs were too simple and were perceived to be below their level of competency, which is a clear indication of a poor person-task fit (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006; Hoye *et al.*, 2006). This was especially true for those who previously volunteered for mega sport events such as Manchester 2002:

I don't think I was occupied to my potential... It's not a complaint...and I'm not under the illusion that I'm the only person... [but] if I do a good job of what I'm doing, that's enough... The role wasn't difficult, and if you organised it, you had the satisfaction. (Bruce, Games Maker, steward)

Often experienced volunteers had to use their own initiative to become occupied and feel useful:

Once I realised I was just in the Park, I knew it was going to be a problem... do what they call 'hosting'...just standing around looking helpful, I didn't particularly like. I'd much rather be busy...I'd find myself something to do or a place to be where I could be more useful...I got some maps to give out. (Jane, Games Maker)

Other volunteers felt under-utilised because of over-staffing, as at times, LOCOG had more volunteers than was required on a particular shift:

I think even the paid people felt they were superfluous, and we [volunteers] just stood around trying to look intelligent, but we weren't needed really. (Ken, Games Maker)

On the contrary, there were volunteers who felt over-utilised because of a lot of responsibilities, drop outs, or their own perception that some duties had to be performed by paid professionals (such as

related to security). Proper rotation could have potentially mitigated the issues of unbalanced workload.

9.3.3. Allocating rotas

Although Nichols and Ralston (2014) noted that not all LOCOG teams were rotating their volunteers, evidence from this research suggests that some venues took this practice to the heart of their operations. The researcher worked in the venue where managers came up with the ‘Dot’ plan, a major step toward operational readiness, which represents an excellent tool for determining: service levels within the venue and any service gaps; staffing peaks across every position within the venue; duplications of services and roles; preliminary space, furniture and fitting requirements; multi-venue positions; and periods of venue operations (IOC, 2005, pp. 56-175). As mentioned by the manager, they based their decisions on the organisational learning from the previous Games:

The Dot plan is something I did in Whistler [Vancouver 2010] Games, I assume that is a standard across all functional areas...We split [the venue] into four areas: the stands, the outdoor [the concourse and reception], the lounge and T1/T2 [transport] ...putting it on four teams of people; we had critical points across each of the areas, you had to have someone there at all times...the red dots; and the blue dots...were non-critical positions. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

This plan helped to determine who was needed at what positions to carry out what duties at what day of the Games. The team of around 100 volunteers was responsible for Protocol. Among them were Language Services volunteers who were performing both Protocol and Language roles. The first time in the history of the Olympics, these two functions were combined together, which gave the researcher and others in a similar situation an opportunity to experience both roles. The Protocol role involved delivering hospitality services to a very demanding client group such as members of the IOC, national and international sport federations, heads of states, and the like who came to the venue to see competitions. To ensure that everyone understood their duties, each volunteer was given a small booklet with a map of the Dot plan linked to the venue layout, days and schedules of competitions, and the description of responsibilities at each particular location. Everyone was assigned positions and duties based on four areas, and timings to move every two hours. Since the average shift was eight hours, volunteers technically had enough time to perform different tasks each day and experience every aspect of the venue. Managers also tried to pair volunteers of different ages to enhance

interaction and facilitate the learning process (Ilsley, 1990) in hopes to increase performance and satisfaction:

I'm a strong believer... that's one of the main things why people like to volunteer...[is] to meet other people...learn from other people's experiences...I'm always learning now and I will always be learning until I'm however-old. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

Indeed, those with experience, for instance, had enough knowledge to transmit to younger volunteers, such as how to deal with different people and situations, how to behave professionally, and not take things personally, a 'value-added' to the Games operations:

I've done similar things before, volunteering wise and my general life experience... If you've done some, you kind of know what to expect, and there are situations where you need to use your initiative, so if you've met these situations before, then obviously that helps. (Hannah, Games Maker)

The challenge, though, was in implementing the Dot plan the way it was devised, and practicing it evenly across the venue. Those volunteers who were adequately rotated appreciated the variety of tasks and people they worked with, which helped them try out different things, learn more, or apply existing skills. This certainly sustained their interest, enriched volunteering experience and contributed to job satisfaction (Ilsley, 1990; Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001; Costa *et al.*, 2006). Yet, as recalled by the researcher, there were instances of poor rotations which had to do both with the nature of the jobs as well as the management of the process. Thus, Games Makers assigned to stands were positioned 'front-of-house'. They were responsible for seating VIP guests in three separate sectors, based on their accreditation, and monitoring the capacity of the space at all times during competitions. VIPs occupied prime seats with best views from where volunteers could also see some bits of the event. Once in a while, they were even caught on TV cameras. These duties were critical to the Games operations as well as most desirable by volunteers. Such positions as T1/T2 Load Zone or Reception were 'back-of-house' and, therefore, less attractive to volunteers, as they could not see the event, and were not always in direct interaction with clients. Hence, rotation was crucial to make sure all the posts were covered and any disappointments alleviated:

There are good jobs and bad jobs, you've got to try and mix it so the volunteers aren't all doing the rotten jobs...[but] go around and swap. (Bruce, Games Maker)

However, management of the process was not always effective. At first, everyone was adjusting to the new system to become confident in his or her role:

You learn from day 1, you get better day 2, day 3...it was like day 4, "Right, I'm on top of everything"...I would say that was when I was comfortable, and not only myself, but the volunteers were comfortable as well. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

However, soon it became clear that there were too many un-occupied volunteers in the venue. Fortunately, Language Services volunteers were needed and busy most of the time, as many athletes from around the world were performing every day. Managers had to change the Dot plan mainly for Protocol volunteers to create new positions, and increase their rotation from two hours to every 45 minutes. However, this was harder to execute. Often volunteers were repeatedly assigned the same duties on the same shift, which was experienced by the researcher: at least a couple of times in the beginning she was placed at the outdoors and lounge, without being rotated to the stands and the load zone. This compromised the very purpose of rotations. On the other hand, in the absence of proper supervision, some volunteers opted for tasks that suited them most, such as staying at stands for extra 45 minutes. As observed, this had a detrimental effect on other, more responsible volunteers in the team who were not relieved from their posts on time; hence, did not have a chance to experience new things, or at times even have proper food and rest breaks.

9.4. Support and supervision

In as much as volunteers had responsibilities to LOCOG to perform well, the organisation was also obliged to provide quality supervision and support for their workforce to encourage and maintain their efficacy, enthusiasm and commitment throughout the Games (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). Continuous support was particularly emphasised by one of the managers:

You always talk to them [volunteers] and make them feel included and occupied. Make sure they're OK. Don't ignore them. Don't leave them alone...[otherwise] they feel forgotten...and won't come in again. You've lost them and they haven't had a good experience. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

However, although retaining their control over volunteers, managers were involved in other activities during the Games, such as negotiations with other functional areas regarding ad hoc situations, access control, security issues, just to mention a few. Therefore, they delegated rotation of volunteers and monitoring their performance to team leaders:

My role at the Olympics was volunteer management. I understand that, but it was the role of the team leaders to really look after the volunteers, rotation-wise. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

This seemed to be a common practice across various venues and teams. As described by one interviewed team leader:

We got all the volunteers, we organised their...rotas, and it was a really steep learning curve...working and building the team. That's difficult!...Nobody warned us what the role entailed, so we were just given it and told "Get on with it"...It was the case of everyday thinking on your feet and not saying 'Well, if you can't do it, don't bother!' (Ken, team leader, London 2012 training camps, Manchester)

As evidenced by this research, some team leaders were excellent, indeed. They were sociable and respectful, rotated volunteers well, and were flexible enough to accommodate volunteers' personal circumstances. For example, at the researcher's venue, those volunteers who felt tired were given extra breaks and/or positions that did not involve being on feet all the time. Those who had tickets for events were allowed to leave the shift early. However, this depended as well on the workload that particular day and the level of demand in the venue. Besides, some team leaders were very good in mentoring volunteers in their team:

It was...a case of volunteers whose English wasn't really good or who weren't really sure about the things they were doing...So I had to teach them how to proceed...[I had to] have an eye out, to make sure that they were doing the right thing...it just required you to be extra vigilant. (Glen, team leader, Accreditation team)

Certainly, having proactive and capable team leaders helped provide better quality volunteer support and supervision, as they could work within their 'responsibility boundaries' to positively change volunteers' experiences. Yet, their personal abilities, determination and readiness to handle difficult situations varied considerably:

From my experience of our team leaders, I think there were some that were definitely stronger than others. There were others who I felt were too young and wouldn't have the experience to command the respect of large groups, but I was totally wrong! And...[those] who seemed to have more experience but actually coping with all the stresses and how busy it was, you had to have quite a tough skin. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

This can be explained by a number of factors. First, team leaders were volunteers themselves, which had implications for team dynamics and day-to-day operations (see ‘blurred lines of authority’ in Cuskelly and Auld, 2000a). Like other Games Makers, team leaders were subject to rosters and rotations; hence, did not always work with the same team, which potentially weakened team cohesion promoted by LOCOG and a sense of community advocated by Green and Chalip (2004).

Being in the Common domain, I was mostly working with different volunteers and team leaders every shift, so did not get to feel part of a team with whom I could build relationships. (Jane, Games Maker)

Some volunteers could not accept the fact that other volunteers were in supervisory positions and dictated their rules. Moreover, team leaders had longer shifts, a bigger workload and more responsibilities than any volunteer should be asked to perform, which reflects the principle of *job enlargement* (Hoye *et al.*, 2006), the outcome of which is often overload and, in some cases, burnout. This expectation made some volunteers reluctant to be team leaders in the first place:

I could have applied for a team leader’s role but I thought if anything goes wrong, I didn’t want it to backfire...let someone else take the blame. (Bruce, Games Maker)

On top, as evidenced in Chapter 8, team leaders were not trained adequately to the level of responsibility they are expected to undertake. Clearly, whether or not to take team leadership positions was a matter of personal choice; but to help them make informed decisions and be prepared for their roles was under control of LOCOG. Unfortunately, this was unfulfilled, which contradicts LOCOG’s stated principles of good volunteer management (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006) and the critical role team leaders play in smooth running of day-to-day operations (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015).

Perhaps it would be appropriate to appoint paid staff to perform team leadership roles, the practice used by the Vancouver 2010 Games. Yet, this would have inevitably entailed unwelcome financial strain for LOCOG. Interestingly, interviewed managers supported the ‘status quo’ despite acknowledging the fact that investing more time and money in team leaders’ training would have enhanced their performance and, ultimately, benefited the Games operations:

I feel it’s only our fault that [they] were a little overwhelmed with the job...they had almost the same training as you [other Games Makers] but then they were asked to essentially part-

manage the volunteers...If I had it my way...I would have liked to have had a bit more time training them...[and] be involved in the selection...but I don't think it [payment] was needed...it probably comes down to most cost-effective way to manage the Games. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

As a result, managers themselves had to help team leaders and other volunteers perform their best to ensure smooth operations and a supportive environment for all. This often meant that managers, especially at the start, had to do double shifts and closely monitor the performance of volunteers:

In the lead up to the Games...and the first four days was incredibly hard work...I did...15-18 hour shifts...and you don't eat, you don't drink...I probably wouldn't have done such long shifts but...I wanted to stay and the team needed me... (Mason, LOCOG manager)

Nonetheless, given the scale of the event and the numbers of volunteers involved, inefficiencies were inevitable:

If it's well organised, it'll run really smoothly...whereas if it's not well organised, you see cracks appearing, you don't see team cohesion, you see people pulling in different directions, dissatisfaction, dropping outs. (Ken, Games Maker)

Replacing inefficient or opted out Games Makers at that point in time was challenging. As mentioned in Chapter 8, LOCOG had a pool of 15,000 volunteers on reserve, but they could use it only before the last training day (the cut-off point), to ensure that only trained volunteers were performing Games Maker roles. Yet, during the Games, managers could either ask loyal and committed volunteers in their team for help, which could increase their overload, or swap volunteers between venues. The latter, though, depended on availability of volunteers, and was possible only with roles that were not venue specific, such as Language Services. This provided some volunteers with an opportunity to work in different venues, but put a strain on volunteer management, and made team dynamics even more complex.

The issue of not having basic needs satisfied was another aspect, which demonstrates poor support and volunteer mismanagement. As part of the Games-time code of conduct, LOCOG was committed to ensure proper catering and fatigue-relief facilities for all volunteers. Yet, the quantity and quality

of the above seemed to vary depending on the venue. For example, there were volunteers who were very satisfied with their regular provision of food and a private space for rest:

Every day...we were given [food] voucher...that you then exchange in the restaurant...We had...a full cooked breakfast and...lunch...In our driver's room...there was a television...tea, coffee...Food-wise, drinks-wise, it was excellent. Couldn't fault it. (Mary, Games Maker, Old Trafford, Manchester)

In comparison, volunteers in one of the main Olympic venues in London did not have their own space, but took short breaks in an area allocated for managers. They ate the same food as their managers, but many complained about the quality: not tasty, small portions, limited choice and no extra servings allowed. At the same time, VIP lounges in the same venue served buffet style food of much better quality and variety. By the end of one shift, volunteers were treated to leftovers, but this was an exception. The worst situation was experienced by volunteers who performed their duties in the public areas. They were not provided with a space for rest, and had to walk 20 minutes one way to the nearest food pavilion where they were given cold food only, although their shifts were long:

We had a choice of bread with something in it rather than a sandwich...some fruit and a bottle of water or a soft drink. It was not much, but...we survived. (Matthew, Games Maker, Last Mile team, London)

Notably, according to LOCOG rules, volunteers could access drinking water at all times, but were provided with meals only “when they [were] scheduled to work for more than 5 hours” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 84). Moreover, due to security reasons, no one was allowed to bring their own food and drinks to complement the meagre food supply. This implies that LOCOG expected volunteers who worked short shifts (five hours or less) pay for their own food. Besides adding to personal costs of volunteering, this approach contradicts both common sense and widely accepted practices of volunteer management discussed in Chapter 4. Not surprisingly, some volunteers expressed a feeling that they could run everything better if they were in more senior positions. Managers, who realised that, used their discretion to prolong shifts on paper so that volunteers in their team could get a meal voucher at the start of each shift.

9.5. Communication, evaluation and recognition

As suggested in the IOC Technical Manual on Workforce (IOC, 2005), “*On the venue, a daily newsletter during Games-time is one of the best ways to keep the workforce up-to-date on schedule changes, happenings around the venue, recognise achievements of workforce members, and provide a glimpse of what is happening Games-wide. The daily newsletter is typically provided by the Games Workforce Function*” (pp. 75-175). However, apart from the competition schedules printed out daily for VIP guests, the researcher cannot recall any newsletters in her venue. Evidence suggests that the role of such daily newsletter was fulfilled by briefings and debriefings, which were an essential part of venue operations Games-time and were used as an organisational tool to regulate work and evaluate the performance of volunteers on a daily basis. As stated in My Games Maker Work Book (LOCOG, 2012a), briefings at the beginning of the shift were usually conducted by managers and aimed to inform volunteers of what to expect for the day, update them with any changes in their role or venue information:

My approach to management is to keep people in the know. Make them understand why things are happening...[this way] people feel more involved...and in my opinion, it can only help the operations of things. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

Managers also used these gatherings to assess volunteers in terms of their capabilities, especially during the first couple of days. Due to the fact that the team was often rotating, briefings presented an opportunity to meet and welcome new volunteers and get to know each other, which was perceived useful by both managers and volunteers. It was quite common to use briefings as a motivation tool:

Briefings were more about lifting spirits...encourage us and praise us...it was very much a team-building thing. (Jane, Games Maker)

I think we were good at trying to make everyone feel really special and proud of what they were doing. Because actually some of the things they were doing were really pretty boring. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

At the end of each shift, the team was getting back together for debriefings to review the duties and raise concerns. This was the time when issues with rotations could be clarified and fixed, and any distress reduced. The aim was to institute necessary improvements through learning from mistakes and cultivating successes, which is in line with the literature on volunteer performance evaluation (Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). At the same time, managers and team

leaders had a chance to provide volunteers with necessary feedback and, where possible, take into account their personal circumstances to make volunteering experiences positive and satisfying (Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001; Costa *et al.*, 2006). This potentially aimed to inspire stronger relationships in the team and enhance their sense of *communitas* (Chalip, 2006; Getz, 2007):

[Debriefing] was part of improving things, but also...about making everybody feel part of the team...that their contributions were valued...that any frustrations [were] getting...out into the open. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

However, as evidenced, briefings and debriefings were not universally practiced across functional areas and venues. In fact, some functional areas did not have any at all, which diminished chances to formally organise volunteers for their good work or resolve issues on the spot:

I don't remember having any debriefing whatsoever...[although] it would have helped the management team with...rectifying...for the next shift so you were not going through the same problems again. (Matthew, Games Maker, Last Mile team)

Volunteers could still attempt to approach their team leaders or managers in person, but whether issues were settled depended on their management's approach and availability/willingness to listen, which again speaks to the quality of volunteer management (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006). The way managers conducted briefs and debriefs was often contingent on the number of volunteers on a particular shift. As mentioned by one interviewee, although it was important for her to know how the team performed as a whole, she felt a lack of personal feedback. It was also reflected in the way she was motivated:

They do use these jingoistic terms...you are awesome, you are wonderful but that's not how the Irish or the English are built...we're not really motivated by those sorts of things...It needs to be geared more towards the people who are out there...the way they speak to you...they could hone it better in using that loyalty to motivate and make it feel more personal rather than just...being general to the whole team. (Nancy, Opening Ceremony volunteer)

Some volunteers felt that their opinions were appreciated and taken into account:

We came back together so that we could highlight issues, and on the basis of what we'd said, some things were changed. So you felt like you were being listened to. (Hannah, Games Maker, Athletes Village)

Yet, others believed that they were too minor to change anything in a way the Games were operated or volunteers were treated, which points to the complexity of the organisational structure discussed earlier:

They [volunteers] help, but...are right at the bottom end so they don't have control over anything...they don't have any ultimate organisational role...or make decisions...That was all happening way above our heads. (Jane, Games Maker, Even Services team)

This clearly limited managers and volunteers in the extent to which they could make experiences of those they served and, ultimately, their own better.

Yet, where debriefings were practiced, management took their time to properly reward and recognise volunteers, to ensure that they “*feel they are getting something meaningful out of the experience*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, p. 42). As mentioned in Chapter 7, either a ‘thank you’ or a small souvenir with a Games logo, every sign of appreciation mattered for volunteers. Thus, managers asked team leaders to identify one volunteer each day who they felt did an outstanding job, and give them a pin:

A little pin, I know it sounds nominal, but it is important...and whenever someone got a pin for doing really well we'd put a little mark by their names, they're remembered, and when it came to the end of the Games, we would try so that everyone got a pin because I think people, if they know that their work is being recognised...they just act as well as possible. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

On their last Games-time shift, each volunteer received a *Thank You* letter from Sebastian Coe (LOCOG Chair) and Paul Deighton (LOCOG Chief Executive); a *Commemorative Certificate* signed by Jacques Rogge (President of the IOC, 2001-2013); the *Games Maker Baton* as a symbol of teamwork and trust, and a gift from LOCOG in recognition of commitment, enthusiasm and hard work.

9.6. Conclusion

This Chapter attempted to look behind the scenes of London 2012 through the eyes of both managers and volunteers. It uncovered the dynamics of social interactions between volunteers and other volunteers, volunteers and LOCOG managers/team leaders, and volunteers and the clients, and experiences that evolved through these interactions. Evidence of this research showed that volunteering experiences, commitment, performance and satisfaction of Games Makers varied greatly, and depended on immediate managers and team leaders as well as roles, placements and tasks performed. Some managers tried to find a balance between the needs of the organisation and the needs of volunteers. This was reflected in practicing different types of job design, such as job simplification, enrichment and enlargement. Volunteers were given various roles and tasks, and team leaders were instructed to support and monitor volunteer performance thereby building loyalty and keeping the commitment high. This approach, when practiced appropriately, resulted in balanced shifts, regular rotations, fulfilling jobs and satisfied volunteers, which greatly helped the Games operations. Those volunteers who felt their skills were largely utilised, and/or were given tasks that stretched their mind and involved responsibility could see the value of their efforts and were happy and motivated, despite the stress and intensity of the work.

However, as evidenced, LOCOG was not always effective in matching volunteers' interests, skills and experiences to their roles, allocating proper rosters and tasks or providing volunteers with the best training and Games-time experience. Team leaders, being volunteers themselves, needed the same, if not higher, levels of training, support and motivation. This need did not appear to be met. Therefore, there were instances of unbalanced rosters and workload, poor rotation, mentoring and feedback. Some volunteers complained that they were not given a chance to learn new skills or apply existing ones usefully. They were allocated menial 'back-of-house' jobs with limited opportunity for intense and meaningful interactions with clients, other volunteers and managers, which diminished their satisfaction. Low quality of volunteering experiences led to withdrawals, putting further burden on those who remained on board and had to take on extra work. This highlighted mismanagement and inefficiencies in volunteer management.

Although the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy, drafted six years prior to the Games, implied that the good quality volunteer management was essential for the success of the Volunteer Programme,

the Workforce Code of Conduct devised much closer to the Games was more concerned with delivering the Games effectively, which was also evident during the pre-Games phase (see Chapter 8). Games Makers had to follow clear structure, hierarchy, pre-defined rules of play, and in this sense, they were not treated differently from paid staff. Yet, London 2012 depended on inspired, responsible and committed volunteers, who wished to identify themselves with the Games, become ‘insiders’, feel useful and not used by, respected and acknowledged for their efforts. Receiving pins, uniforms and letters of appreciation was nice, but this did not offset the lack of proper jobs and placements or adequate rest and food every shift. This undermined – at that moment of time – volunteers’ enjoyment of the *special occasion*, their *time out of time* away from work and usual routine.

