

**People, place and prosperity in the east end of Glasgow:
an assessment of the potential economic impacts of the 2014
Commonwealth Games and associated regeneration activities
on local communities**

Julie Clark and Ade Kearns

University of Glasgow

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List of Abbreviations

CWG	Commonwealth Games 2014
CWGF	Commonwealth Games Federation
GCC	Glasgow City Council
OC	Organising Committee (for the CWG 2014)
SG	Scottish Government
URC	Urban Regeneration Company (Clyde Gateway)
SMEF	Strategic Major Events Forum
SDS	Skills Development Scotland
SQA	Scottish Qualifications Authority
GTSI	Glasgow Tourism Service Initiative
SE	Scottish Enterprise
SDI	Scottish Development Initiative
SHS	Scottish Health Survey
VS	VisitScotland
HIE	Highlands & Islands Enterprise
SME	Small and Medium Sized Enterprises
SPT	Strathclyde Passenger Transport

Executive summary

Both Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government have made the east end of Glasgow a particular (though not the only) focus for legacy from the 2014 Commonwealth Games.

In order to achieve local legacy impacts, preparations for the Games themselves have been integrated with a regeneration strategy for the east end¹, and developments and other activities in the area have been underway since the award of the Games to Glasgow in 2007.

This report is part of a study, *GoWell in the East End*, which started in 2012 and is due to continue until 2017. The report examines the likelihood of the Games, and associated regeneration activities, having economic impacts upon the east end in the short term and the medium to long term.

To do this, an approach informed by theory-based evaluation has been adopted. This entails considering three things in turn: the people and the place of the east end; the legacy developments and programmes being delivered; and the plausibility of those programmes having economic impacts based on research evidence from past multi-sports events and similar programmes elsewhere.

As part of the study, a survey of over 1,000 adult householders in the east end was carried out in 2012, and findings from this survey are used in this report.

As regards the **people and place** of the east end, we find that there is great *scope* for improvements in economic circumstances.

- In our study cohort, the employment rate for adults was a third lower than the Scottish national average, and the prevalence of workless households, at 43%, was twice the national average.
- Among those not currently working, there were relatively high levels of dissatisfaction with their circumstances, and a significant minority (around 40%) had been actively looking for work in the past year.

¹ We use the term 'east end' to refer to the area identified by Glasgow City Council in its Local Development Strategy. This area comprises the inner part of the east end of Glasgow, encompassing six communities. Many people would define the whole east end as a much larger area than this. The study area is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

- These findings suggest that programmes which aim to help people into work will match the *preferences* of many people and should find a willing group of participants.
- However, there are also significant *barriers* to securing employment for many people. Of the working-age adults in our cohort who are out of work, nearly two-thirds reported that they have a long-standing illness, disability or infirmity. Around a fifth of the workless households contained dependent children and so may need affordable childcare in order to take employment. These barriers indicate a need for personal support for many people to gain and retain employment, in addition to providing job opportunities and brokerage services.

In addition to the Commonwealth Games itself and its two associated cultural programmes, a further 59 national and local legacy programmes and developments have potential for economic impact.

- Legacy programmes and developments are of four main types: procurement networks; capital investment projects; employer support and employability programmes; and marketing and inward investment programmes. The most numerous programmes are capital projects, at least half of which could be wholly or partly *attributed* to the CWG, and employer and employability programmes, four-fifths of which could be attributed to the CWG.
- Most of the capital investment projects are *targeted* on the east end area, but many of the other legacy programmes are not especially targeted on the east end, although some are focused on deprived areas. This situation is partly a consequence of there being legacy objectives for the city and the country in addition to the east end. However, this limits the potential for economic impact from these programmes in the area. The evidence available so far indicates that the CWG employability programmes have