Chapter 10. Aftermath: Making Sense of the Games

10.1. Introduction

The previous two Chapters examined the processes involved in the pre-Games and Games-time phases of the Games Maker Programme as orchestrated by LOCOG and experienced by volunteers. This Chapter is about what transpired after the Games, and focusses on *Consequences*, the third and final stage of the VPM model, representing the *Empirical* domain of reality in the critical realism ontology (see Table 5.2.). On the Organisational level, the Chapter is set to evaluate the Programme's outcomes in relation to the image of volunteers and quality of their services. The internal context, such as management practices pertained to supporting, recognising and rewarding volunteers, as well as the external context related to public perceptions of volunteers and the Games time atmosphere are examined in their influence on volunteers' efficacy, final commitment and satisfaction. On the Individual level, the Chapter aims to identify volunteers' psychological and behavioural outcomes. Particular attention is given to learning benefits and the extent to which they were transferable beyond the Games to further volunteering, employment or education/training. On the Societal level, the Chapter is concerned with the extent to which the Programme was used to deliver a sustainable volunteering legacy for the UK. This Chapter draws on volunteers' reflections immediately after the Closing ceremony of the Paralympic Games in London (see Appendix N) and face-to-face interviews with volunteers and managers 12-14 months after the Games. These data were triangulated with accounts from participant observations, and published studies and reports on London 2012.

10.2. Organisational level outcomes

According to the Volunteering Strategy, the biggest priority for organisers was to provide excellent training and a support and reward system to volunteers to help ensure they could deliver the best service possible to athletes, officials and the general public. These were also designed to support them to act as ambassadors for the London Games and the whole Olympic movement, and to recognise their contributions (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). The first part of the commitment was only partially realised as LOCOG failed to provide the best training and organisational support (see Chapters 8 and 9), which affected the perceptions of volunteers about the Games:

Part of me wanted it [the Games] to be a complete flop and part of me wanted it to be a real success...for the volunteers in London, but not for...the organising team. (Ken, Games Maker)

Evidence suggests that this negativity increased with the overall cost escalation of the Olympics, which is in line with the general criticism of mega sport events discussed in Chapter 2. Some interviewed volunteers felt that out-of-proportion expenses, instead, could have potentially been used to support volunteers:

They announced an extra spend on the Opening Ceremony, so you're spending so many millions more...when the volunteers have to find money in their pockets, it just seems crazy! (Bill, Olympic Ambassador in Manchester)

Fiasco with the ticket sales only aggravated feelings of resentment:

Some of the things you hear about tickets going to corporate bodies and you know there's going to be empty seats because people haven't taken their tickets, the big business involvement, I don't like that! (Jane, Game Maker)

As evidenced from participant observations, the scandal unfolded when the BBC TV channel showed venues with empty seats reserved for VIPs and sponsors, while spectators outside venues were asking for extra tickets as officially they were sold out. This highlights the tension between the Olympics being a corporate event that cannot exist without sponsorship and a spectacle to be watched and enjoyed by the general public:

My tax money is going to that and I can't even get a ticket! But one of the tickets I applied for was the opening and closing ceremony and that's what I really would have liked to see. And I got into it [through volunteering], so I even got better than the ticket, so after that I didn't really care...but what about others? (Nancy, Opening Ceremony Volunteer)

Those volunteers who were not part of the 'show' or were not positioned 'front of the house', but still volunteered inside venues, had an opportunity to watch the Games when LOCOG decided to use volunteers to fill the empty seats. But this was not part of the official rewarding strategy targeted at thanking volunteers for their services, but a response to an ad hoc situation, which was resolved, when the 'empty' seats were finally sold to the general public.

Those volunteers who chose not to be Games Makers, but were involved in smaller projects associated with the Olympics, did not seem to be overly upset with their decision not to participate:

I do not feel I missed out...the cost is huge...there was no way I had the money to do that...and I don't think people should have to. (Lucy, London 2012 training camps volunteer)

I'm not sorry I didn't do it [a Games Maker role]. I got a lot out of the Games by working as an Ambassador in Manchester. (Daniel, dropped out Games Maker)

The fact that volunteer training was not always successful in equipping volunteers with necessary job-related skills and competencies (see Chapter 8), and the support during the Games varied depending on the functional area, placements, and immediate management (see Chapter 9) had major implications for volunteer efficacy. Thus, deputy venue managers suggested that good results were achieved only with venue practice and substantial efforts from the whole team. Overall, managers were greatly pleased with their volunteers and how they performed their roles:

I am extremely happy with the way the volunteers worked, I think considering the level of pressure we were all put under and the way that I probably came across on some of the stressful days, I think the volunteers performed above and beyond. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

Managers strongly believed that the Games would not be possible without the help of volunteers, which is supported by the literature (e.g. Kemp, 2002; Lockstone and Baum, 2009; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015):

They [volunteers] are the heart and soul...the face of the Games...you see them everywhere...welcoming...they're so helpful. And they're doing it for the love of their country, for the love of sport, they are the most inspirational people! (Alex, LOCOG manager)

The importance of rewarding and thanking volunteers with tangible and intangible rewards was promoted in the literature (e.g. Cuskelly and Auld, 2000b; Hoyer *et al.*, 2006; Bang, Alexandris and Ross, 2008; Doherty, 2009), and became one of the key elements of volunteer management in London (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). Exceptional commitment and performance of volunteers was recognised during the Games by managers at debriefings (where practiced), when volunteers were rewarded with praise as well as pins and badges, souvenirs and official certificates (see Chapter 9).

Good volunteer work was also appreciated outside the team by external clients. As evidence shows, the public perception of volunteers was exceptionally positive:

I was very sceptical about the Games Maker organisation but never doubted the extent to which volunteers themselves would rise to the occasion, and this was once again proven at both the Olympics and Paralympics. (Daniel, dropped out Games Maker)

When...I saw people in the t-shirts, I thought, "Aw". It's a good team spirit...The hype was amazing, they got lots of volunteers! (Lucy, London 2012 training camps volunteer)

Strangers would come up and say thank you for doing it, which was quite nice in London. (Hazel, Games Maker)

Likewise, the researcher experienced an emotional high when someone from the crowd thanked her: *"It was early in the morning, the day after the Closing Ceremony. We were at the train station on our way back to Glasgow, when someone suddenly came up to me and said: "You are so wonderful, Thank You!" At first, I did not realise what for, but the guy has already disappeared...my Mom looked at me and smiled "You are in your Games Maker uniform!" That was the best appreciation of my efforts and the lack of sleep for the past two weeks!"* (personal diary). This suggests that a simple smile or 'thank you' is no less significant than the material rewards, and may give volunteers confidence and boost enthusiasm and, ultimately, may influence the volunteering legacy (Doherty, 2009). Games Makers officially reaped praise from the public, athletes and officials via acknowledgement for their contributions with a loud cheer and standing ovations at the Olympics Closing Ceremony, which was in line with the Volunteer Protocol (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006).

Feeling valued and appreciated is one of the important determinants of volunteers' satisfaction (Kemp, 2002), which seemed to boost volunteers' efficacy and positive attitude toward the Games. Even those Games Makers who were critical of mismanagement before and during the Games were largely satisfied with their involvement in the end. However, as argued in the literature, some contributors to positive, memorable and transforming experiences are beyond the control of the organisers, and are largely related to the external context (Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995; Elstad, 1996; Getz, 2007), which is unique in case of the Olympics (Kemp, 2002).

In retrospect, many volunteers in addition to spectacular ceremonies, impressive sport facilities and the spirit of friendly competitions referred to the overall ‘celebratory’, ‘joyful’ and ‘festive’ atmosphere created by the enthusiasm of volunteers and spectators as the best aspects of their experiences. The opportunity of ‘being part of it’ and ‘helping with staging the Games’ was particularly valued:

Definitely being a volunteer during the actual staging of the Games...was my fondest memory...and this overall feeling that volunteering for...the Olympic Games is a unique thing...where everyone who's involved is really excited. (Glen, Games Maker)

It's a bigger organisational thing that I've seen up and running and been part of...the size of it, the extent of the Park...everything was quite dramatic and eye-catching; I can still picture it. (Jane, Games Maker)

It was an amazing experience...the job well done and now I am a part of the social history of London! (Nancy, Opening Ceremony Volunteer).

This suggests that for quite some time volunteers were immersed in the atmosphere of the Games and experienced liminoid zone – *time out of time* and *the special place* (see Chapter 4). The liminal nature of the Games is what made them fun and attractive (Chalip, 2006). Many described London 2012 as ‘incredible’, ‘high profile’, ‘amazing’, ‘best Games ever’ that provided volunteers with ‘enjoyable’, ‘lifetime’ and ‘satisfying’ experiences, a memory to remember and proudly share. This is congruent with the study by Dickson and Benson (2013), who reported that 92% of London 2012 volunteers who took part in their research were satisfied or very satisfied with their volunteering experiences.

Deputy volunteer managers seemed to be on the same emotional ‘wave’, and believed that the Games connected people in the Olympic spirit, which helped them bond and do their best:

I think the Olympics is incredible, there's nothing else quite like it that brings the world together, that is a leveller, that politics and religion, it all melts away...and for a couple of weeks, we're all united...I think the way it sucked everybody in, created massive positive energy...is what made it a success. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

British-based volunteers, in particular, were happy to display their national pride and behave as representatives or ambassadors (as stated in the Volunteering Strategy) of their city and the country, able to influence assumptions of the world about the host nation:

I was dubious about London because generally they're miserable people. They're always moaning...about stuff...[but] you realise that there are people in the UK who are as wonderful, as giving! (Alex, LOCOG manager)

10.3. Individual level outcomes

Many volunteers became quite emotional and sad with the end of the Games, which made the experience particularly memorable and special. This corresponds to the 'reversion to normal life' stage in the event experience described by Getz (2007), which is usually accompanied by a sense of loss, accomplishment and even relief. In particular, interviewed volunteers, including the researcher, felt a sense of loss of 'communitas' because of separation with friends and people they worked with side by side during the Olympics. On the other hand, this feeling became a drive to attend future mega sport events, which was the researcher's intention: *"I am going to sign up for Glasgow 2014! I am sure I will see some familiar faces among volunteers there!"* (personal diary). At the same time, due to high levels of commitment, volunteers described their volunteering shifts as 'long', 'tough', 'tiring' and 'stressful'; therefore, the feelings of sleep deprivation and physical burnout prevailed by the end of the Games. Those volunteers who did both the Olympic and Paralympic Games reported the loss of 'half a stone' over the four weeks. Many were ready to return to their daily routine:

I felt a sense of achievement...just to survive the two weeks!...the main feeling, I'm afraid, is one of relief! Relief that I managed to organise everything, cope with it, did all my shifts, and can now relax and get back to normal life. (Jane, Games Maker)

Another outcome accompanying the reversion stage is a sense of some change, such as renewal or transformation (Getz, 2007). These changes take place through the prism of volunteers' learning experiences (Ilsley, 1990; Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013), and are mostly associated with changes in volunteers' motivations and attitudes, skills, knowledge, behaviour, and well-being versus initial expectations and perceptions about the Games and personal benefits (Omoto and Snyder, 1995).

10.3.1. Learning benefits

Evidence of this research confirms that the most learning in the context of London 2012 volunteering took place during the intensive time of service, thereby making volunteers 'experiential learners' who learn by doing, thereby acquire, practice and refine their skills on the job and in collaborations with others (Lev Vygotsky, 1987; Kemp, 2002; Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013). Therefore, it

was challenging for interviewed volunteers to clearly articulate the benefits of their learning experiences, which supports the tacit and often inexplicit nature of informal learning (Polanyi, 1966; Eraut, 2000; Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013).

As argued in Chapters 3 and 4, learning contributes to satisfaction with volunteering experiences (Kemp, 2002), and depends on various organisational and personal factors (Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013). Thus, the very nature of the roles and tasks volunteers were allocated influenced their perceived learning benefits. Volunteers had an opportunity to learn various function- and job-specific skills, such as translating and interpreting in Language Services, using a barcode scanner in Event Services or a 'walkie-talkie' radio in Transport, which could be potentially beneficial for future volunteering or paid work. However, as evidenced, the utility of the skills and knowledge gained depended on the value volunteers attached to their jobs. One volunteer in Accreditation, for example, was quite dubious before the Games that he could learn anything he could substantially benefit from:

It seems a very mechanical process; to find people and to give their identification badges back to them...I don't really see this as a way to get new skills. (Glen, Games Maker, team leader)

However, after the Games, he reported that his Games Maker role helped him learn managerial skills via dealing with new situations, working with various people and being responsible for them. His actual learning benefits surpassed expectations, which contributed to satisfaction with the role:

It was very exciting...There was a very different mix of people from the experience I had before...so it was about being in a leadership position to them...being flexible in how to deal with the different things. (Glen, a Games Maker, team leader)

Besides, this research showed a clear difference in learning outcomes between non-experienced and experienced, younger and older volunteers. As noted in Chapter 8, younger volunteers to a greater extent tend to learn more new things and, particularly about volunteering itself:

You learn everything, because you know nothing...You don't know what volunteering means...what is involved in volunteering. (Mary, Games Maker)

This sense of novelty seemed to have a positive effect on volunteers' overall satisfaction. Thus, an undergraduate student was very satisfied with her Games Maker experience. She believed that through volunteering she learned new skills and realised her own potential:

Olympic Games time was too good for me...exceeded my expectation...very exciting everyday...I learned how to work with people with different backgrounds and how to work in a group. I also became more brave and independent...more confident about myself. (Lily, Games Maker, student)

On the other hand, experienced and older volunteers did not expect to obtain new skills through London 2012. Hence, their perceptions of learning benefits were either low or completely unrecognised, or dominated by the desire and ability to apply existing skills, which is also related to *application* factor in the literature (Dickson *et al.*, 2013). This was reinforced by their previous work in multi-cultural environments or volunteering in sport and non-sport settings, albeit smaller in scale:

What did I learn? Personally not a great deal as I've been happily volunteering in somewhat similar circumstances with much smaller numbers for at least ten years. This has been with the Manchester Events Volunteers and for even longer in voluntary work involving non-sporting areas both in the UK and overseas. (Matthew, Games Maker, retired)

Interestingly, though, experienced volunteers also admitted that their Games Maker volunteering stimulated them to deepen, hone and renew their existing skills to make them applicable to a novel environment, which is consistent with research by Kemp (2002):

I was able to use skills I had developed in previous voluntary work, working in a team of volunteers and paid staff and customer service skills with the general public and VIPs. (Hannah, Games Maker, retired)

Because of the event, I was able to develop, extend, and re-apply previous leaning to suit the Olympics that I didn't necessarily need training for but I probably developed those skills to some extent, or rejuvenated them, because they'd stagnated. (Bruce, Games Maker, retired)

This heightened the experiences volunteers already had and added to their personal efficacy, making them more assertive, which reveals the intrinsic rewards from volunteering widely accepted in the

literature (e.g. Wilson, 2000; Kemp, 2002; Snyder and Omoto, 2008), and consistent with studies on volunteer motivations (e.g. *Ego Enhancement* in Clary *et al.* 1998 and Wang, 2004):

The fact that I was resourceful, I didn't rely on anybody...I did it all myself...boosted my ego...my self-confidence. I proved to myself and...to other people that I could do something like that and not make a hash of it. I could do it really, really well. (Ken, Games Maker, retired)

I've...learned that I'm even more confident now about what I'm doing...about speaking out...and not standing for certain things. (Hazel, Games Maker, retired)

Notably, the above quotes were expressed by volunteers who performed leadership roles. This suggests that the greater degree of responsibility and critical decision-making helped volunteers to more clearly realise the benefits from their participation and, as mentioned by Ilsley (1990), capture and prolong their interest and commitment.

In agreement with Jarvis and Blank (2011), some volunteers directly acknowledged that life is a learning experience in itself; therefore, any volunteering opportunity brings new learning. Though they struggled to formulate precisely what this learning incorporates, they believed that people themselves are the greatest source of learning:

Some volunteers are highly professional people...nurses, doctors, they were all bringing their experience to be a volunteer and whoever you worked with, that would rub off on you...You'd absorb bits of it, you'd learn from it...You take this information in, not necessarily for using now but it's all stored in there [touches head] and will hopefully come back in time. (Mary, Games Maker)

This conforms to the fact that volunteering is *interaction*-centred activity that can leave a profound impact on volunteers (see Section 4.2.2.), and corroborates the literature on benefits of social interactions (Williams, Dossa and Tompkins, 1995; Elstad, 1996; Kemp, 2002). As evidenced by this research, London 2012 brought together an amalgam of people from different ages, gender and ethnicity (see Appendix H), which contributed to one of its major attractions – international spirit of the Olympics (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). This had implications for both managers and volunteers. Teams often comprised of hundreds of volunteers, which made it challenging but no less important to understand their backgrounds:

You need to be respectful and understand how people are, how people will be and work with them in that respect...For example, during the Olympics it was Ramadan, there was a Muslim festival...people were fasting...You have to take that into account. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

Managers themselves often came to the Olympics from various parts of the world, which added to cultural diversity and was well-received by volunteers. In fact, many admitted that without the Olympics they would have not had opportunities to enjoy getting to know so many ‘different’, ‘interesting’, ‘warm-hearted’ and ‘kind’ people. Similarly to Hiller (2000) and Chalip (2006), the Olympics considerably lowered barriers to interaction among strangers, which potentially contributed to strengthening the social fabric and creating a sense of *communitas*:

I’ve met...people of other nationalities and conversed with them just as a natural thing, and everybody’s friendly...people were open to start with...they were part of a multi-national community but you’re all related...people who may not have been necessarily sociable became sociable because that [the Olympics] was the in-thing. (Bruce, Games Maker)

Some volunteers were fascinated by the fact that people travel around the world volunteering, which is in line with Fairley, Pamm and Green’s (2007) research on ‘event volunteer tourists’:

I thought, “How lucky you are!” Folks who had been to Sydney and folks who had been to Moscow; volunteering was almost a way of life... I thought how brilliant that was. (Matthew, Games Maker)

As a result of meeting and working with varied people, volunteers were able to see the developments in their personal values. They reported an increase in sensitivity, tolerance, and awareness of each others’ differences in culture, faith, language and disability, which expanded their horizons and enriched their experiences, which corroborates with Kemp (2002) and survey results on cultural awareness (see Appendix J):

Seeing how other people live their lives may be different to how I live my life...It broadens your mind. It gets you out of the tunnel vision. (Mary, Games Maker)

For example, directly working with disabled people provided some volunteers with a chance to understand better what ‘disabled’ means and what these peoples’ capabilities are. As noted by one interviewed volunteer, they might be lacking physical strength, but can be in control and responsible:

I don't see them as people with disabilities. I just see them as people who have overcome a disability to go wherever. (Ken, a Games Maker)

It changes mind...People with disabilities that volunteer...can make fantastic volunteers if they're used in the right way... if the location that they applied to suits them as well. (Bruce, Games Maker)

Similar to other published research on Olympic volunteers (e.g. Kemp, 2002; Dickson and Benson, 2013), interviewed volunteers admitted that volunteering with various people helped them strengthen their general social skills, customer service skills and improve communication skills, which was true for both experienced and inexperienced volunteers, and supported by survey responses indicated in Chapter 8:

There were a lot more spectators from other countries, obviously...so I needed to find a better way to speak with people whose first language isn't English. (Hannah, Games Maker)

For some volunteers, similarly to other research (e.g. Elstad, 1996), the most worthwhile benefit from their participation was building friendships, which highly related to their satisfaction. Yet, as observed by the researcher, this outcome highly depended on the placements and roles volunteers performed, which directly related to whom volunteers worked with and for how long. For example, the nature of the work of Opening Ceremony volunteers made them highly dependent on each other to produce certain bits of the show, which increased their sense of 'togetherness' (*communitas*):

We developed a very tight bond because we were helping each other lift and drag heavy objects around in the wet plus we were different from the people who did not volunteer, we had something only we were part of. None of us were paid so we were all equal...The shifts impacted my social life but because of the friends I made in the show, I didn't feel I was missing much in the end. (Nancy, Opening Ceremony Volunteer)

Stewards, on the other hand, performed a substantially different role; therefore, had quite a different experience. They often worked alone, and were spread around venues, which often did not give them a chance to build relationships, which is at the core of volunteering experiences. Other volunteers worked in teams, but their rotations did not always allow working with the same people repeatedly, which had implications for bonding and building stronger connections. Therefore, they most often referred to other volunteers as casual or temporary friends, and the whole experience was more about

socialising rather than making friends, which is consistent with the research by Williams, Dossa and Tompkins (1995), Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998) and Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008):

I met a delightful cross-section of humanity, an experience for which I am very grateful. For me there was little or no opportunity for continuing contact, but names, addresses and phone numbers were being exchanged. (Matthew, Games Maker)

Indeed, as observed by the researcher, it is difficult to maintain connections when the only thing people had in common is the event. Besides, the location was the factor: people came from different communities or even parts of the country and the world. The researcher's experience with the Protocol and Language Services team exemplified this. The team created a Facebook page where volunteers could become 'on-line' friends and continue contact beyond the Games. At the start, volunteers were active in getting in touch with each other, posting, sharing pictures and after-feelings about their Games Maker experiences. However, with the passage of time, the communication faded away mainly due to other commitments. Only occasionally, around the dates of the Games anniversary, volunteers sent each other messages and planned getting together in London to commemorate the occasion, but only London-based volunteers could participate.

10.3.2. Transferability of volunteering experiences

As mentioned earlier, transferability of learning outcomes to the same or other settings is key to understanding the issue of legacy for the volunteers (see Chapter 4). Presumably, a range of skills (either acquired or strengthened) makes volunteers more confident in their ability to transfer their accumulated experiences beyond the Games to be used in workplaces or in the civic sphere, as suggested by Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky (2013). In confirmation, Dickson and Benson's (2013) research showed that 57% of Games Makers in their sample believed that they would be able to apply their skills in paid employment and 82% in other volunteering situations (p. 5). Therefore, it is important to identify various avenues through which London 2012 volunteering experiences could be potentially applied.

10.3.2.1. Employability and employment

As evidenced by this research, some volunteers believed that their Games Maker experience can be hardly replicated in real life due to the uniqueness of the context and the occasion, acknowledged in the literature (Kemp, 2002). Yet, volunteering still helps develop the right attitude and skills highly sought in the employment sector, such as the ability to work under pressure, discipline and time

management, proper communication and tolerance. This is in line with the literature on informal learning (Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013) and volunteer motivations, such as learning to maintain/develop employment skills to strengthen a CV and enhance career opportunities (Caldwell and Andereck, 1994; Clary *et. al.*, 1998; Bang, Won and Kim, 2009). As admitted by one interviewed LOCOG manager, he used his volunteering experience at Vancouver 2010 for advancing his own career in events:

If [volunteering] has touched you in the right way, it can really add to your character, your personality; it adds so much more than just 'I worked at the Games'. It gives people...opportunities...to use that experience, however they choose to. (Alex, LOCOG manager)

Such managers become a source of inspiration for others, particularly first-time volunteers. One interviewee, for example, expressed an interest in working for the next summer Olympics in Rio 2016. He believed that paid employment would give him more leeway in making a better use of his London 2012 experience:

I'd be willing to experience it again...be part of something special and unique...I want to see...how it operates in a different environment, but if I really want to get something more substantial out of it and make a difference, it would probably be a paid role. (Glen, Games Maker)

However, evidence of a direct link between London 2012 volunteering and employment is mixed, and is contingent on personal motivations and the value people and potential employers attribute to volunteering. Thus, one unemployed volunteer was in the process of job search, yet very selective in what to include on her CV, ascribing higher value to paid experience and using event volunteering only where appropriate:

Volunteering is additional, and I might use it in the future if I go for a specific job...where you need to show that you've got an idea of events and how they work, then I might put it down but I've applied for a few jobs in the last few months and...I put the skills that I've got from the last 20 years working...I'm trying to keep my CV short, simple, so I can't fit everything on. (Lucy, London 2012 training camps volunteer)

However, another volunteer, who was also a LOCOG manager during the earlier stages of the Games, was able to strategically market his experience to secure a paid (non-events) position after the Games. Although it is not clear what exactly was in his favour, being a manager or a volunteer, he thought putting both things on the CV is beneficial as it highlights the accumulated experience:

The more experience you have, paid or voluntary, the more...examples you are able to give to interview questions when applying for jobs. (Andy, LOCOG manager)

One can argue that volunteering potentially opens more doors for employment for people less experienced and of a younger age. For instance, one interviewed student acknowledged that volunteering enhanced her experience, but she was more hopeful than confident that this would help her gain employment:

I don't know. There is all the future things...but if I don't have this [volunteering experience], then my CV is just like I graduated from my University, and nothing else. But now I can know a lot of new things and I can have a new experience, and I can meet some new people...this is really a big event. (Lily, Games Maker)

Another student treated his Games Maker experience as an added extra in helping him secure a future job, but, at the same time, could see a direct benefit of volunteering to his current work. Indeed, his primary motivation was to better understand the organisation of the Games through being part of the team of Games Makers, which contributed to the 'backstage feel' (Green and Chalip, 1998):

The reason to volunteer was...to be inside the 'machine', and I was grateful to be in a position and location where...I had access to those things...had this first-hand experience to see how it works and to be part of it...so it's something that adds to what I'm already doing...It is a very positive thing, it's a plus, a bonus to have on your CV...[but] it's not at the top of the things that would help me get a job. (Glen, Games Maker)

10.3.2.2. Certification and further education/training

The younger interviewees could see the applicability of their Games Maker volunteering experience to current and future studies, which is consistent with the literature on a positive effect of volunteering on personal development and better academic achievements, especially among young people (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Edwards, Dickson and Darcy, 2009; Bang, Won and Kim, 2009):

After the Olympic Games I went back to university and I think this experience will also force me to study even harder, as I have a higher expectation on myself and I'm more confident about myself...I think it's helpful when I apply to my Masters. (Lily, Games Maker, student)

In the same vein, it would be logical to expect that young volunteers, in particular, would be happy to take up every opportunity to advance their educational credentials; yet, this was not supported by this research. As stated elsewhere, LOCOG aimed to deliver the maximum legacy benefits from the Games (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). One way to do it was to build the rewards scheme that included certificates and more formal accreditation for volunteers interested in using their volunteering as a stepping-stone to further education or employment (see Chapter 2), thereby thanking volunteers for their contribution. By the end of the Games, McDonald's offered an opportunity to turn Games Maker training and volunteering experience to free and nationally recognised qualification that can potentially help 'make the CV shine'. The e-mail sent to volunteers from LOCOG about this prospect stated (September 11, 2012):

This qualification develops the skills and experience that you used as a Games Maker and gives you a tangible qualification to reflect them, which you can add as a unique signal to employers that you were part of the Games Maker team.

However, not all volunteers aimed at formal accreditation, nor felt it would be of any use to them, which was the case with the researcher and some other volunteers:

It was interesting and I was quite pleased...it was offered...but no, I don't need anything like that. I'm retired, I'm not looking at work; young people are having trouble getting on the jobs ladder and they should take every qualification that they can get. (Jane, Games Maker, retired)

I remember receiving a couple of e-mails, but...it wasn't something that caught my interest... I think the experience of volunteering would be enough. (Glen, Games Maker, student)

In comparison to Personal Best graduates (see Chapter 6) for whom gaining qualification was mandatory in order to take up volunteering roles, Games Makers were free in their choice, which highlights once again that Games Makers were radically differed from the cohort of socially excluded volunteers.

10.3.2.3. Further volunteering

As the report by the IOC (IOC, 2012, p. 84) describes, 45% of surveyed Games Makers (post-Games) said that they would increase their volunteering in the next 12 months, implying that London 2012 potentially prepared a good pool of volunteers equipped and willing to volunteer in sport and other settings:

[The Olympics] has the power of bringing people together, united by a common, positive goal, and amassing the incredibly positive energy that...can be replicated on a small scale. The highs won't be quite as high but just that power to do something, to work towards something that they're passionate about is a good thing. (Mason, LOCOG manager)

Indeed, some volunteers were happy to apply their Games Maker experience at the local level:

You learn different things...you've observed a different level of organisation, so that's always something you can bring to another role...Now when it's all over I have lovely memories of a unique event and look forward to doing some more sport volunteering locally, as I have done in the past. (Hannah, Games Maker)

However, as evidenced from this research, the connection between Games Maker experiences and further engagement in volunteering is not straightforward, and depends on a combination of personal factors, volunteers' previous experience and the quality of their experience with London 2012. For example, surveyed and interviewed volunteers before London 2012 expressed their desire to volunteer for other mega sport events such as Sochi 2014, Glasgow 2014 and Rio 2016, which was not attributed to their Games Maker involvement not fulfilled yet, but to their personal motives (Chapter 7). This was particularly true with mature and experienced volunteers. As mentioned by one interviewee, she wished to help Glasgow 2014 as she '*feel[s] Glaswegian*' and '*want[s] to see them do really well*' (Hazel, Games Maker).

A year later, some interviewees proudly reported that they were accepted as volunteers at Glasgow 2014 and Sochi 2014, and were looking forward to this experience. Those who did not go through the official recruitment process used their London 2012 connections, thereby creating a volunteering legacy. As reported by one interviewee, he used his Games Maker experience to socialise strategically, expanding their personal contacts, which is in line with the literature (Williams, Dossa and Tompkins,

1995; Kemp, 2002). The spin-off from his networking with managers and others ‘in power’ was invitation to volunteer in Brazil:

I’m forming a bond...with the event organisers and officials...they know me, they’ve seen me in action...The manager of the Paralympic team in Brazil...invited me to Rio for the whole of the Olympic Games...to volunteer...as the team liaison officer and he’s got one of his friends who lives over here [Manchester] teaching me Portuguese...It’s quite a difficult language to get your head around, but I’m learning, slowly! (Ken, Games Maker)

As was highlighted above, younger and less experienced volunteers used the Games as the main reason to become volunteers in the first place; therefore, could directly link their aspirations for further volunteering to their experience with London 2012. Interestingly, though, some of them were ready to apply this experience to only similar scale events, which corroborates with the literature on the uniqueness of the Olympic context (Kemp, 2002):

If it wasn’t for the Games, I wouldn’t be involved, and now that I have this experience, I’d consider being involved again...I feel more comfortable. You already know...what is expected, how things work, the environment and this gives you better confidence to have another go... But I would say in general they are one-off special things, which are difficult to translate to other, more ordinary volunteering. (Glen, Games Maker)

However, others were ready to translate their Olympic experiences to other settings, and enhance the quality of life on the community level (Wilson, 2000, 2012; Doherty, 2009; Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010):

This is the first time for me to be a volunteer and the good experience encourages me to join more volunteering work in the future. So I really wish to improve myself first and then I will have a stronger capability to help others and make contributions to the society. (Lily, Games Maker)

This evidence supports the promise to use the Games as a way to inspire a new generation of volunteers and contribute to the development of the volunteering infrastructure, declared in the Volunteering Strategy (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). In fact, LOCOG was almost bound to have many young first-time volunteers due to high demand, a big scale of the event and no requirement of having previous volunteering experience. The vision was that the Olympics would provide opportunities for those not considering volunteering before, which may prompt them to continue doing

so in the future. However, students and full-time employed, in particular, referred to the lack of time as a major constrain to engage in more volunteering:

I would only have time to do [volunteering] in the holidays because I study...maybe just very small things...if I can do once a week that is OK for me, but not a long-term thing. (Lily, Games Maker)

Interviewed managers expressed a belief that older volunteers would also become more active after London 2012 because they potentially renewed their 'vigour' and 'joie de vivre' and became energised for things they thought they were too old to do. Indeed, as acknowledged in the literature, retired people have more time to volunteer. However, as evidenced by this research, for some of retired regular volunteers the outcome was quite the opposite. They confessed that due to their Games Maker volunteering they became more self-aware. Although they committed to London 2012 because of a 'once-in-a-life-time' chance, the whole experience taught them to be more selective in their choice of volunteering activities. Some volunteers, as evidenced in Chapter 9, were unhappy with being under-utilised, which had an adverse effect on their desire to continue volunteering for mega sport events:

No, I wouldn't want to do that again...I think the Olympics is the pinnacle...I should have followed my instinct and been more assertive about the roles that I wanted and didn't want...to feel like I'm doing something useful...now I carry on doing the normal volunteering that I was doing before...but I choose either events that I want to go to anyway...and see something, or where there's a definite job to do. (Jane, Games Maker)

I fulfilled an ambition to be part of a volunteering team in the biggest possible event you could get, and I've done it, and I'm satisfied enough not to want to do it again. (Bruce, Games Maker)

Other mature volunteers did not expect that the intensity of their Games Maker role would negatively impact their health; henceforth, they decided to be wise in taking into account their age and infirmity before agreeing to participate in future volunteering activities:

The Olympics made me realise that...I now can't be as free to do what I want to do without consideration...energy is the main issue...my body told me...that I am now getting past the age of doing an eight-hour shift. I'm 77...it was such a big event and what was expected of you...it's not easy accepting...you're not able to do something that you enjoy, which is why I will still do volunteering, but it's got to be on terms that suit me. (Mary, Games Maker)

Another retired volunteer, despite worsened health, was committed to continue with his assignment, both for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. However, after LOCOG did not satisfy his request to change his volunteer assignment to something that involves less standing on his feet, he withdrew, and is no longer involved in sport event volunteering:

It was a physical problem...Nine hours...of standing completely ruined my knees...it took about two months to get them down again...very disappointed that I couldn't...volunteer for the Paralympics...[but] I had signed up to do this lot [Olympics] and I was determined to finish it. (Matthew, Games Maker)

Besides, many interviewed volunteers indicated that the cost of London 2012 volunteering made them reluctant to commit to similar future events until and unless their travel, accommodation and food expenses are fully paid. This corroborates the survey results where time, cost and health issues were named among the major barriers to volunteering.

This evidence supports the literature on the importance of the internal context of volunteering, such as the job itself, management/organising and welfare issues in volunteer satisfaction, and ultimately, further commitment to volunteering (Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley, 2001; Kemp, 2002; Costa *et al.*, 2006).

10.4. Societal level outcomes

According to the Volunteering Strategy discussed in Chapter 2, organisers aimed to leave a legacy after 2012 of a stronger, more-integrated volunteering infrastructure at national, regional and local levels (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). However, volunteers perceived that the opportunity to bring the whole country together was lost due to high costs of volunteering outside 'Olympic cities', and not enough events happening in other parts of the UK:

The thing that annoyed me was that it didn't really showcase the rest of the country...other communities...They could have taken some of the sports that people don't normally get a chance to see to other big cities...A lot more people would have got behind it. If you talk to people from Newcastle or somewhere, they're not going to go down [to London], because it's costing them too much. (Ken, Games Maker)

Despite the fact that the Olympic torch relay was sent across the country and the Olympic football matches were held in several cities, the impression of out-of-London volunteers, in particular, was that the Games were ‘*all about London*’ and for wealthier Londoners, which seems to contradict the claim that “*London 2012...enjoyed high levels of public engagement, interest and support for the Games – both domestically and internationally...[and] became ‘Everyone’s Games’, fulfilling one of the bid promises made in 2005*” (IOC, 2012, p. 13).

Besides the commitment to become ‘UK-Wide’ Games, the Volunteering Strategy incorporated several other ways to maximise a volunteering legacy from London 2012 (see Chapter 2), but unfortunately, they were not taken on board by LOCOG:

For some it’s just an experience in itself that they will put behind them and just have pride in what they did...Memories for the rest of their lives...For others hopefully it means the start of something, although I don’t think that’s been developed for them as much as it should have been. (Rick, Chair of London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group)

For example, one of the key ingredients of the Volunteering Strategy was to activate a force of at least 25,000 volunteers to work with existing organisations and programmes on community projects before the Games (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). It was envisaged that having done this work, volunteers would transition to volunteering for the Games, and readily continue doing so with events and other volunteering after the Games. However, this would also mean that the delivery of the Games would probably be more costly and complicated:

*Not having the ability to mobilise volunteers in the build-up to the Games...was a lost opportunity...you actually have to think of the period before the Games, during the Games and after the Games. And I don’t think there was much thought, and certainly no agreements reached on what, if anything, could happen before the Games...**From the government’s point of view...legacy meant ‘what happens after the Games’.*** (emphasis added, Rick, Chair of London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group)

This clearly contradicts the new approach to legacy governance taken on board initially by London 2012, as evidenced in Chapter 2, and advocated in the literature (Girginov, 2012; Coakley and Souza, 2013; Preuss, 2015; Vanwysberghe, 2015).

Another important element had to do with providing proper organisational support to recruited Games Makers immediately after the Games to encourage them to volunteer at a higher rate beyond London 2012 for either mega or local events, which was not actualised (Nichols and Ralston, 2014). The Chair of the Volunteering Strategy Group proposed the creation of Alumni or ‘*The Class of 2012*’. This exclusive group would be comprised of all London 2012 volunteers, such as Games Makers, Ambassadors, Ceremonies volunteers, who would have access to volunteering opportunities (both nationally and regionally) otherwise difficult to find. They could apply their skills and experiences in more general volunteering thereby helping sport to function at all levels, from major events to grassroots. Set up and managed by volunteers, the funding would come through annual membership contributions of £5 GBP, which would give volunteers a sense of ownership, and sponsorships from companies wishing to benefit from the accrued memory, experiences and expertise of London 2012 volunteers.

But the major challenge was in accessing the database owned by LOCOG where all volunteers’ contact details were stored, which prevented capitalising on the legacy of the volunteering programme (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015):

*In the end LOCOG decided to...put the database in the hands of Sport England...They were already in the process of setting up this new organisation [Join In] that would deal with volunteering on a regular basis to get involved with sports...[but] **that should have been done a year ago...before the Games even started**...so they didn’t lose time between the Games finishing and getting back to people who had been volunteering...it’s too little, too late in my view. (emphasis added, Rick, Chair of London 2012 Volunteering Strategy Group)*

In effect, UK Sport, Sport England, and their partners had accessed 5.3 million people registered on LOCOG databases from bid time (volunteers and those who bought the tickets or registered on-line their interest in the Games), and committed to “*maintain contact with this large group of people to help them exploit legacy opportunities after the Games in sport, culture and volunteering*” (IOC, 2012, p. 83). *Join In Local Sport* became one of the central government programmes aimed at strengthening local sport across the UK via stimulating on-going volunteering. It was set to be coordinated through the *Join In Trust Limited (Join In)*, a registered charity funded by the government through Big Lottery Fund and Official Partner BT. Launched in May 2012, *Join In* encouraged local sport clubs and community groups register and promote volunteering in sport events held on a weekend between the Olympic Games and the Paralympic Games (House of Lords, 2013). This was

considered the first national sporting weekend of this kind supported by the host nation in close connection to the Olympics (Nichols and Ralston, 2014).

Later, on the first anniversary of the Olympic Games Opening Ceremony, the UK's biggest celebration of volunteering was held in Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in London under the patronage of *Join In*. All London 2012 volunteers were invited to participate in this event where they were encouraged to volunteer in summer activities initiated by their local sport clubs under the slogan 'Go Local'. Local sport events could be found via the Trust's website, which later provided the following statistics: 300,000 people took part in 6,013 events, of whom 44% were first time volunteers, 45% were more likely to volunteer locally after attending the *Join In* event, 10% volunteered on the day, and 10% signed up for future volunteering (Nichols and Ralston, 2014).

However, it can be argued that since this campaign was not targeted exclusively at Games Makers, which would otherwise be the case with '*The Class of 2012*', its effectiveness in encouraging this particular group in further involvement is not known, and could be rather low, as evidenced by the researcher and some interviewed volunteers:

There were e-mails that were sent, like 'go find your local sports club, see the opportunities there' and things like that. I remember seeing these e-mails, they were more frequent in the beginning after the Games, then every few months, and then I tried to find something related to sports in my area but I couldn't find anything related that I wanted to do. (Glen, Games Maker)

Some Games Makers were able to find what suited them and volunteer for sport events locally, but this has materialised through personal connections, not *Join In*:

The manager...approached me and said 'You've done such a fantastic job...I want you to be part of our events team'. (Ken, Games Maker)

10.5. Conclusion

The challenge of this Chapter was to look retrospectively at the London 2012 Games Maker Programme in order to examine benefits it offered to volunteers and outcomes on three levels of analysis - individual, organisational and societal.

As evidenced from this research, the internal context (organisational support and supervision, tasks and placements, an overall work environment) is critical in its influence on efficacy, final commitment and satisfaction of volunteers. However, contributors to positive, memorable and transforming experiences are largely related to the external context of the Olympics. Emotional highs volunteers experienced through being immersed in the distinctive and celebratory atmosphere of the Games seemed to offset any anxieties and negative feelings they had about training, support, organisation and intensity of their commitment. Volunteers' exceptional contributions to the success of the Games were widely acknowledged and applauded, which boosted their pride and self-confidence. Positive public perception became important determinants of volunteers' commitment and overall satisfaction. Besides, the Olympics provided a unique environment for informal learning where volunteers, via performing their roles, had an opportunity to develop various function-specific and job-specific competencies, increase social skills, expand their knowledge about society and build networks and friendships. Many found themselves at a loss of 'communitas' by the end of the Games. However, volunteers' perception of learning benefits varied, depending on their previous experiences, the nature of allocated roles and placements. Younger and inexperienced volunteers found more novelty in their Games Maker involvement, whereas mature and experienced ones renewed existing skills and competencies and were able to apply them to their positions. It was noticed that those volunteers who were in leadership positions were able to most clearly articulate the benefits of their participation.

The extent to which volunteers applied their learning and overall Games Maker experience depended on their personal motives, the value they and others (e.g. potential employers) attributed to volunteering experience as well as the existence and quality of the follow-up support. The desire to employ the London 2012 experience in paid roles in other mega sport events was the most obvious, but whether this will materialise is a matter of time. Clearly, younger and unemployed volunteers were more than others driven by the employability agenda, but considered their volunteering rather an added extra than a direct route into employment, which explains they did not attribute any value to the possibility of accreditation of their Games Maker training. Likewise, the connection between London 2012 and further volunteering was not straightforward. Cases of poor match to roles and intensity of jobs, with implications for health and wellbeing, were reported as factors that discouraged further volunteering for mega events in general and sport events in particular, and can be considered a negative legacy from London 2012. Positive experiences, in turn, seemed to encourage volunteers

to want to volunteer in the future. However, whether their enthusiasm continues and develops remains to be seen.

Unfortunately, for various reasons - some political, some financial - LOCOG seemed to lose the momentum to build on the enthusiasm of 70,000 volunteers potentially available for local events, and create the organisation that could support volunteers and develop a sustainable volunteering legacy from the London 2012 Games.

Chapter 11. Concluding discussion

11.1. Introduction

This concluding Chapter is focussed on revisiting the research findings in view of philosophical and theoretical frameworks underpinning the study and key literature on the Games legacy and mega sport event volunteering to date. The ultimate intent is two-fold. First, to examine whether the research was able to deliver on its purpose, aims and research questions. Second, to give a fair assessment of contributions, strengths and weaknesses of the study. The Chapter starts with a summary of the results, followed by theoretical, methodological and practical implications. It concludes with limitations and directions for future research.

11.2. Research results revisited

To recognise the *context*-specific, *multi-dimensional* and *multi-layered* nature of mega sport event volunteering and maximise the explanatory potential of the study, volunteering was expanded beyond the experiences of individuals, and approached as a social legacy of the Games. The *Purpose* of this research, therefore, was to explore the processes by which the London 2012 Games Maker Programme was used to deliver a desired social legacy within the historical context of sport event volunteering in the UK. To meet this end, the study employed philosophical underpinnings of critical realism and interpretative constructivism as the basis of its philosophical framework. In line with the premises of critical realist evaluation (Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Pawson, 2013), various elements of the Games Maker Programme became the *mechanisms* activated under certain conditions (*contexts*) to trigger certain *outcomes*. The Programme itself was viewed as a result of sophisticated social interactions set amidst a complex social reality where different Programme stakeholders formulate, interpret and act upon the intervention. Most important of all was to ascertain what resources enabled the Programme to bring what results, for whom, in what circumstances, and through what experiences, as “*it is not programmes that work, but the resources they offer to enable their subjects to make them work*” (Pawson and Tilley, 2004, p. 6).

A two-layered theoretical framework was applied to help study volunteering in the context of the Olympics. The research utilised the *Legacy Cube* by Preuss (2007) as an outer layer of the framework to help identify *positive* and *negative*, *planned* and *unplanned*, *tangible* and *intangible* structures associated with a social legacy and analyse them at specific *time* and *space*. The *Volunteer Process Model* by Omoto and Snyder (2002) served as an inner-layer of the framework that helped explore

more in-depth personal attributes of London 2012 volunteers (Individual level), processes, experiences and consequences of their involvement. This model was also used to explain the ingrained nature of volunteering in institutional and cultural environments (Organisational and Societal levels). The HRM model by Hoye *et al.* (2006) was employed as a tool to help distinguish volunteer management practices pertaining to ‘acquisition’ and ‘maintenance’ of volunteers.

The results of this study were influenced by the operational cycle of the Olympics, which had implications for the length and composition of the Games Maker Programme, which consisted of three major phases: pre-, during- and post-Games. The first part of the pre-Games phase was approached as the ‘strategic planning’ started during the London 2012 bid in 2005 and ended in July 2010 when the official recruitment campaign of Games Makers was launched. The second consecutive element of the pre-Games phase was related to ‘pre-Games operations’ lasting two years from July 2010 until the first day of competitions on July 25th, 2012. The ‘Games-time operations’ was the culmination of the Programme in action (between July and September 2012), and the ‘post-Games’ phase was the wrap-up of the Programme, which ended on September 9th, 2012, the day of the Closing Ceremony of the London 2012 Paralympic Games. Taking this time frame into account, the following discussion revisits the research findings in light of:

- Three domains of reality (the Real, the Actual and the Empirical);
- Three stages of the VPM model (Antecedents, Experiences and Consequences) on Organisational, Individual and Societal levels (see Table 5.1., Section 5.3.3.);
- A discussion spanning relevant structures, contexts, mechanisms, outcomes, and elements of the Legacy Cube.

11.2.1. The Real domain

The Real domain is approached as the pre-event ‘strategic planning’ phase (*Antecedents* in the VPM model) where various human, material, institutional and cultural structures and their causal powers or mechanisms (actual or potential) reside (Bhaskar, 1975, 2008). The analysis of this phase corresponds to the first research Aim to “*Critically examine the origins and nature of ‘theories’ (or stakeholders’ reasoning) underpinning the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy, and their adoption in the Games Maker Programme and the associated Pre-Volunteer initiative*”. Furthermore, the first half of the second research Aim (underlined): “*Critically analyse(s) the specific commitments infused and*

volunteer management practices implemented by LOCOG at various stages of the Programme, and how these were 'received' by volunteers". Correspondent Research Questions are:

- "What specific aims of the Volunteering Strategy were targeted at the delivery of the Games and the social legacy beyond the Games?" (Individual, Organisational and Societal levels).
- "How did LOCOG plan to use the Games Maker Programme to deliver on the promises outlined in the Strategy?"
- "Who became engaged, trained and, eventually, volunteered for the Games, and why?" (Individual level).

In the original VPM model, the *Antecedents* on the Organisational level include identification, recruitment and training of volunteers. These can be viewed as Programme mechanisms belonging to the Real domain if they are in a static form (Bhaskar, 2008). However, as evidenced by this research, the reality is more complex and interactive. These elements along with other components of the Programme did not exist in isolation, but were pre-planned first by the Games stakeholders and then approached as mechanisms in activation to achieve certain targets. Therefore, the *volunteer resource planning* becomes an essential stage in effective volunteer management (see Figure 4.2., the HRM model) to be analysed separately in the Real domain and as part of the *Antecedents* in the VPM model. Once the strategic planning was specified, the Programme was officially launched (the start date of the recruitment campaign), triggered the involvement of volunteers (applications) and begun the process of correspondent identification, selection, training and other activities orchestrated by the organisation. Altogether these become part of the Actual domain of reality and the *Experiences* stage in the VPM model.

Thus, the planning stage took place in certain political, cultural, socio-economic and historical *contexts* in the UK, and was highly influenced by the legacy rhetoric promoted by the IOC at that *time*. This dialogue was largely *positive*, focussing on principles of sustainable development and strategic planning that should start from the time of the bid and be connected with existing structures and long-term host city and national priorities. Proper legacy governance *structures* were cultivated as a way to assure sustainable event legacies that would serve local communities (see Chapter 2). The London 2012 Games were acknowledged as a prime example of using a sustainability approach in their legacy planning. To help stimulate the potential long-term social benefits associated with hosting

the Games, various Games stakeholders engaged in planning and development of the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy. In a combined effort, they put their own reasoning (*causal powers*) into what they believed the Games-related legacy should be, capitalising on the experience gained from the organisation of the Manchester 2002 Games and their Pre-Volunteer initiative to trigger social change. A number of aims were clearly articulated in the Strategy that had to do with the pre-Games, Games-time and post-Games operations. LOCOG was the major stakeholder which, with the help of related partners and organisations, became responsible for delivering on the promises outlined in the Volunteering Strategy. Importantly, LOCOG was the owner of the Games Maker Programme, which in itself can be viewed as the logical *outcome* of the Strategy, although still in the Real domain, as the Programme's causal powers (the various elements of the Programme) had not been activated yet.

The aims identified in the Volunteering Strategy directly related to delivery of the Games were taken by LOCOG to the heart of their operations as they *planned* to “*recruit, manage, train and support a team of up to 70,000 volunteers to help deliver the best Games ever*” and “*use the enthusiasm generated by the Games as a catalyst for inspiring a new generation of volunteers*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, pp. 5-6). Prior to recruitment, LOCOG established a baseline demand for Games-time volunteers to perform 3,500 roles, which were split into three areas: technical (sport), technical (volunteer) and generalist roles (IOC, 2005). This research was focussed on generalist volunteers. Necessary planning was performed by LOCOG in relation to job titles, skills/qualification and training requirements, volunteer rosters, meals and uniform entitlements, retention and recognition practices as well as the contingency plan to have around 20% of applicants on a reserve list. Emphasis was placed on the principles of *Excellence, Openness, Equality, Diversity, Inclusion* and *One Games* via encouraging people from different ages, skills, abilities and backgrounds, including disadvantaged, to apply to both Olympic and Paralympic Games (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). The official recruitment campaign aimed at attracting passionate volunteers able to commit at least ten days during the Games to deliver the best service to athletes, officials and the public and act as ambassadors for the Games and the Olympic movement. In exchange (the *Exchange* principle), organisers promised to meet the needs of the volunteers via providing first-class training and support, acknowledgement and recognition, including social events, pins, certificates and formal accreditation (*tangible* and *intangible* rewards).

However, the Volunteering Strategy was not bound exclusively to running an excellent Games-time volunteering programme. It was committed to leave a sustainable social legacy beyond 2012 in the form of a better-equipped and more educated volunteer workforce who would be inspired to volunteer in their own communities across the UK and use their volunteering experience as a stepping-stone to further education or employment. The following aims, therefore, were articulated: “*Mobilise a force of at least 25,000 community volunteers in the years leading up to the Games to work with existing organisations and programmes on projects of community benefit*”, “*Maximise the benefits of volunteering in terms of skills development and training to help address some of the endemic problems of long-term unemployment and low skill levels in London and the rest of the UK*”, and “*Leave a legacy after 2012 of a stronger, more-integrated volunteering infrastructure at national, regional and local level*” (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006, pp. 5-6). This ambition required of LOCOG to work in partnership (*Partnership* principle) with other relevant agencies in government, voluntary, education and employment sectors as well as be consistent in their commitment to provide equal opportunities and become truly diverse Games, thereby building a sustainable social legacy. The aspiration was to engage volunteers from the broadest possible range of ages, backgrounds and communities, particularly from marginalised groups who are under-represented in volunteering, thereby inspiring a new generation of volunteers (Volunteering Strategy Group, 2006). One of the *mechanisms* to achieve these ends suggested in the Strategy was to employ a fully-devolved to nations and regions franchise recruitment model which would enable the *UK-Wide* principle – LOCOG gives a chance to volunteer to people from across the UK.

Another *mechanism* was to create a Personal Best Programme (developed from the Manchester PVP Programme) and utilise 10% of its graduates as Games-time volunteers. In order to attain this target, close collaboration was implied between the Games Maker Programme and the Personal Best Programme in the ‘pre-Games’ phase. Importantly, the PB graduates had to complete their course in time to apply for the Games Maker roles. The aim was to use the power of the Games to engage individuals from socially excluded backgrounds to raise their aspirations and achieve their potential through boosting employability skills, giving first qualification and a chance to volunteer at the Games. Thus, as a result of the PB recruitment campaign, more volunteers engaged and graduated with the qualification than was projected. Some of these found employment while others were able to volunteer at London 2012, given the financial support provided by the partners (see Section 6.3.3.). However, as shown, the Programme failed to supply 10% of the total workforce of Games Makers,

although its other outcomes can be considered successful due to the nature of participants. In fact, to the knowledge of the researcher, the exact figure of how many PB graduates became Games Makers is not disclosed in any official reports. Among the issues that contributed to a limited success were seemingly contradictory Programme goals (qualifications, employment and volunteering) and the governance structure (set up separately from LOCOG, within LDA and under the responsibility of the Mayor of London). In particular, valuing employment outcomes over volunteering did not sit well with the priority to engage PB graduates as Games-time volunteers, but fully complied with the dominant social inclusion rhetoric where unemployment is perceived as an overriding element of social exclusion, while employment as a source of integration into society (Levitas, 2005). If the approach toward what is the ‘best’ outcome of the Programme was contested, the results would be different. Findings from this research confirm that volunteers can experience inclusion in various forms: through networking and social contacts, personal relationships, ability to contribute to the community, which yields personal and social satisfaction, which may or may not lead to employment. Probably, placing greater importance on volunteering as a valid alternative to paid work in providing social inclusion would bring to light the true worth of mega sport events and the volunteering legacy they may generate for socially excluded people.

Due to the scale of London 2012, operational demands and strict deadlines pressured LOCOG at the pre-Games phase to focus entirely on recruiting and training enough volunteers to deliver the Games. Therefore, despite the commitments, recruiting PB graduates was not among the organisational priorities. Indeed, the aims of the PB and the Games Maker Programmes were not aligned, which shows rather poor coordination between major stakeholders, furthermore violating a partnership principle. No evidence was found that LOCOG had laid out the plan to prioritise PB graduates over the mainstream applicants, which further undermined the aspirations of having a diverse and inclusive Games-time workforce via encouraging participation of people from disadvantaged backgrounds. Given that the timing of the PB Programme was not fully adjusted to the time scale of the Games Maker Programme, and high costs of London 2012 volunteering almost pre-determined that those who were ultimately recruited and volunteered as Games Makers were predominantly a well-qualified, middle class white British population. As evidenced from the survey (see Section 5.6.3.2.), the majority of volunteers were well-educated with a degree, either employed or retired, predominantly white British women, over 45 years old, stable financially, with a third of the sample having an annual income of £30,000 GBP or more. **Notably, this highlights almost the opposite**

outcome from what was initially planned in the Volunteering Strategy: further exclusion of people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, such as PB graduates, from volunteering and not valuing volunteering strongly enough as a way out of social exclusion.

This research interviewed volunteers from both Programmes (PB and Games Maker) to allow for insights from people with different socio-economic backgrounds (including disadvantaged), age, gender, previous volunteering experience, both successful and unsuccessful as well as dropped out Games Makers and those who became Olympic Ambassadors. This also enabled gaining a better understanding of the Programmes' overall organisation and management. The profile of volunteers as well as their skills and resources, prior experiences, motivations and expectations are elements of the *Antecedents* stage in the VPM model. They fit within the Real domain as they serve as *causal powers* or internal *mechanisms* that, once activated, influence behaviour, efficacy, commitment, satisfaction, and benefits of volunteering.

This research stressed the important role of motivations and expectations in volunteer engagement as well as the ultimate experiences. Evidence suggested that a wide range of motivational factors pre-determined volunteers' involvement in London 2012, ranging from Olympics-related to altruistic, egoistic and solidary or interpersonal contact motivations. The prestige and celebratory atmosphere of the Olympics seemed to be powerful motivators, 'a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity' not to be missed that inspired individuals of various ages, genders and backgrounds to volunteer for the first time or renew their previous volunteering experience. Some volunteered because of interest in sport. Many volunteered to 'make history' and help with the organisation as well as proudly represent their city and contribute toward community and society, which was a strong motivator for mature and regular volunteers. Unemployed people and students, in particular, were more motivated by the prospects of expanding their network and enhancing their employability skills. Retired and/or disabled people, in turn, viewed volunteering as a meaningful alternative to work and wanted to put their existing skills and knowledge to good use. Having fun, doing something different, socialising and making new friends were equally important for all volunteers. They were thrilled by the prospects of being 'insiders' and 'behind the scenes', and expected to be part of something unique and truly global in scale and significance. Younger and inexperienced volunteers did not have specific expectations related to their role assignments, the organisation of the Programme and volunteer management,

whereas experienced volunteers had specific ideas of *the right* way they should be treated and supported.

11.2.2. The Actual domain

The *Actual* domain is viewed as the ‘pre-Games operations’ stage (*Experiences* in the VPM model) where the experiences are patterned in sequences of events when causes and powers in the *Real* domain are *activated* by certain generative mechanisms to make things happen or change (Bhaskar, 1975, 2008). The processes at this stage are associated with the second half of the research *Aim* (underlined): “Critically analyse the specific commitments infused and volunteer management practices implemented by LOCOG at various stages of the Programme, and how these were ‘received’ by volunteers”, and help answer the following *Research Questions*: “What were the LOCOG objectives, practices and outcomes pertaining to the following stages of the Programme: planning, recruitment, selection, training, deployment, reward, recognition and retention? (Organisational level), “Who became engaged, trained and, eventually, volunteered for the Games, and why?” (Individual level), and “What were volunteers’ experiences at each stage of the Programme, and their level of efficacy and satisfaction?” (Individual level).

These elements of the Programme correspond to the ‘acquiring’ and ‘maintenance’ phases of the HRM model by Hoye *et al.* (2006) and become underlying *mechanisms*, activated at a certain *time* (before and during the Games) and *place* (training and Games-time venues), and triggered certain behavioural and psychological reactions (*positive* and *negative*) from volunteers and managers. Various resources provided by LOCOG in the form of staff, training materials, volunteer uniforms and other artefacts, formal guidelines and procedures ultimately influenced who was eligible to volunteer, their experiences and outcomes of participation. Organisational power and authority *structures*, culture, rules, physical, social and the psychological environment related to working conditions, tasks and placements, rosters, feedback, acknowledgement, socio-emotional connections and relationships represented the immediate *internal context* for volunteering. The *external context* related to the Games time atmosphere and public perceptions of volunteers.

LOCOG decided to utilise a centrally-controlled recruitment scheme to meet their own organisational targets and avoid additional organisational and management complexities involved in a fully-devolved model. As a compromise, temporary selection centres were established in nine regions across the UK (the *UK-Wide* principle), which allowed, at least to some extent, tapping into regional volunteering

resources and give a chance to out-of-London potential volunteers to be interviewed, although this did not guarantee their ultimate participation. **The adopted recruitment scheme along with the lack of a targeted approach and no policy on covering travelling and accommodation expenses of out-of-London volunteers violated initial promises to build on the existing volunteer infrastructure in the regions, deepen engagement and widen access to volunteering. This, on top of disappointing PB outcomes, diminished the diversity and inclusivity of the Games-time workforce. The limited engagement of Olympic volunteers in Paralympic volunteering further undermined the promise to have ‘One Games’.**

Besides, LOCOG was not always successful in providing volunteers with the best experience with the activities taking place prior to the Games. Positive experiences had those volunteers who were not bothered with the two-year recruitment campaign, had satisfactory interviews, and were properly matched to their roles. They were also able to learn something new during training and developed a personal connection with managers. Among them were both mature and regular volunteers as well as younger volunteers with no prior volunteering experience and, hence, fewer expectations. In contrast, volunteers who thought they were not properly interviewed and matched to the roles, or not given details on their assignments and not able to learn a great deal had negative experiences. A range of other dissatisfactions was mentioned including the lengthy selection process, high costs, insufficient communication and inflexibility, all of which led to drop-outs. Older and experienced volunteers tended to hold such dissatisfied views. Although some volunteers noted that training helped in boosting their self-confidence, communication, team building skills, Games and cultural awareness as well as knowledge about venues and safety procedures, they were not always successful in simulating the Games-time environment and equipping volunteers with job specifics necessary for their Games-time performance. Therefore, many learned about their role during their first shifts at the Games. Nonetheless, the majority of volunteers persevered, as they did not want to miss the opportunity that may come along ‘once-in-a-lifetime’.

Evidence of this research further showed that volunteering experiences, commitment, performance and satisfaction with the Games-time phase of the Programme also varied greatly. Furthermore these factors similarly depended on the personal attributes of participants and the management approach of immediate managers and team leaders, as well as placements and tasks performed. Whereas the pre-Games phase proved to be rather remote (volunteers were trained by people who were not necessarily

their Games-time supervisors), during the Games the management style had the greatest effect on volunteers. Those who had helpful and supportive managers and team leaders reported high levels of motivation and satisfaction. Among management practices applied were allocating appropriate rosters and rotas (the ‘Dot’ plan, for example, that involved different types of job design and rotations), daily briefings and debriefings to evaluate performance, provide feedback, acknowledge and reward volunteers, although these varied across venues and teams. Those volunteers who utilised their skills and/or were given enough responsibility (especially in leadership positions) reported having fulfilling jobs, and were committed, despite the stress and intensity of the work. It was shown that volunteers with no previous volunteering experience, in particular, had notable learning experiences and were more pleased with the roles allocated and their volunteering. Others, who were able to develop various function-specific and job-specific competencies, increase their social skills and expand their knowledge about society or renew existing skills, were generally happy, too. Of particular value was the opportunity to build connections and friendships. However, those volunteers who felt underutilised (no new skills learned or existing ones not applied usefully) were largely dissatisfied. Again, these tended to be mature and experienced volunteers. Those who reported menial and ‘back-of-house’ jobs were often limited in opportunities for meaningful interactions. Negative experiences had also increased with unbalanced rosters and workload, poor rotation, mentoring and feedback. A lack of adequate rest and food on each shift further undermined the promise to provide volunteers with the best Games-time experience.

Thus, this section has identified the structures, mechanisms, contexts, processes and experiences in the Actual domain of reality, as well as the outcomes pertaining to each step of the Programme: recruitment, selection, training, deployment, reward, recognition and retention. These intermediate outcomes serve as the basis for the overall consequences of volunteering attributed to the *Empirical* domain of reality, to be explored next.

11.2.3. The Empirical domain

The *Empirical* domain is viewed as the ‘post-Games’ phase (*Consequences* in the VPM model) where the outcomes of the interplay of *The Actual* and *The Real* and associated changes can be observed, perceived and experienced (Bhaskar, 1975, 2008). The analysis of this phase corresponds to the final research Aim to “Critically discuss the consequences of the Programme on personal, organisational and societal levels, particularly in view of generating a sustainable volunteering legacy”, and helps

answer the following *Research Questions*: “*What were the main successes and challenges of the Programme in relation to its objectives, processes and outcomes?*” (Organisational level), “*What was volunteers’ main contribution to the Games, the benefits they received, and how transferable were their experiences?*” (Individual level), and “*How did LOCOG use the Programme to deliver a long-term social legacy for the UK?*” (Societal level). In the VPM model, the *Consequences* stage is critical in assessing volunteer work, the quantity and quality of volunteer services, turnover and retention, as well as the overall achievement of operational and strategic goals. From the point of view of individuals, it is the stage when volunteers can reflect retrospectively on what they gained from their participation and how they can use this experience in other spheres of life. Ultimately, some conclusions can be drawn regarding the final products or consequences of intended and unintended, positive and negative, tangible and intangible social legacies (see Figure 2.1. Legacy Cube).

This research confirmed evidence published in official Games reports that LOCOG was successful in their initial target to recruit and manage 70,000 volunteers in 3,500 Games-time roles, and was able to use the Games to generate interest among a new generation of volunteers. Since the early stages of implementation, the major focus was on training and integrating a large army of volunteers into one team of the Games-time workforce who can provide a high level of assistance to the Games. LOCOG created standard procedures to unify and simplify complex pre-Games and Games-time operations, where the requirements of functional areas were of the most priority. Organisation as a whole largely remained bureaucratic and, in essence, arbitrary, which caused mismanagement and inefficiencies, especially at the start, which led to volunteer dissatisfaction and attrition. Nonetheless, this outcome was foreseen and treated as inevitable, given the scale, complexity and fast-approaching deadlines.

This suggests that although the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy, drafted many years prior to the Games, implied good quality volunteer management as essential for positive and worthwhile volunteer experiences and, ultimately, the success of the Volunteer Programme. In reality, volunteers were approached as a replaceable resource mainly used to achieve a greater organisational goal – delivering the Games effectively and efficiently. LOCOG demanded from their volunteers a high level of loyalty and commitment. Yet, they did not place their expectations, interests and needs foremost, such as giving them preferred tasks and level of responsibility, allowing them to choose with whom to work, use existing skills and learn new ones. Such an approach to volunteer management would lead to greater satisfaction, less dropouts, and longevity of service, as evidenced by membership-based

organisations where it is widely practiced (for example, MEV). It stands in contrast with a Programme Management approach (Meijs and Hoogstad, 2001), associated with organisations such as LOCOG with a shorter life cycle, higher turnover and less personable environment where the organisation's strategic and operational requirements have priority.

A Programme Management approach, however, is in disagreement with the fact that the success of the London 2012 Games, ultimately, depended on inspired, effective and happy volunteers. To keep volunteers motivated, the organisational challenge was to maintain the balance between the demands of the Games and the needs of volunteers, the responsibility for which was mainly with deputy venue managers and team leaders who were in direct daily contact with volunteers. Although roles and placements could not be changed, the personal support and feedback, as well as reward and recognition and the overall work environment, related to internal context, made a huge difference in how volunteers perceived their Games-time experience. This also impacted their efficacy and final commitment. However, **LOCOG seemed to exploit the phenomenon of 'the Olympics' that not only furnished oversubscription at the outset, but was also a strong incentive for volunteers to persevere despite difficulties and personal inconveniences.** This external factor, as shown, contributed to positive, memorable and transforming volunteering experiences. The distinctive and celebratory atmosphere of the Games triggered emotional highs and adrenaline rushes, which seemed to offset any negative feelings. Positive public perceptions and the acknowledgement of volunteers' exceptional contributions to the success of the Games at the Closing Ceremony boosted volunteers' pride and self-confidence. By the end of the Programme, volunteers were upset that the Games were at an end and found themselves at a loss of 'communitas', expressing a desire to keep relationships via social media and off-line, where possible. The memory of the Games is kept alive via personal stories and memorabilia given to volunteers in the form of souvenirs, letters of appreciation, pins, badges and uniforms.

The extent to which volunteers translated their Games Maker experience beyond personal memories to something useful and productive, such as further volunteering, employment or education/training, depended on a number of factors. These included personal motives, the value volunteers attributed to volunteering activities as well as the existence and quality of follow-up support. Unlike full-time employed and retired volunteers, those who were young and unemployed aimed to boost their employability through volunteering, but were doubtful whether this might be a direct route into

employment. Therefore, accrediting Games Maker training and receiving qualification, offered by LOCOG by the end of the Games, was not appealing to them. Similarly, the connection between London 2012 and further volunteering was not straightforward. As evidenced, the intensity of jobs negatively impacted the health and wellbeing of older and regular volunteers, which forced them to reconsider their further involvement. Dissatisfaction with poor volunteer management and a mismatch to roles resulted in some volunteers having no desire to continue volunteering in the context of mega events. This can be considered a negative legacy from London 2012, albeit not necessarily intended. On the other hand, positive experiences clearly encouraged volunteers to repeat their experiences in the future, particularly at other mega sport events. Volunteers noted an increase in personal development, self-confidence and self-esteem, and having more volunteering opportunities as a result of being Games Makers. This was most evident in new volunteers. Yet, whether their enthusiasm continues and develops remains to be seen.

LOCOG, although it was able to attract first-time volunteers, neither prioritised, nor had the capacity to make them regular volunteers who would volunteer outside the distinctive context of the Olympics and sport. Therefore, the creation of an organisation targeted directly at Games Makers to support them in continuing volunteering was critical. This relates to an element of *new initiatives* in Preuss' (2015) legacy framework (see Chapter 2) where the 'structures' (in this case, volunteers' skills, expertise and knowledge) remain latent until and unless they are used to generate *value*, which happens when new opportunities exist. The latter either proactively searched by volunteers themselves or provided with the help of existing or created organisations. However, as was evidenced, due to political and financial reasons, the momentum of capitalising on the Games euphoria to create such an organisation was lost. Although *Join In* was launched in May 2012, and is considered an official legacy from London 2012 (see Chapter 10), its effectiveness in sustaining the interest of Games Makers and generating a sustainable volunteering legacy attributable to London 2012 is not clear. As mentioned in the official report, "***Planning for the volunteering legacy should have started much earlier; organisations that would be charged with carrying this forward should have been established well in advance of the Games. The work that the Join In programme is carrying out is commendable, but began too late to have maximum impact***" (emphasis added, House of Lords, 2013, p. 85). Besides, the Programme's focus exclusively on sport is not comprehensive and inclusive, which limits its capacity, as it has been acknowledged by Lord Coe, "***motivation for volunteering at***

a major event such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games [does] not necessarily extend to wishing to become involved with a sports club on a regular basis” (emphasis added, *ibid.*, p. 84).

This clearly illustrates that the nature of on-going community volunteering is very different from mega sport event volunteering. As was defined by the researcher, the latter is an “*episodic activity...executed mostly in the form of project-based leisure as focussed on staging one-off high profile events that are goal, time and location bound*” (see Section 3.3.1.1). Therefore, the concern is that many first-time volunteers can become one-time volunteers, and their volunteering journey would be limited to London 2012. In this sense, the community involvement of experienced volunteers, especially those who were already part of a strong cohort of regular, mature event volunteers (MEV members) continues more naturally, which was demonstrated by this research. On the other hand, initiatives that would help new volunteers in transitioning smoothly to community volunteering after the Games, such as the commitment in the Volunteering Strategy to mobilise 25,000 community volunteers in the years before the Games, were not realised.

It can be concluded that the UK Government legacy promises to use the Games to inspire a new generation of young people to take part in local volunteering (DCMS, 2008) and encourage a new culture of volunteering (DCMS 2012), along with the central principle of the Volunteering Strategy – *Legacy* – associated with transforming and strengthening the volunteering infrastructure to secure “*a stronger, more active community which endures well beyond the presentation of the final gold medal*” (*ibid.*, p. 4) were severely violated. **Ultimately, a sustainable social legacy for local communities, the major stakeholders and investors of the London Games (Chapter 2), became a legacy declared rather than a legacy delivered.**

11.3. Research implications and contributions

The ultimate intent of this research was to contribute to the existing body of works on the Games-related social legacy and mega sport event volunteering; to inform policy and practice of prospective host cities; and to identify further research avenues to be explored in the future.

11.3.1. Theoretical and methodological implications

This research identified a shortage of knowledge on social legacies of mega sport events confirmed by other scholars (e.g. Hall, 2001; Brown and Massy, 2001; Coalter, 2007; Preuss, 2007, 2015; Smith and Fox, 2007; Minnaert, 2012; Leopkey and Parent, 2012) and comprehensive legacy evaluations

beyond quantitative methodologies (Hoye and Cuskelly, 2009; Pentifallo, 2013). Therefore, mega sport event volunteering as a social legacy of the London 2012 Games became the focus of this study. This further addressed a lack of knowledge on mega sport volunteering in the unique context of the Olympics (Green and Chalip, 1998; Baum and Lockstone, 2007), which presents additional attractions or incentives for volunteers that are rarely captured (Bang and Chelladurai, 2009).

First of all, the researcher provided a working definition of mega sport event volunteering, which was not previously available, thereby strengthening the conceptual foundation of the field. A new definition helped to better understand and operationalise the phenomenon of volunteering, thereby approaching the topic from a holistic perspective lacking in the literature (Wicker and Hallmann, 2013). In particular, the nature of mega sport event volunteering as a predominantly episodic, project-based activity was identified. By including a *learning* component, overlooked by other definitions, the call to explore the connection between learning and volunteering was answered. This explains the benefits derived from the volunteer involvement in general contexts (Ilsley, 1990; Duguid, Mündel and Schugurensky, 2013). By viewing volunteering as a *process*, the study helped to address the lack of details on volunteering experiences as they occur and unfold, and outcomes of participation (Green and Chalip, 2004; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015).

The lack of methodological diversity mentioned in the literature (Downward, 2005; Weed, 2005; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Byers, 2009; Hoye and Cuskelly, 2009) was addressed by this research via a number of steps. First, a longitudinal research design was adopted that helped reveal changing experiences, motives and commitments over time (Green and Chalip, 2004) not possible to do using cross-sectional research designs (Hoye and Cuskelly, 2009). Second, both quantitative and qualitative sources of evidence were used, which is in line with critical realism that benefits from pluralist empirical enquiry (Sayer, 2000; Bryman, 2008). By capturing the views of volunteers before, during and one year after the Games, the research uncovered changes in their attitudes, personal circumstances and levels of expertise as well as practical application of their London 2012 experiences elsewhere. The research provided a detailed analysis of who volunteered for London 2012 and why, the roles volunteers played in the Olympics, their contributions to the Games and the long-term impact of volunteering on volunteers themselves. It also identified differences in experiences and benefits anticipated and received between inexperienced volunteers versus regular/mature volunteers. Both positive and negative outcomes of participation were highlighted. These elements speak directly to

the shortage in knowledge on negative effects of volunteering and the lack of evidence on perspectives of newcomers versus experienced volunteers stressed by Ferrand and Skirstad (2015).

The theoretical contribution of this research lies in applying the lens of critical realism to volunteering in the context of the Olympics. Critical realism accepts epistemological constructivism as belief in different but valid perspectives on reality. This was evidenced in this research from the perspective of managers, volunteers and society as a whole in the form of public perceptions of volunteers. Volunteering in London 2012 was ingrained in the specially designed Volunteer Programme. Therefore, this research used an empirically-grounded and historically-informed case study with an embedded single-case design with multiple units of analysis (Yin, 2014), where the case was the Games Maker Programme and units of analysis were different aspects of the Programme. As pointed out by Coalter (2007, p. 2), “*the major methodological limitation on producing evidence for policy-making and practice is the absence of an understanding of processes and mechanisms which either produce, or are assumed to produce, particular impacts or outcomes*”.

Therefore, the critical realist evaluation by Pawson and Tilley (1997), based on the formula *context + mechanism = outcomes* (C+M=O), was a suitable research strategy for the study to help explain how the Games Maker Programme worked, for whom, in what circumstances, provided what outcomes via which mechanisms and over what duration. A two-layered theoretical framework consistent of the Legacy Cube by Preuss (2007) and the Volunteer Process Model by Omoto and Snyder (2002) served not only as specific tools to study volunteering in the context of the Games, but also answered the call for interdisciplinary research and use of multiple frameworks to explore sport volunteering from various perspectives to bring new insights to the field of sport management (Doherty, 2013; Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Transferring the VPM model, in particular, to the context of the Olympics provided a new way of conceptualising and studying mega sport event volunteering. By approaching the volunteering process as a ‘life cycle’, this model helped highlight the complexity of the phenomenon, and bring to the fore antecedents, experiences and consequences on individual, organisational and societal levels. As acknowledged in the literature, these three levels in their interrelationship is the least researched aspect of volunteering (Ferrand and Skirstad, 2015). Besides, the HRM model by Hoye *et al.* (2006) was used to unpack volunteer management practices in their influence on volunteering experiences, which contributed to scarce knowledge on Olympic volunteer programmes, particularly methods and tools used to plan and implement strategic and operational

processes and issues pertaining to various steps of the programme as a whole (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010). To the knowledge of the researcher, these three models – the Legacy Cube, VPM and HRM – have not been used to date in such a combination and in the context of the Olympic volunteering.

The researcher applied a further innovation in the attempt to converge the stratified ontology of critical realism by Bhaskar (1975; 2008) with the premises of critical realist evaluation and the VPM model along with the HRM and the Legacy Cube (see Table 5.2. and Section 11.2 of this Chapter). This allowed for capturing the interplay of various structures, mechanisms, contexts and outcomes at every stage and level of the VPM model. However, as research evolved, it proved challenging to place certain experiences, processes and outcomes under one particular domain of reality or the stage of the VPM model, as they seemed to highly interrelate. Thus, the stages of the Games Maker Programme discussed in the Actual domain were embedded and contingent on the success of each other and, therefore, could be equally discussed in the Real and Empirical domain. For example, participation in training predetermined Games-time volunteering since no one could start a first shift without being trained (Antecedents). Moreover, the quality of training resulted in certain learning and psychological outcomes (Consequences) and, ultimately, influenced volunteer satisfaction and performance during the Games (Experiences). Another example is the Personal Best programme, which was approached as the preceding stage to the Games Maker Programme and, therefore, was placed in the Real domain. However, this programme in itself is composed of the antecedents, experiences and outcomes that cut across various domains of reality. Making it work for this research involved some stipulations and intellectual interpretations from the researcher; yet, using these frameworks provided invaluable insights for informing theory and practice.

11.3.2. Practical implications

Practical implications can be split into setting up and delivering a successful Games-time Volunteer Programme and creating a sustainable Games-related social legacy, so that efforts of future host cities can be designed to a greater effect.

11.3.2.1. Running a successful Games-time Volunteer Programme

It is critical to understand how to manage Volunteer Programmes in the context of the Olympics as volunteers play the key role in the success of the Games. There are a number of lessons that can be learned from the London 2012 Games Maker Programme, which for convenience were classified as key success factors identified at the strategic and operational levels, and organised around two major

phases of the HRM process (Figure 4.2.): acquisition and maintenance. The ‘acquisition’ dimension consists of the recruitment campaign whereas ‘maintenance’ encompasses the planning and operationalisation phases applied to the volunteer programme (Hoye *et al.*, 2006).

The key success factor at the ‘acquiring’ phase is to ensure a mutual commitment between the organisers and volunteers when organisers pledge to provide volunteers with necessary resources and support to enable them perform their roles, whereas volunteers agree to offer their time and efforts to help with the organisation. It is critical to appoint the right people to the right places at the right time. Therefore, a proper recruitment campaign as well as rigorous evaluation of the profiles of each volunteer is strongly encouraged. Understanding motivations, expectations and experiences of volunteers, in particular, can greatly aid organising committees in better matching volunteers to different roles and meeting their needs, which results in greater volunteers’ efficacy and satisfaction. For that matter, it is imperative to have skilled and reliable selectors, which also means providing them with extensive training opportunities. If the goal is to widen access of harder to reach groups and increase their engagement as Games-time volunteers, a more assertive recruitment should be implemented, a right balance found between diversity of participants and uniformity of the training content, as well as a personalised support provided to meet individual needs and expectations. In particular, an important factor is reimbursing volunteers’ travel and accommodation costs, although this puts an extra financial burden on the organising committee.

At the ‘maintenance’ phase managers should give meaning to volunteers’ contributions by developing their sense of worth and responsibility as a strategic way to cultivate their loyalty to the organisation because, as identified in the literature, managing turnovers is costly both time- and availability-wise. Organising committees should deliver training sessions (usually through experienced partners) aimed at motivating and preparing volunteers to perform to the best of their abilities. Therefore, it is imperative to make sure that volunteers understand their roles and are provided with the details on their Games-time assignments *before* the actual event. Role playing activities conducted in smaller groups and specifically targeted at roles/tasks that simulate the Games-time environment need to be managed by skilled trainers. Moreover, training should provide volunteers with the means to enable them to collaborate effectively and efficiently, thereby encouraging the sense of community and belonging to one team and a common vision. Due to the fact that team leaders are often volunteers

themselves who ‘part-manage’ other volunteers at the Games, they should be provided with high levels of training, support and motivation from other managers.

Various team-building activities are essential for integration and keeping volunteers motivated and committed, such as involving volunteers in social events, both formal (such as ‘Grand rehearsal’) and informal (parties, celebrations) before their first shift as well as after the event. Providing volunteers with the bigger picture of the Games organisation and understanding of how their role and the roles of others fit within the event environment become key elements of volunteer excitement and satisfaction, as volunteers have to realise their importance in the success of the event. During the event, on-going support and communication with volunteers via briefings and debriefings, informal and formal feedback, reward and recognition are essential volunteer management practices.

As a minimum requirement, volunteers should be provided with balanced rosters, workload, rotations, and adequate rest and food every shift. It was identified that the most effective, satisfied and happy volunteers are those who are given opportunities for extensive collaboration with other volunteers, managers, team leaders and clients and are placed in an environment that encourages learning and development. Although it is acknowledged that the Games-time operations are very complex and intense and, therefore, involve a clear reporting structure, hierarchy, pre-defined rules of play and limited flexibility, it is still essential to make time for volunteers, respect, value and acknowledge them for their time and efforts, provide them with an array of opportunities and benefits, thereby encouraging positive experiences which, ultimately, contributes to the success of the Games.

The post-event phase, which consists of evaluation and perpetuation of the volunteer programme, is often overlooked as it takes place after the culmination of the Games when competitions are over and athletes, volunteers, spectators and other clients went home. Yet, it is an integral part of the programme as it is aimed “*to evaluate the programme in terms of its operational efficiency, perceived quality and primary stakeholder satisfaction*”, and can also be used to “*crystallise the skills acquired and to capitalise on the experience gained, thereby contributing to the sustainable development of the host region...and leave a legacy and the network of associations involving volunteers*” (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010, p. 262). Volunteers must be nurtured after the event to ensure that their skills, experiences and expertise can be of good use in the future. However, as confirmed by this research, this is a responsibility that goes beyond Organising Committees (discussed next).

11.3.2.2. Creating a sustainable Games-related social legacy

As identified by this research, the major weakness that contributed to a volunteering legacy associated with London 2012 not being realised to the extent it was hoped was poor coordination between major stakeholders, the confusion over who is responsible for what outcomes, and the lack of specific plans on *how* to achieve these outcomes, such as how to encourage Games volunteers to continue volunteering in their own communities beyond the Games. This inevitably poses the question about the effectiveness of the legacy planning and delivery, an issue that can inform potential and current host cities. Guided and monitored by the IOC with its own concerns and interests further compromises the process.

Problems inherent in the legacy rhetoric promoted by the IOC were contested in Chapter 2: inherently positive, used as a means to manage the IOC global brand and defuse criticism of high costs and debts associated with staging the Games. But what is most remarkable, the legacy discourse promoted by the IOC requires the Organising Committees to include legacy plans in the city bids and makes them accountable. Usually, these plans are event-driven and focussed primarily on creating event-related infrastructure and staging the event itself; seldom they are focussed on insuring that legacy occur beyond the Games, which is neither of a high priority to the IOC nor the Organising Committee. Living the legacy planning and delivery with the Organising Committees is unsustainable for several reasons. Since the OCOG's primary role is to stage the Games smoothly and satisfy the interests of major sponsors, they fade away after the event. Indeed, LOCOG was "*a unique private company limited by guarantee and charged with the single task of organizing the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games...LOCOG was officially designated as the organizers of the Games during its first board meeting on 7 October 2005 and was dissolved at the end of June 2013*" (Girginov and Olsen, 2013, p. 72). Due to the short turnaround time between being awarded the Games and staging them, OCOGs have little time or energy to devote to what they may think non-event-related legacies, such as community development and social change, and see them as unnecessary to their overall mission. Furthermore, "*Adding a responsibility for legacy to event organising is not merely a distraction, it is an added expense and impediment for event organisers*" (Chalip, 2014, p. 7).

Preuss (2007; 2015) and other event scholars advocated a strategic approach to legacy planning. They suggested that host cities at the pre-bid and bid stages focus not only on event-related structures ('obligatory measures'), but also on structures that are most closely connected to existing local

developmental strategies not dependent on mega events for their implementation ('optional measures') (Figure 2.2.) to ensure a sustainable legacy beyond the Games. Yet, this is where many promises are made, but not fulfilled. Although encouraged, these initiatives are still 'optional' and not required by the IOC or sport federations that sanction and control events. Therefore, neither enforcement mechanisms nor accountability structures are in place to fully deliver on these promises. Besides, not directly related to the event, these measures are costly for Organising Committees. Preuss (2015), for example, does not provide any guidance on how to make them popular in the political process of formulating the bid so that they are get 'passed' at this stage and later can not only be 'sold' to the sport governing bodies, but also delivered. Even where the political will is in place to make the ambitious legacy plans become part of the bid, *"often politicians in power make decisions that lead to cost overruns and do not follow legacy planning but rather their supporters' opportunistic interests"* (Preuss, 2015, p. 18). Therefore, they are often used by politicians to gather public support in the run up to the bid for the Games, but are not followed through at the pre-, during- and post-event phases, which is critical for the legacy to be achieved.

This problem is exacerbated further by the changes in economic and political environment between the bid and the Games-time, which adds uncertainty and complexity to the process of delivering on the Games promises. In fact, those politicians who make commitments may well be out of the office by the time of the Games. Thus, the time in between bidding and staging the London 2012 Games involved a global credit crunch beginning 2008, elections of a new Mayor of London (2008) and a new coalition Government formed by Conservatives and Liberal Democrats (2010), as well as the terrorist attack on the London underground and public transport (2005), which caused security threats (Horne and Houlihan, 2014). Public sector funding for the London 2012 Games eventually increased to 9.298 billion British Pounds, which is 400% more than the original estimate provided in the bid document (Girginov, 2013). This is despite the initial commitments fixed in a 2007 memorandum of understanding between central government authorities (led by DCMS, LDA and GLA). This unprecedented escalation of the Games costs resulted in, among other things, an increase of a council tax without public consultations, which has been *"particularly unfair to low-income families and those in rented accommodations"* (ibid, p. 134). Concerns were expressed with 575 millions from the National Lottery to be diverted from *"the non-Olympic good causes such as arts, health, education and heritage"* (ibid., p. 134), undoubtedly a negative legacy for local communities. Therefore, the

initial promise to meet the needs of various stakeholders, including local residents, became questionable.

This research argues that the political will in place to identify and enforce ‘optional measures’ with regard to the London 2012 volunteering legacy resulted in explicit promises developed by multiple event stakeholders. These were well documented in the Volunteering Strategy prior to the Games; yet, this was not enough to deliver on those promises. Various factors, such as a lack of detailed, well-planned, coordinated, effectively managed effort, tied in with too many expectations on LOCOG to deliver on legacy promises, as well as external factors related to a changed political environment and worsened socio-economic conditions prevented achieving a sustainable volunteering legacy attributable to the Games. This would have at least in part justified the £9.3 billion GBP in public sector investments. It can be further argued that London 2012 organisers, although successfully established valuable relationships and networks, were not able to nurture and cultivate them in order to facilitate the process of legacy creation.

If linked to wider strategic development initiatives and acted upon, this approach would resemble event leveraging, which is relatively new, yet different from the traditional legacy rhetoric. It does not treat events as an end in themselves, but as a tool or an important addition “*integrated strategically into the host destination’s product and service mix*” (Chalip, 2014, p. 6) to maximise the desired outcomes. **Leveraging, therefore, is approached and constructed as a means towards legacy, which can be achieved with or without the engagement of event organisers.** Although the process of event leverage is a shared responsibility between many stakeholders at all stages, to make legacy programmes sustainable, leverage advocates argue that entities to be charged with leverage should remain longer than the event itself and be responsible for socio-economic development in the host city. Therefore, when the needs of the host city become a priority, and a clear theory of change is in place to answer *how* and *why* questions, the desired legacies can be achieved (Chalip, 2004, 2006, 2014; O'Brien, D. and Chalip, L. 2008; Chalip and Heere, 2014, Grix, 2014).

The researcher reviewed six major documents produced by the UK Government related to the London 2012 legacy (DCMS 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012; House of Lords, 2013) and did not find any use of the word ‘leveraging’. The Volunteering Strategy, drafted by the Volunteering Strategy Group (2006), however, had mentioned it in the context of using the leverage provided by the Games to build

a stronger skills, training and qualifications environment (ibid, 2006, p. 36). This corresponds to the PB Programme, which was delivered with somewhat disappointing results. This is not to claim that leveraging was not in the minds of those who were involved at the outset of legacy planning. Indeed, an interview with the Chair of the Volunteering Strategy Group shows quite the opposite. In fact, it can be well argued that those ‘optional measures’ in the London 2012 bid can be called ‘leveraging’. However, it can be speculated that utilising leveraging more aggressively would make the volunteering outcomes attributable to London 2012 more significant and sustainable.

11.4. Research limitations

This research has a number of limitations related to the nature of the topic, and the design and methodology chosen to help undertake this study. Thus, as acknowledged in the literature (e.g. Farrel, Johnston and Twynam, 1998; Love *et al.*, 2011; Dickson *et al.*, 2013), the complexity of volunteer behaviour and the situational context in which volunteering takes place makes it difficult to translate research findings to other settings. This issue is further complicated by the embedded nature of the programme within which volunteering was studied, which is a cornerstone principle of realist evaluation (Pawson and Tilley, 1997; 2004). Therefore, the focus on London 2012 and their Games Maker Programme limits the potential of the study to transfer knowledge to other mega sport events. This is related to the issue of generalisability of embedded single-case designs. Besides, the purposive sampling technique and a small sample size do not allow making generalisations of outcomes to a wider pool of Games Makers, nor conducting any comprehensive statistical analysis, apart from descriptive outputs, which would otherwise enrich the research evidence (Bryman, 2008).

However, this study was not concerned with statistical or empirical generalisations, but rather theoretical or, in Yin’s (2014) terms, analytical generalisability that goes “*beyond the setting for the specific case or specific experiment that had been studied*” (ibid., p. 40). It can also shed light within the broader context, such as claims in the literature, as well as the researcher’s personal and professional experience. These analytic generalisations can be in the form of lessons learned from the London 2012 case. A purposive sampling technique, although limited by the sample, allowed obtaining knowledge from the most informed sources relevant to the event (Chanavat and Ferrand, 2010), such as managers involved in both strategic and operational stages of the Programme and volunteers of various backgrounds and volunteering experiences.

Another limitation lies in the time horizon of the research. The longitudinal approach is extremely useful in tracking changes over time, but is time-consuming, costly, organisationally complex, and slow in producing results (Burns, 2000). Fourteen months between the first and second phases of face-to-face interviews allowed for some conclusions to be made regarding changes in volunteers' attitudes, motivations, learning experiences and transferability of their volunteering experiences beyond London 2012. Yet, more time is needed to understand and evaluate true event-related legacies, which often spans several decades. Unfortunately, the limited capacity of this study did not allow for longer-term monitoring and evaluations. In particular, it was impossible to make assumptions with regard to how many PB graduates and Games Makers were eventually successful in job finding, pursuing volunteering or further education, and whether these outcomes can be attributed to their participation in the Games or other factors. This raises an issue of difficulty in making simple causal relationships between the event and a consequent legacy, which is highlighted by the advocates of critical realist evaluation.

Overall subjectivity of qualitative research methods is another point of criticism (Bryman, 2008). An alternate researcher with different personal characteristics, training and experience, theoretical orientation and interests is likely to report varying dimensions of the same event. Using participant observation, in particular, as a method of data collection became a valuable source of data as well as a potential source of bias, which has implications for what was found and reported. The researcher in participant observation becomes the research tool, which limits objectivity and represents “*a continuum of closeness to an accurate description and understanding of observable phenomena*” (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011, p. 111), rather than a discovery of truth. This corresponds to the philosophical stance taken for this research that there is a real world ‘out there’ with the construction of multiple views of reality that can be with different degrees of accuracy based on carefulness in observation, recording and analysis. This limitation was diminished by triangulation of multiple sources of evidence – documentary analysis, on-line survey and semi-structured interviews. This allowed for crosschecking of insights gained through participant observation and enhanced validity, reliability, consistency and overall quality of the research.

Another important issue relates to the complexity, which confronts evaluations “*with a never ending challenge that cannot be completed*” (Pawson, 2013, p. 112). Therefore, “*all the empirical work may be considered limited, partial in scope, contaminated by other systems...*” where findings are all

“about their limited ‘reliability’, ‘replicability’, ‘validity’ and ‘generalisability’ – rather than... ‘reality’, or lack of it”. (ibid., p. 69). For example, while in the field, the researcher was able to observe and participate only in certain events and activities that, in and of themselves, were undergoing constant change. This suggests that the researcher was able to grasp the reality only partially. Inability of this research to demonstrate the full range and complexity of activities undertaken by the Games Organisers (LOCOG) in the full run up to and during the Games limits the research results to those units of LOCOG directly responsible for recruiting and managing volunteers and those subjects that were part of the Games Maker Programme. Any successes and failures cannot be attributable to the organisation as a whole. This is not, however, to conclude that the findings of this research are not valuable. Rather, they incrementally add new knowledge and insights to the phenomenon under study, which is mega sport event volunteering in the context of the Olympics.

11.5. Directions for future research

Mega sport events in general and their legacies in particular continue to attract significant interest from the academics and practitioners. The risks associated with public investment in the Olympics have grown exponentially alongside the expectations of the benefits they ought to deliver beyond the event itself. However, as was evidenced from this research and works of other scholars, the realisation of legacy promises often go unrealised. Staging the event depletes both the energy of participants and the resources they use. Debts accumulated to unprecedented levels leave governments with these liabilities as an urgent priority to tackle. No wonder that the Games are seen as unnecessary spending, as demonstrated by recent cities that declined to stage the Games. For instance, in 2014, Stockholm dropped their 2022 Winter Olympic bid after the City Council refused to back the project due to financial costs. Earlier Rome withdrew their 2020 Summer Games bid, and voters in Munich and St. Moritz (Switzerland) rejected proposed bids for the 2022 Winter Games due to similar financial and environmental concerns (Associated Press, 2014). Therefore, a call for a new approach where the Games serve as a catalyst to achieve local needs is long overdue and exemplified in the leveraging approach.

This research suggests that continuing study of leveraging mega sport events will provide more guidance for host cities wanting to avoid the drawbacks of the legacy approach advocated by the IOC. It has been acknowledged that the process of event leverage and the sustainability of the Games legacy is a shared responsibility between many stakeholders. However, it is unclear which of these should take the lead role and how other Games stakeholders can influence the strategic planning, decision-

making and post-event sustainability of the Games benefits. In fact, a strategic alliance, necessary for enabling leverage, may represent a challenge as these organisations often have competing needs and priorities. As demonstrated in this research, the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy provided an excellent link between various Games stakeholders, bonding and creating energy essential for its success. However, competing interests and demands prevented its full realisation, when the need to deliver the Games took priority.

Therefore, several suggestions for future research in this area are recommended:

- What are the specific strategies to achieve event legacies in the context of the Olympics?
- How to ensure that those who benefit as a result of these strategies are the local population and their voices and interests are heard?
- What are the potential stakes in the social issues?
- What role can/should Governments, Organising Committees and sport governing bodies play in leveraging mega sport events, without running into the risk of over-spending and politicisation?
- What are the relationships between various stakeholders, convergence and divergence of their goals, and types of issues they should deal with?

This research approached volunteering as a social legacy related to mega sport events. Therefore, the recommendation is to further pursue the following issues:

- What are the perceptions of volunteers among key stakeholders at mega sport events?
- How similar or different are the experiences of generalist versus specialist mega sport event volunteers? (e.g. in recruitment, selection, training, Games-time responsibilities, and transferability of their experiences beyond the Games)
- How similar or different are the experiences of volunteers taking part in different sport events? What about management practices?
- Do volunteers repeat their experiences in other (mega) sport events?
- Do they start volunteering at their local communities? Do they continue volunteering more?
- Do volunteers with socially excluded backgrounds start volunteering more? Do they become employable?
- To what extent can these changes be attributable to the Games or other factors?

Certainly, this list is not comprehensive and provides only a tentative research framework. Methodologically, it is suggested to continue applying critical realist evaluation to the programmes associated with mega and other scale sport events in order to better understand the processes by which legacies are being promoted and delivered (or not). Therefore, it is sensible to conclude this research with a long, but important quote from Pawson (2013) who calls on “*evaluation to begin an endless journey [that] should be organised with intervention theories as the unit of analysis and it should generate a phalanx of middle-range research programmes, the first probing at the boundaries of where theory A has applicability, the second establishing where theory B holds good, the third exploring where theory C finds its domain, and so on. Such a progressive, cumulative process of inquiry is difficult to maintain...[and] can only be achieved collectively and through constant critical scrutiny of each other’s work...What we need...are great complexifiers, evaluators who dare not only to understand what they are about, but who will dare to share that understanding with those for whom they act...The end result will be partial knowledge about partial improvements we can make in the delivery and targeting of social interventions – quite an achievement*” (emphasis added, *ibid*, pp. 194, 112).

Good luck to all of us on this never-ending but, ultimately, a fulfilling journey!

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Appendix A. Leaflet Invitation to Take Part in the Research

BE PART OF IT, SHARE YOUR VOLUNTEERING EXPERIENCE!

The Games are here to celebrate the best in sports. However, besides sport they could bring a positive social legacy to local people like you. Training that volunteers go through could offer resources and empower people to make life choices.

Volunteering experience can be
life-changing, and, for some, even life-saving!

I am offering you the opportunity to join my University research, in which I examine the social impacts of volunteer programmes. Please tell me what it means for you to be a sport event volunteer for London 2012 Olympic Games! If interested, please contact me (Olesya Nedvetskaya) directly via o.nedvetskaya.1@research.gla.ac.uk and I will send you the link to the on-line survey. Your help in my research is greatly appreciated!



Appendix B. Invitation E-mail to Participate in the Research

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Olesya Nedvetskaya. I am a Doctoral student at the University of Glasgow conducting the research on social impacts and legacy of mega sport events.

The common view is that mega events are staged to celebrate the best in sports. However, besides sport they could be used to bring a positive social legacy to local people like you. Games pre-volunteer and volunteer training could offer resources and empower people to help them make choices whether it is further education or employment. It would mean that volunteers are there not only to make the Games happen, but also to take an advantage of the whole process and discover opportunities that could change their lives. The purpose of my study is to examine social impacts of these programmes on their participants. It aims to analyse benefits and barriers to participation and overall experiences of being a sport event volunteer.

With this e-mail you are invited to take part in my research to share your thoughts and experiences of being on a Pre-Volunteer and/or Volunteer training programmes associated with either Manchester 2002 or London 2012 Games as well as share your experiences of being a Games-time volunteer, and how it influenced your life.

I am looking for individuals who are (any of the following):

- Graduates/ Participants of Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games Pre-Volunteer Programme (PVP);
- Graduates/Participants of London 2012 Olympic Games Pre-Volunteer Programme (Personal Best);
- London 2012 Games Makers (will be officially volunteering during the London 2012 Games);
- Applied to become a London 2012 Games Maker, but was not chosen, or was chosen but withdrawn.

Your participation in my research is entirely up to you, but your opinion is very important. I can promise you that all information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be identified in any publications or reports that may be produced. After the study has finished, any data will be destroyed. My research study is organised independently from any organisation involved with the Games, and is funded by the University of Glasgow. The study has also been reviewed by the Ethics Committee at the College of Social Sciences in the University of Glasgow.

I would greatly appreciate your help with my research and will be thankful for your participation. If you are interested and fall within any of the above categories, please reply to me directly via o.nedvetskaya.1@research.gla.ac.uk I will be happy to provide you with more detailed information and answer any questions you may have. I look forward to hear from you soon.

Best regards,
Olesya Nedvetskaya

Appendix C. Plain Language Statement

1. Study title and Researcher Details

Social Legacy of Mega Sport Events: Individual, Organisational and Societal Implications of the London 2012 Volunteer Programme and its Pre-Volunteer Initiative

The research is conducted by Olesya Nedvetskaya, a PhD student, for the degree of a Doctor of Philosophy, and is supervised by Rod Purcell and Annette Hastings.

2. Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please read the following information carefully. Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or require more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you very much for your consideration.

3. What is the purpose of the study?

The Olympic Games are mega events staged to celebrate the best in sports. However, besides sport they could be used to bring a positive social legacy to local communities. Games volunteering could offer resources and empower people to help them make choices; whether it is further volunteering, education or employment. Having legacy at the top of the political agenda could mean both: the Games volunteers are there to make the Games happen and provide volunteers with a way to empower themselves and open up opportunities that would change their lives. The purpose of this study is to examine social impacts and legacy of the London 2012 Pre-Volunteer and Volunteer Programmes. It aims to assess benefits and barriers to participation and how to improve participants' experiences. Data will be collected before and after the London 2012 Games for the total period of 12 months.

4. Why have I been chosen?

You have been asked to take part to share your experiences and thoughts on being a London 2012 volunteer (Games Maker) or being associated with London 2012 as an 'Ambassador', and being on a Games-related pre-volunteer and / or volunteer programmes, and how this all influenced your life.

5. Do I have to take part?

No, it is entirely up to you whether to take part or not.

6. What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to fill out a survey, participate in an interview in a face-to-face manner and at a time and location convenient for you. Before that you will be asked to complete a consent form.

7. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information collected will be kept strictly confidential. Your name will not be identified in any publications or reports that may be produced. After the study has finished, any data and identifiable information will be kept for 12 months and then destroyed.

8. What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be used as the data for the PhD research project undertaken by the researcher.

9. Who is organising and funding the research? (If relevant)

The study is organised by the researcher with the help of supervisors. It is funded by the University of Glasgow.

10. Who has reviewed the study?

It has been reviewed by the Ethics Committee at the College of Social Sciences in the University of Glasgow.

11. Contact for Further Information

If you have any questions or concerns with the conduct of the project, please contact me, Olesya Nedvetskaya, at o.nedvetskaya.1@research.gla.ac.uk. You may also contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer Dr. Valentina Bold at valentina.bold@glasgow.ac.uk. Thank you for your help with this research!

Appendix D. Consent Form

Title of Project:

Social Legacy of Mega Sport Events: Individual, Organisational and Societal Implications of the London 2012 Volunteer Programme and its Pre-Volunteer Initiative.

Name of Researcher:

Olesya Nedvetskaya, PhD research student

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary, and that I may refuse to answer certain questions, withdraw at any time without explanation, or request that material not being used.
3. I agree that for the purpose of analysis, interviews' written notes will be backed up with an audio recording, and that anonymous quotes can be used in subsequent research publications and reports, should the need arise.
4. I understand that this research is being carried out independently from the London 2012 Organising Committee or its partners, and thus my participation or non-participation in the study will have no effect on my position as a London 2012 Games Maker or an Ambassador.
5. I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in this study under the conditions set out above.

Name of Participant (Printed)	Date	Signature
Researcher	Date	Signature

Thank you for your help with this research. Please let me know whether you would be interested in receiving any summaries of the research once it is completed.

Contact: Olesya Nedvetskaya (School of Education, University of Glasgow)
o.nedvetskaya.1@research.gla.ac.uk

Appendix E. Interview Questions to Volunteers (First Round, July 2012)

Motivations and expectations

1. How did you find out about the opportunity to volunteer for the Games?
2. What made you apply to volunteer for London 2012? (motivations)
3. What do you expect to receive in return of your volunteer services for the Games? (expectations)
4. What do you expect to be different for you as a result of your involvement? (benefits)

Management style and support

5. What is the overall organisation of the Games, in your opinion? With regard to volunteers?
6. What are the Organisation's values and how do you relate to them? (I Do ACT)
7. How do you perceive your relationship with the Organisation/management?
8. How do they treat you? Do you feel valued and appreciated? In which way?
9. What support did you get during application/selection/interview/training?

Details on volunteer recruitment, training and roles

10. Why did you volunteer for the Olympics or Paralympics (or both)?
11. What was the process of recruitment, selection / interview and training? (challenges encountered, aspects most liked)
12. What kind of training did you undergo so far? (Pre-Volunteering/Personal Best, Orientation, Role-Specific, Venue-Specific, Leadership trainings)
13. What was your training experience and the quality of training? (content, skills learned, qualifications obtained, most / least interesting and useful sessions)
14. In which way do you think this experience may help you perform your best during the Games? Beyond the Games?
15. What is your role (responsibilities) and functional area, venue?
16. In which way does the role match your motivations / expectations / responded to your individual preferences? (first/second/third choice role or a completely different one)
17. Why do you think you have been chosen for this role?
18. How similar/different is this role to your previous volunteering experience (if any)? To your job experience?

Learning points / improvements

19. What is your overall satisfaction with the processes of recruitment, assessment, selection and training? What could be done differently?
20. Would you consider volunteering in the future? For what kind of events?

Appendix F. Interview Questions to Volunteers (Follow-Up, September 2013)

Opening questions

1. What was the best / most rewarding part of your London 2012 volunteering experience and why? (emotions: what you liked and what 'feel' you got from your volunteering)
2. What aspects of your London 2012 volunteering did you find difficult or disliked and why?
3. Can you recall your expectations before the Games and whether they were eventually met?

Process of volunteering

4. Tell me about your role during the Games, tasks and activities you carried out as a London 2012 volunteer? Give examples.
5. How did you feel about your volunteer placement, shifts, breaks and food allocation, physical environment?
6. What was the [emotional] atmosphere in the team during your volunteering shifts? General Games-time atmosphere (public, media, athletes)? What influence did it have on your experience, if any?
7. What was particularly helpful for you in performing your role? (i.e. management support, support from other volunteers, spectators)
8. What interfered with performing your role? (obstacles)
9. To what extent was your London 2012 training helpful in performing your role? (info and skills learned and their relevance to the actual role)

Management style

10. How did managers treat you during the Games? What were your feelings about it? (guidance, instructions, flexibility, appreciation, etc.)
11. Did you have briefings and debriefings before and after your shifts? If yes, how did they help you to perform your role? What did you personally learn? If not – would having them make any difference?
12. What made you carry on and not drop out?

Learning process and outcomes

13. Why was learning [not] a particular motivation for you to volunteer? (compare to a survey response)
14. What was your most memorable learning moment during the Games? Explain why it was particularly important? Give examples.
15. What did you learn through interactions with managers? Other volunteers? Spectators and athletes? Give examples.
16. What did you learn about the London 2012 Organisation, its vision and culture? About day-to-day operations? Give examples.
17. Did this new knowledge change your perception about yourself in any way (changes in values, behaviour, way of doing things)? About volunteering? About the London 2012 Organisation? About the Games in general?

18. Have you noticed any change in your motivations during the course of your volunteering journey?
(compare to a survey response)

Attribution

19. Can you compare your learning during London 2012 with other event volunteering settings e.g. Manchester 2002?
20. Can you assess how your prior [volunteering] experience helped you in London 2012?
21. How would your learning be different if you were at a different stage of life?

Transferability

22. Have you used your London 2012 volunteering experience in other settings? In which way? Give examples. (continued volunteering, found a job / changed for a better one, went on further education)
23. To what extent would you attribute these changes in your life to the London 2012 Games?
24. Why have you / have not obtained a certification after your training / the Games?

Closing questions

25. If you were to volunteer for London 2012 again, would you do it? If yes, what would you do differently? If not, why?
26. If you were to say in one sentence, how your London 2012 volunteering experience stands out from other volunteering or non-volunteering experiences you had in your adult life, what would that be? If not, why?

Appendix G. Interview Questions to Managers (September 2013)

Opening questions

1. What was your personal role in the London 2012 Volunteering Strategy? Could you please tell me about its goals and the processes of its design and implementation?
2. What was your personal role in the (Pre) Volunteer Programme?
3. What was the major goal of the Programme, and how it was related (if it did) to the needs and expectations of volunteers? (matching Programme's requirements with recipients' needs and expectations)
4. Could you tell me about the Organisation's values? Particularly, in which way do you think they were incorporated into the Programme?
5. How did the culture and values influence the chances of individuals from different age and socio-economic backgrounds to take part in the Programme? In which way were factors such as the level of skills, knowledge, capabilities, confidence, etc. accounted for?

Recruitment and Selection

6. How were volunteers Identified and Recruited? (process and criteria: target versus actual numbers)
7. How were volunteers Assessed and Selected? What were the selection criteria?
8. Was there any feedback provided to volunteers at this stage, and in which form?

Training and Learning beyond training

9. What were the main objectives of the training sessions (Orientation, Role training, Venue training, Leadership training)? (task oriented, human development oriented, etc.)
10. Please comment on training environment, content and outcomes? (skills set, qualifications offered, etc.)
11. What learning opportunities were provided for volunteers apart from training?
12. How were the learning needs of volunteers identified and met, if any? Was it a priority at all? Give examples. (e.g. incorporated into training sessions and day-to-day operations)

Process/Experiences

13. What was the spectrum of volunteering roles? Were they matched to volunteers' motivations, interests and levels of skills/qualifications? (assignment of roles and responsibilities)
14. Where and how did volunteers perform their roles? (volunteers' placement – physical environment, emotional atmosphere, supervision, etc.)
15. How did you keep track of and manage volunteers day-to-day?
16. Where there any drop-outs, double shifts?
17. Where there any Support and Recognition strategies in place during training and volunteering itself (e.g. informational and financial support, support in filling out applications, ticket as a prize, recognition letters, badges, etc.)

18. Did you provide any feedback/briefings that would help you keep track of the changes in motivations of volunteers and effectively meet their needs/concerns?

Consequences/benefits and evaluation

19. From your perspective, how did the Programme finally work? What outcomes were achieved?
20. Were these outcomes sustained from the Organisation's point of view?
21. More specifically, how would you assess the contribution of volunteers to the delivery of the Games? (e.g. in terms of quantity and quality of services provided, fulfilment of the mission of the Organisation)
22. What do you expect to be different for volunteers personally as a result of their involvement? (changes in perceptions, values, skills, employability, volunteering legacy, etc.)
23. What do you think are the critical success factors associated with this change? What are the possible failures?
24. Were there any 'after care' / engagement activities implemented when the Games finished?
25. Are there any plans for a follow-up organisation to appear after London 2012? (building volunteering infrastructure such as MEV)
26. Have your expectations / expectations of the Organization been met?
27. Did you incorporate any monitoring and evaluation procedures in place? If yes, do you have any follow-up and impact evaluation reports?

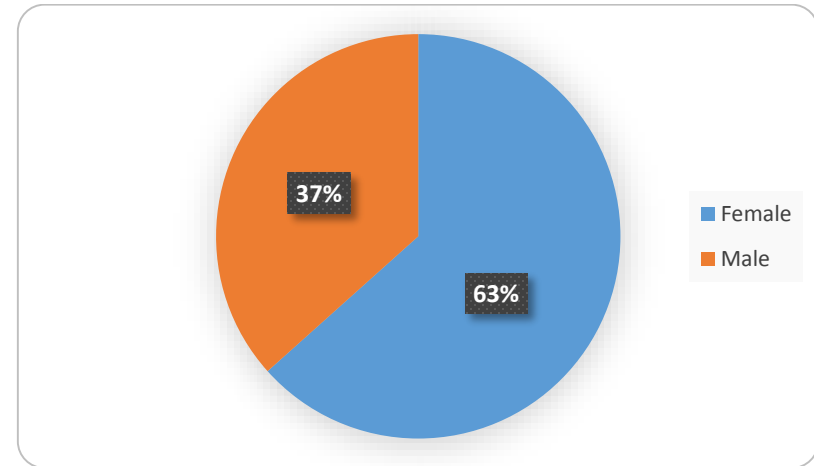
Closing question

28. If you were to do it again, what would you do differently? What are the areas of improvement? (in terms of contributions of volunteers to the Games, enhancement of volunteers' experiences, building volunteering infrastructure, etc.)

Appendix H. Volunteer Demographics (from survey)

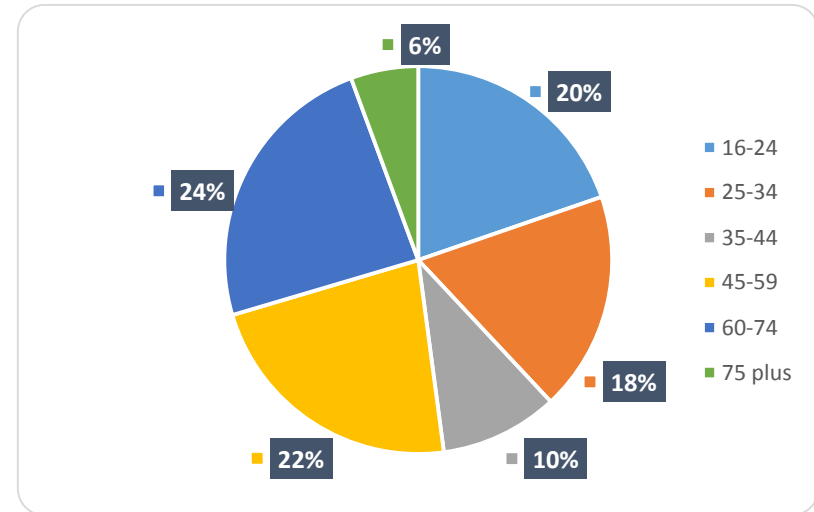
GENDER

Gender	Percentage	Frequency
Female	63.38%	45
Male	36.62%	26
Total	100.00%	71



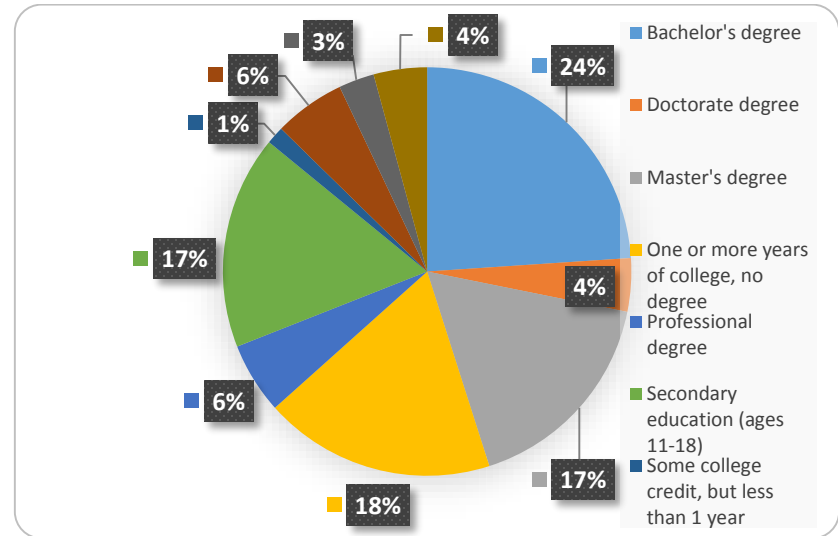
AGE

Age	Percentage	Frequency
16-24	19.72%	14
25-34	18.31%	13
35-44	9.86%	7
45-59	22.54%	16
60-74	23.94%	17
75 plus	5.63%	4
Total	100.00%	71



EDUCATION

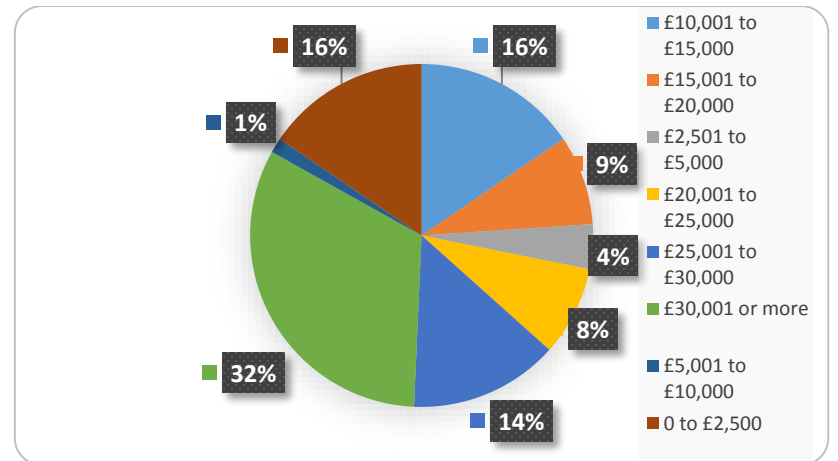
Education	Percentage	Frequency
Bachelor's degree	23.94%	17
Doctorate degree	4.23%	3
Master's degree	16.90%	12
One or more years of college, no degree	18.31%	13
Professional degree	5.63%	4
Secondary education (ages 11-18)	16.90%	12
Some college credit, but less than 1 year	1.41%	1
Specialist's degree	5.63%	4
Teaching Certificate	2.82%	2
Took training course(s)	4.23%	3
Total	100.00%	71



INCOME

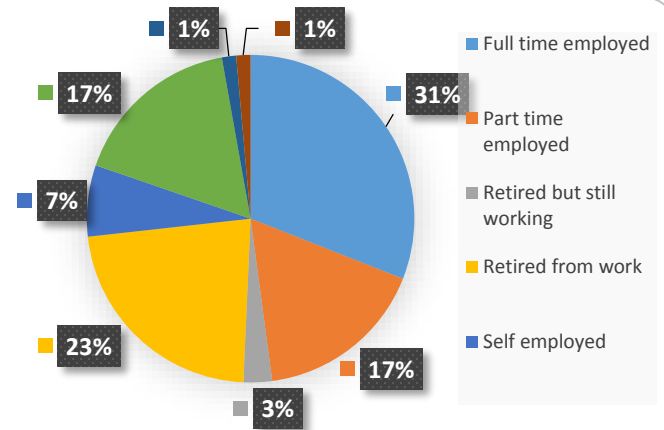
Income	Percentage	Frequency
0 to £2,500*	15.49%	11
£5,001 to £10,000	1.41%	1
£10,001 to £15,000	15.49%	11
£15,001 to £20,000	8.45%	6
£2,501 to £5,000	4.23%	3
£20,001 to £25,000	8.45%	6
£25,001 to £30,000	14.08%	10
£30,001 or more	32.39%	23
Total	100.00%	71

*Russian students



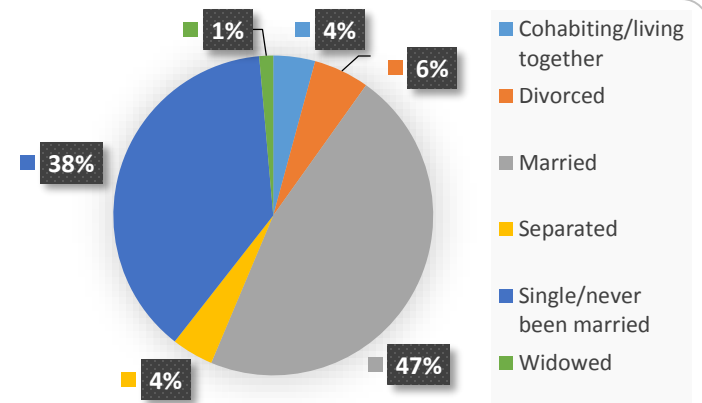
EMPLOYMENT

Employment	Percentage	Frequency
Full-time employed	30.99%	22
Part-time employed	16.90%	12
Retired but still working	2.82%	2
Retired from work	22.54%	16
Self-employed	7.04%	5
Student	16.90%	12
Unemployed and looking for work	1.41%	1
Unemployed but not looking for work	1.41%	1
Total	100.00%	71



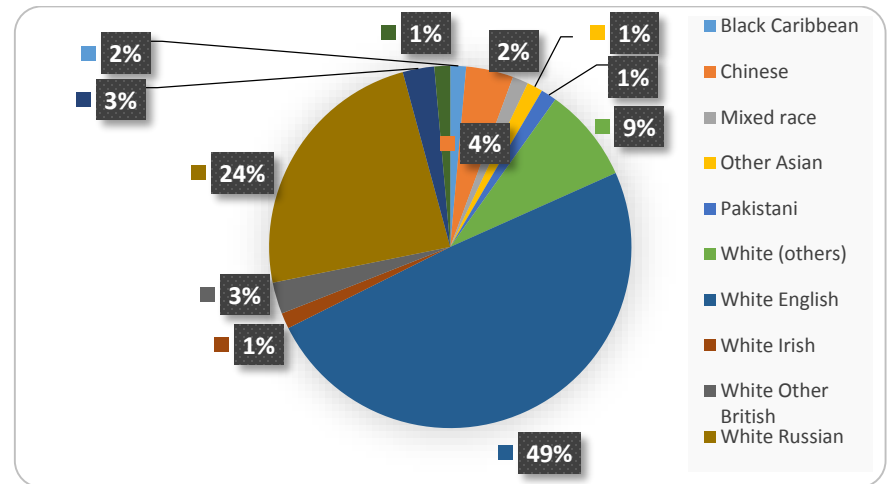
MARITAL STATUS

Status	Percentage	Frequency
Cohabiting/living together	4.23%	3
Divorced	5.63%	4
Married	46.48%	33
Separated	4.23%	3
Single/never been married	38.03%	27
Widowed	1.41%	1
Total	100.00%	71



ETHNICITY

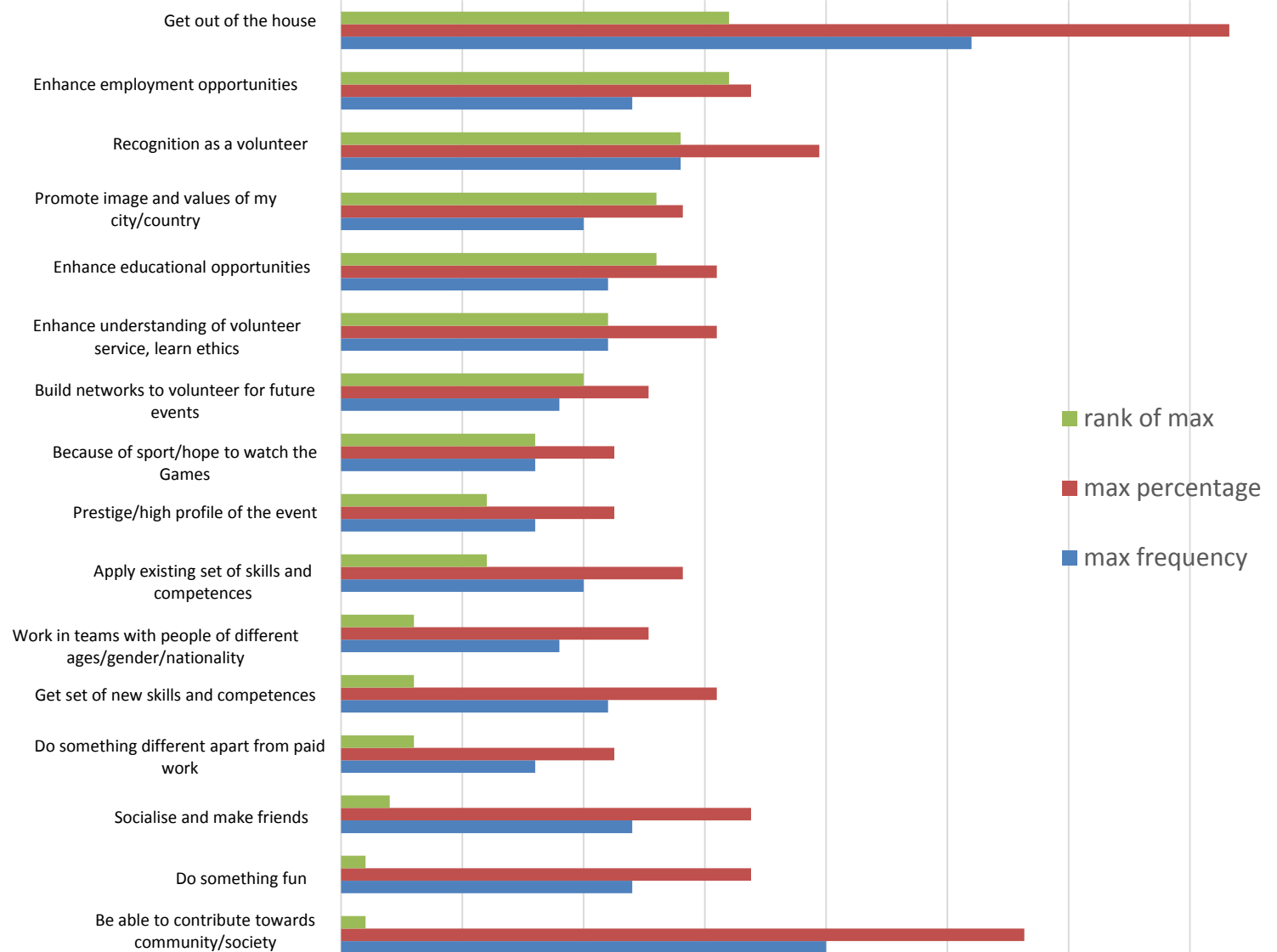
Ethnicity	Percentage	Frequency
Black Caribbean	1.41%	1
Chinese	4.23%	3
Mixed race	1.41%	1
Other Asian	1.41%	1
Pakistani	1.41%	1
White (others)	8.45%	6
White English	49.30%	35
White Irish	1.41%	1
White Other British	2.82%	2
White Russian	23.94%	17
White Scottish	2.82%	2
White Welsh	1.41%	1
Total	100.00%	71



Appendix I. Volunteer Motivations

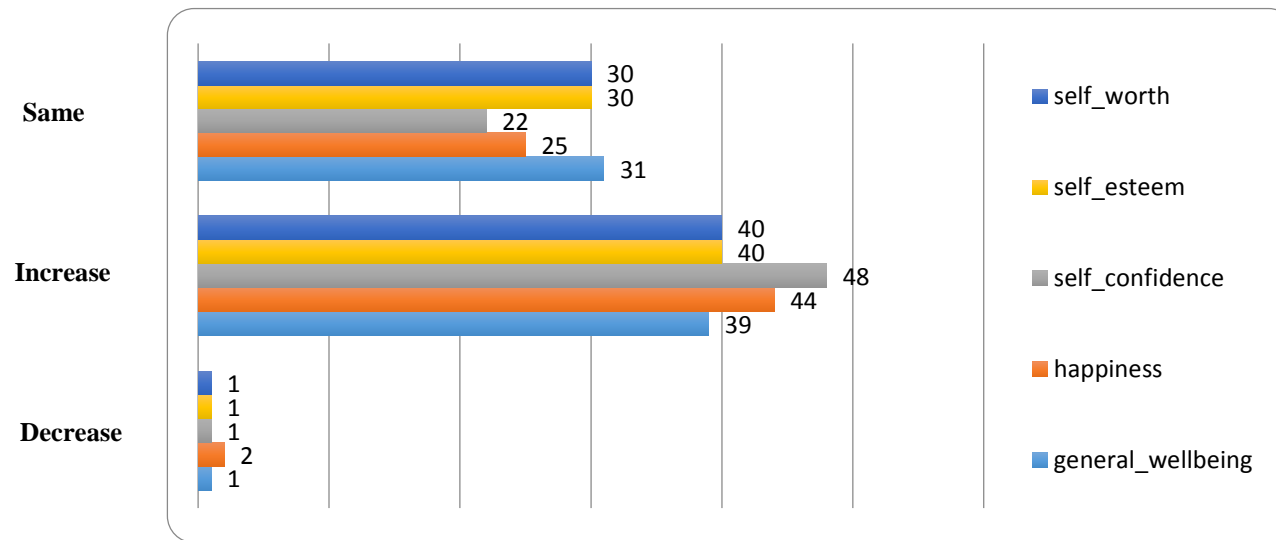
Motivation	max frequency	max percentage	rank of max	min frequency	min percentage	rank of min
Be able to contribute towards community/society	20	28.17	1	1	0.00	14
Do something fun	12	16.90	1	1	0.00	14
Socialise and make friends	12	16.90	2	1	0.00	1
Do something different apart from paid work	8	11.27	3	2	2.82	1
Get set of new skills and competencies	11	15.49	3	1	1.41	9
Work in teams of people of different age/gender/nationality	9	12.68	3	1	1.41	16
Apply existing set of skills and competences	10	14.08	6	1	0.00	3
Prestige/high profile of the event	8	11.27	6	1	1.41	2
Because of sport/hope to watch the Games	8	11.27	8	1	0.00	4
Build networks to volunteer for future events	9	12.68	10	1	0.00	7
Enhance understanding of volunteer service, learn ethics	11	15.49	11	1	0.00	7
Enhance educational opportunities	11	15.49	13	2	2.82	16
Promote image and values of my city/country	10	14.08	13	1	1.41	15
Recognition as a volunteer	14	19.72	14	2	0.00	1
Enhance employment opportunities	12	16.90	16	1	1.41	16
Get out of the house	26	36.62	16	1	0.00	15

Chart of Max Values

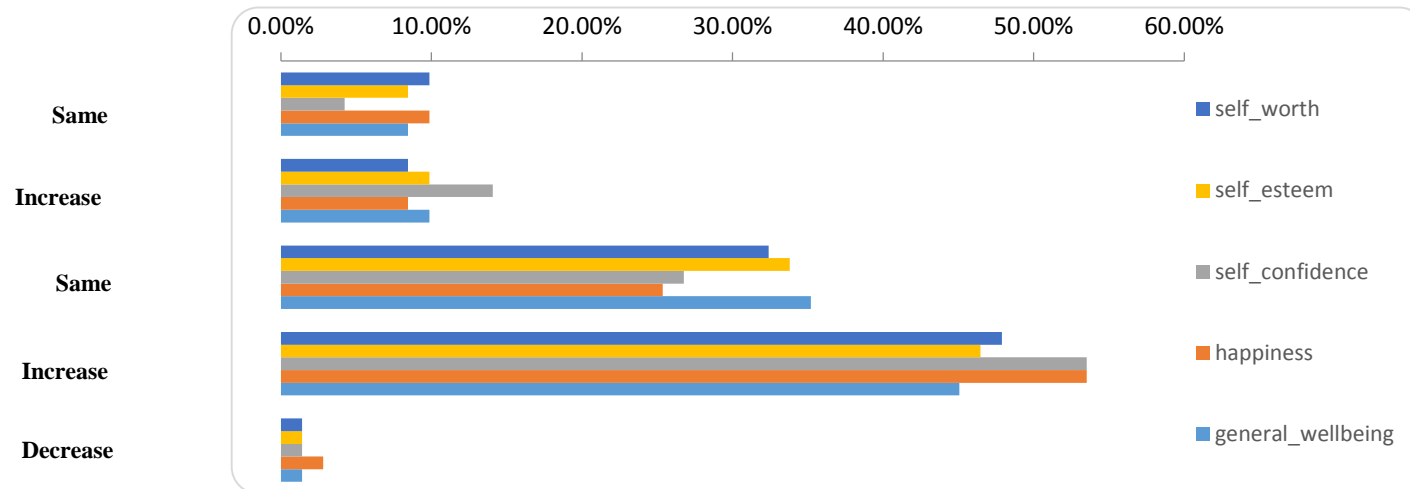


Appendix J. Volunteer Training (from survey)

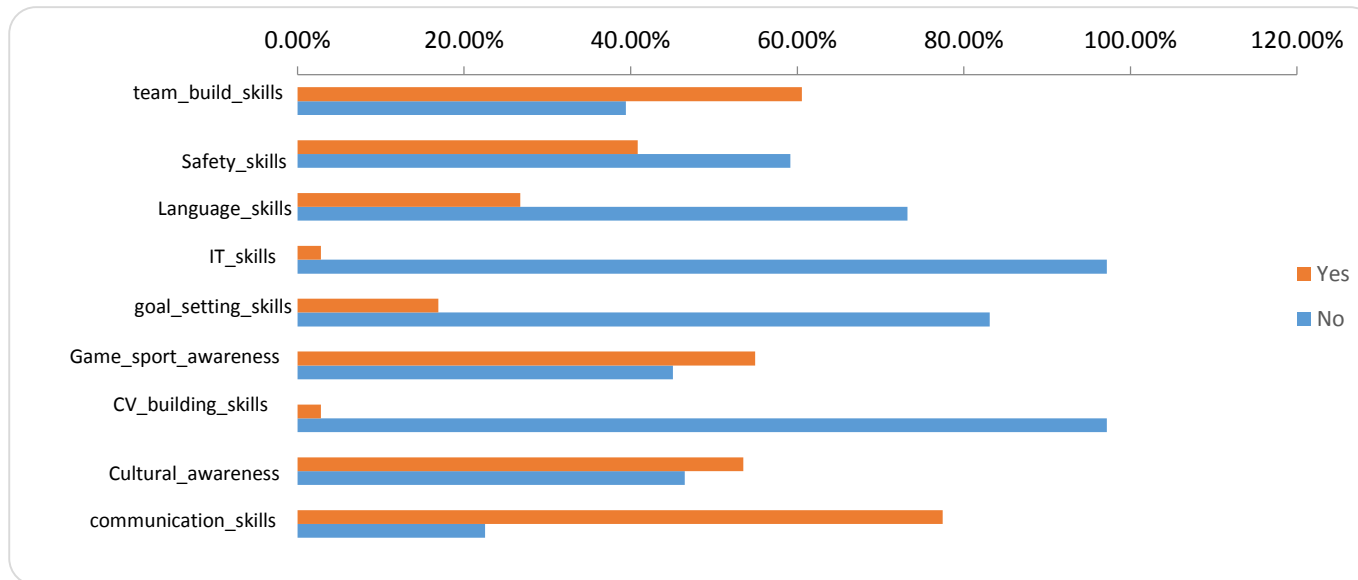
Count of training effect	General Wellbeing	Happiness	Self-Confidence	Self-Esteem	Self-Worth
Decrease	1	2	1	1	1
Increase	39	44	48	40	40
Same	31	25	22	30	30
Total	71	71	71	71	71



Percentage	General Wellbeing	Happiness	Self-Confidence	Self-Esteem	Self-Worth	Total
No	81.69%	81.69%	81.69%	81.69%	81.69%	81.69%
Decrease	1.41%	2.82%	1.41%	1.41%	1.41%	1.69%
Increase	45.07%	53.52%	53.52%	46.48%	47.89%	49.30%
Same	35.21%	25.35%	26.76%	33.80%	32.39%	30.70%
Yes	18.31%	18.31%	18.31%	18.31%	18.31%	18.31%
Increase	9.86%	8.45%	14.08%	9.86%	8.45%	10.14%
Same	8.45%	9.86%	4.23%	8.45%	9.86%	8.17%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%



Skills	No	Yes	Total
Communication skills	22.54%	77.46%	100.00%
Cultural awareness	46.48%	53.52%	100.00%
CV-building skills	97.18%	2.82%	100.00%
Game sport awareness	45.07%	54.93%	100.00%
Goal-setting skills	83.10%	16.90%	100.00%
IT skills	97.18%	2.82%	100.00%
Language skills	73.24%	26.76%	100.00%
Safety skills	59.15%	40.85%	100.00%
Team building skills	39.44%	60.56%	100.00%
Total	62.60%	37.40%	100.00%



Appendix K. Interviewees Profile (From Survey)

Employment status	Age range	Gender	Race/ ethnicity	Marital status, children	Housing	Education, profession	Occupation	Annual income range	Formal volunteering status
Retired	5 (75+) 4 (60-74)	9 total: 5 Female 4 Male	8 white English, 1 White Scottish	Married w/children (6), married no children (2), single no children (1)	Privately owned housing	Prof. degree (3), Master's degree (2), Bachelor's degree (1), 1 or 2 years of college (1), secondary education (2)	Insurer, Buyer, Social worker, teacher, stewardess, textile technologist, mechanical engineer	3 did not reveal; (4) above £20,000 + savings £15,000-20,000; £10,000-£15,000	6 regular since M 2002 2 regular since 1992 & 1994 1 regular since 2011
Full-time employed	2 (45-59)	1 Female, 1 Male	White English	Single no children, divorced with children	Rented flat, privately owned flat	1 or 2 years of college (non- degree), Masters degree	Social policy worker, hotel receptionist	£10,000-£15,000; £25,000-£30,000 No savings/savings	1 regular since 2010 1 never volunteered before L2012
Unemployed	2 (45-59)	1 Female, 1 Male	White English	Married with children, single no children	Rented flat, council housing	1 or 2 years of college (non- degree), BS degree	Home maker, event manager	£2,500-£5,000; £5,000- £10,000 No savings/savings	1 regular since M2002 1 regular since 2004
Students	1 (35-44) 1 (25-34) 1 (16-24)	2 Female, 1 Male	Chinese Brazilian Mixed Race	2 singles, 1 married no children	Rented flats, privately owned flat	Undergraduate, Masters, PhD	Accounting, urban planning, event management	(2) £0-2,500; £25,000- £30,000 No savings/savings (2)	1 regular since 1995 1 regular since 2011 1 never volunteered before

Appendix L. Evolution of Volunteer Motivation Research in Non-Sport and Sport Settings

Date	1989	1991	1994	1995	1998/1999	1998	2003	2004	2008	2009	2009	2013
Authors	Morrow-Howell and Mui (1989)	Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991)	Caldwell and Andereck (1994)	Omoto and Snyder (1995)	Clary <i>et al.</i> , 1998; Clary & Snyder 1999	Farrell <i>et al.</i> (1998)	Strigas and Jackson (2003)	Wang (2004)	Giannoulakis Wang & Gray (2008)	Bang, Alexandris <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Edwards <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Dickson <i>et al.</i> (2013)
Instrument used	-	Motivation to Volunteer Scale (MVS)	-	-	Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI)	Special Event Volunteer Motivation Scale (SEVMS), Resembles Cnaan & Golberg-Glen model	Adaptation of MVS by Cnaan & Golberg-Glen, 1991, SEVMS by Farrell <i>et al.</i> , 1998, Beard and Ragheb, 1983	Drawn upon conceptual models by Omoto and Snyder (1995) and Clary <i>et al.</i> , 1998	Olympic Volunteer Motivation Scale (OVMS), a modified version of Strigas and Jackson's scale	Volunteer Motivations Scale for International Sporting Events (VMS-ISE) Adopted from Bang and Chelladurai (2003)	Modification s of OVMS and VMS-ISE	Developed from uses of SEVMS by other scholars
Event	Generic	Generic	Generic	Generic	Generic	Sport event Canadian Women's Curling Championships, 1996	Sport event Capital City Marathon race in Florida, USA 2001	Sport event Sydney 2002 Summer Olympics	Sport event Athens 2004 Summer Olympics	Sport event Athens 2004 Summer Olympics	Sport event Sydney World Masters Games, 2009	Sport event Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics
Method, n, sampling	-	Quantitative survey	-	-	Conceptual	Quantitative survey, n=137, random	Quantitative survey	Quantitative survey, n=935, quota by age	Quantitative survey, n=146, convenience sampling	Quantitative survey	Quantitative survey	Quantitative survey
Timing of Data collection						Actual volunteers	Distributed on site	Potential volunteers (Pre-Games)	Actual volunteers (2 months pre-Games + during Games)	Pre-Games	Pre/Post Games	Pre-Games
Items in scale	3	28 uni-dimensional model	3	5	6, multi-dimensional model	28, grouped in 4-factor model	40, grouped in 5-factor model	20, grouped in 5-factor model	18, grouped in 3-factor model	29, grouped in 7-factor model	41, grouped in 7-factor model	37, grouped in 6-factor model

Date	1989	1991	1994	1995	1998/1999	1998	2003	2004	2008	2009	2009	2013
Authors	Morrow-Howell and Mui (1989)	Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991)	Caldwell and Andereck (1994)	Omoto and Snyder (1995)	Clary <i>et al.</i> , 1998; Clary & Snyder 1999	Farrell <i>et al.</i> (1998)	Strigas and Jackson (2003)	Wang (2004)	Giannoulakis Wang & Gray (2008)	Bang, Alexandris <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Edwards <i>et al.</i> (2009)	Dickson <i>et al.</i> (2013)
Categories / factors of volunteer motivations	Altruistic Material Social	Altruistic & Egoistic identified but not distinguished (purposive & solidary)	Purposive, Material, Solidary	Values, Understanding Personal development, Community concern, Esteem Enhancement	Personal values, Social, Understanding, Career (new), Protective, Enhancement	Purposive, Solidary, Commitments, External traditions	Material, Purposive, Leisure, Egoistic, External	Altruistic value, Personal development Community concern, Ego enhancement, Social adjustment	Olympic related, Egoistic, Purposive	Expression of Values, Interpersonal Contacts Career Orientation, Patriotism, Personal growth, Extrinsic rewards, Love for sport	It's all about the Games. Personal development, Please others, Variety, Contribution, Altruism/ service, Engagement & self-worth	It's all about the Games. Transactional Variety Application, Availability, Altruistic

Source: Modified and expanded from Dickson *et al.* (2013, p. 81)

Appendix M. Survey logic file

Survey logic file

Welcome:

1. What is the purpose of the study? The purpose of this study is to examine socio-economic impacts of volunteering programmes associated with the Olympic Games and other large-scale sport events. You are offered the opportunity to share what it means for you personally to be a sports event volunteer: your expectations, motivations, barriers to participation and experiences as well as overall opinion on the Games legacy. It should take no more than 20-25 minutes to complete this survey.
2. Will my participation in this study be kept confidential? All information collected, including your name and contact details (if you wish to provide them), will be kept strictly confidential and secure. Your name will not be identified in any publications or reports that may be produced afterwards.
3. What will happen to the results of this study? The results of the study will be used as the data for the PhD project undertaken by the researcher.
4. Who has reviewed the study? This project has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of the College of Social Sciences at the University of Glasgow, UK.
5. Contact for Further Information: If you require further information, please do not hesitate to get in touch with Olesya Nedvetskaya at o.nedvetskaya.1@research.gla.ac.uk. Your help in this research is greatly appreciated!

End message:



Thank you very much for taking part in this survey!

Administrator:

Administrator (o.nedvetskaya.1@research.gla.ac.uk)

*Token ID:

VOLUNTEERING EXPERIENCE, MOTIVATIONS AND BARRIERS

year of volunteering	When did you first start to volunteer? Please specify year and event	<input type="text"/>		
employment volunteer	What were your employment circumstances at that time?	Full-time employed Part-time employed Self-employed Looking after home/family Permanently retired from work Permanently sick or disabled	Student Unemployed and looking for work Unemployed but not looking for work On further education/training Other	Please choose.. 
type of volunteer	What type of volunteering do you do?	<input type="checkbox"/> Formal <input type="checkbox"/> Informal		
frequency of volunt	How often do you volunteer?	More than once a week (often) At least once a week Every other week	Once a month Less than once a month (rarely) Other	Please choose.. 
motivation	What motivates you to volunteer? Please rank all the items.	Your choices: Do something fun Socialise and make friends Build networks to volunteer for future events Get out of the house Do something different apart from paid work Prestige/high profile of the event Recognition as a volunteer Because of sport/hope to watch the Games Work in teams of people of different age/gender/nationality Get set of new skills and competencies Apply existing set of skills and competences Enhance educational opportunities Enhance employment opportunities Be able to contribute towards community/society		Your ranking (from 1 to 16): 1: <input type="text"/> 2: <input type="text"/> 3: <input type="text"/>

		Enhance understanding of volunteer service, learn ethics Promote image and values of my city/country	
barriers	What are the barriers that currently prohibit you from volunteering or prohibited you from volunteering in the past? Please rank all the items.	Your choices: Image of volunteering as not being popular/suitable for me Work without pay Lack of time Health issues Financial constraints / inability to meet costs of volunteering Lack of confidence Lack / not enough skills needed to perform volunteering roles Uncomfortable with new people and in unfamiliar environments Lack of recognition Fear of losing welfare benefits Lack of information of the events to volunteer for Overly-formal volunteer recruitment and selection procedures Lengthy training programmes Poor follow up and lack of support for volunteers Physically inaccessible volunteering environment New language and culture Lack of a national strategy to promote volunteering	Your ranking (from 1 to 17): 1: <input type="text"/> 2: <input type="text"/> 3: <input type="text"/> ...
volunt experience	How do you find your volunteering experience so far?	Positive (enjoyable) Neutral Negative	<div>Please choose.. ▼</div>
SPORT EVENT VOLUNTEERING AND TRAINING			
sport events	Could you please specify which Games you volunteered for in the past and/or volunteer now AND rank them based on your satisfaction with the recruitment, assessment and selection process for this event(s).	Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games London 2012 Summer Olympic Games Olympic 2012 Ambassador for Manchester Olympic 2012 Ambassador for London Olympic 2012 Torch Relay	<div><input type="text"/> ▼</div> <div><input type="text"/> ▼</div> <div><input type="text"/> ▼</div>

overall satisf sp vol	Overall, how would you assess your Games-related volunteering experience so far?	Positive (enjoyable) Neutral Negative	Please choose.. ▼
future sport events	Do you plan to participate as a volunteer in the following future Games?	<input type="checkbox"/> Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games <input type="checkbox"/> Sochi 2014 Winter Olympic Games <input type="checkbox"/> Rio 2016 Summer Olympic Games <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify)	
training	Have you been involved in the following training opportunities related to the Games?	<input type="checkbox"/> Pre-Volunteering training for Manchester 2002 Games <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteering training for Manchester 2002 <input type="checkbox"/> London 2012 Personal Best training <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteering training for London 2012 <input type="checkbox"/> Ambassador Programme training <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteering training for Sochi 2014	
expectations PVP	What did you expect to get out of your Pre-Volunteering training? Have your expectations been met? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	
PVP skills use	Were you able to use skills and experiences acquired during Pre-Volunteering training in other spheres of life? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	
expectations Manch	What did you expect to get out of your Manchester 2002 volunteering training and Games-time experience? Have your expectations been met? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	
M2002 skills use	Were you able to use skills and experiences acquired during Manchester 2002 Games in other spheres of life? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	
expectations PB	What did you expect to get out of your Personal Best training? Have your expectations been met? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	
PB skills use	Were you able to use skills and experiences acquired during Personal Best training in other spheres of life? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	

expectations London	What do you expect from your London2012 Games time volunteering experience? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	
expectations Sochi	What do you expect from your Sochi2014 Games time volunteering experience? Please specify with examples.	<input type="text"/>	
training latest	What organisation(s) have you had your latest volunteering training with?	<input type="checkbox"/> Manchester 2002 <input type="checkbox"/> Manchester PVP <input type="checkbox"/> London 2012 <input type="checkbox"/> London PB	
training opportunit	What was the focus of the training sessions managed by this Organisation?	<input type="checkbox"/> Communication skills <input type="checkbox"/> Team building skills <input type="checkbox"/> Goals setting skills <input type="checkbox"/> CV building skills <input type="checkbox"/> IT skills <input type="checkbox"/> Language skills	<input type="checkbox"/> Safety & first aid skills <input type="checkbox"/> Cultural awareness <input type="checkbox"/> Games & Sport awareness <input type="checkbox"/> Other
training skills&comp	Please specify how would you rate your learning experience associated with these trainings? (<i>increase, no change, decrease, not provided</i>)	Communication skills Team-building skills Goals-setting skills CV-building skills IT skills	Language skills Safety & first aid skills Cultural awareness Games & sport awareness Other
training skills&comp other	If you ranked *Other* in the previous question, please specify here the skill you have learned.	<input type="text"/>	
training qualif	Did you get any official qualification or certificate upon completion of your training?	Yes No	Please choose.. ▼
training qual specif	Please specify qualification/certificate, in what field and the year you got it:	<input type="text"/>	
training benefits	Upon completion of training and your Games time volunteering experience, you feel <i>increase, no change or decrease</i> in:	Self-confidence Self-esteem Sense of self-worth Happiness General well-being	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
training benefits add	What additional benefits have you derived from these trainings and overall Games-time volunteering experience and what use you can make out of it in the future	<input type="text"/>	

training satisfact	Overall, please indicate how satisfied you are/were with the training sessions and overall volunteering experience associated with this event (5 scale).		Please choose.. ▼
overall dissatisf	Please specify the reasons		
role, team & venue	Please specify your role, team and venue associated with this event.		
role timings	When are/were your volunteering shifts? Please specify in day/month/year format (if known). If volunteering was in the past and you do not remember, please say so.		
role satisfact	Are/were you happy with being allocated this role/team/venue and shifts?	Yes No	Please choose.. ▼
role dissatisf	Please specify the reasons here.		
event management	From your own experience with this Organisation, how would you assess overall event management and interaction with volunteers (Likert scale)?		Please choose.. ▼
management dissat	Please specify the reasons here.		
DEMOGRAPHICS			
gender	What is your gender?	<input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	Please choose.. ▼
age	What is your age?	16-24 25-34 35-4	45-59 60-74 75 plus
place of birth	Please provide your place of birth (city and country).		
ethnicity	What is your ethnicity?	White Scottish White Irish White Other British White (others) Mixed race Indian Pakistani	Bangladeshi Chinese Other Asian Black Caribbean Black African Black (others) Other (please specify):

languages	What languages do you speak? If one (or more) of these do not apply, please insert 0 (zero).	Mother tongue(s) Foreign	
marital status	What is your marital status?	Married Cohabiting/living together Divorced Separated Widowed Single/never been married	Please choose.. ▼
spouse empl	Does your spouse/partner work?	Yes No	Please choose.. ▼
children number	Do you have children?	Yes No	Please choose.. ▼
housing	What type of housing do you live in?	Private flat Private house Rented flat Rented house Social housing Other:	Please choose.. ▼
driving license	Do you have a driving license?	Yes No	Please choose.. ▼
car	Do you own a car?	Yes No	Please choose.. ▼
education	What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Nursery (ages 3-4) Primary education (ages 4-11) Secondary education (ages 11-18) Some college credit, but less than 1 year 1 or more years of college, no degree Bachelor's degree Master's degree Doctorate degree Professional degree Took training course(s) Other (please specify):	
degree	Please specify what is your degree in and what year you have completed it?	<input type="text"/>	
training course(s)	Please specify what training course(s) you took and in which year.	<input type="text"/>	
employment	What are your employment circumstances at the moment?	Full-time employed Part-time employed Self-employed Permanently sick or disabled Student Unemployed and	Please choose.. ▼

		Volunteer/unpaid worker Looking after home/family Permanently retired from work	looking for work Unemployed but not currently looking for work Education/training Other (please specify)	
further edu/training	Are you on education/training at the moment?	Yes No		Please choose.. ▼
further edu/training	What kind of further education/training you are on at the moment.	On-the-job training Further Education course A university-based course Distance learning/Open university School	Adult education or evening class Help with reading, writing or use of numbers Other (please specify)	Please choose.. ▼
retired year	If you are retired, please specify the year.	<input type="text"/>		
benefits	Are you on means-tested benefits	Yes No		Please choose.. ▼
stud institution	What Educational Institution are you studying in?	<input type="text"/>		
stud inst city/cntr	Please specify what city and country.	<input type="text"/>		
stud form of study	What is the form of your study?	Other:		Please choose.. ▼
stud edu major	What is your major?	<input type="text"/>		
stud edu year	What year of study are you in?	<input type="text"/>		
stud stipend	What is your monthly stipend? If your currency is not GBP, please convert accordingly.	<input type="text"/>		
household income	What is your net annual household income? If your currency is not GBP, please convert accordingly.	0- £6,000 £5,000 to £10,000 £10,001 to £15,000 £15,001 to £20,000	£20,001 to £25,001 £25,001 to £30,000 £30,001 or more	Please choose.. ▼

savings	Do you have any savings?	Yes No	<div>Please choose.. ▼</div>
city	Please provide the city and country you currently live in and for the past 12 months.	<input type="text"/>	
post code	Please provide your post-code.	<input type="text"/>	
name and contacts	If you wish to be contacted for a follow up interview, please provide your full name and contact details (e.g. e-mail, Skype, FB, phone). This information will be kept strictly confidential. Your cooperation is much appreciated!	<input type="text"/>	
<div> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Finalise response submission <div>Submit</div> </div>			

Appendix N. E-mail request sent out to interviewed volunteers after the Games

Dear Volunteer,

Now when everybody is ‘back to normal’, I am interested in your after-Games reflections. I would very much appreciate if you could answer via e-mail to several questions:

- How do you feel now, when the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games are over?
- What did you learn?
- Whom did you meet?
- Were your expectations met if you compare them before the Olympics, and in which way?
- How do you fill in ‘the gap’ of being without the Olympics?
- How will you use your experience in other areas of life?

If you have anything else to add you think is relevant and reflects your Games Maker experience, please do so. I will be in touch with you later again to ask you in more detail about your Games-time experience and see any changes in your life over time.

Thank you very much for your help. Looking forward to hear from you!

Best regards,
Olesya Nedvetskaya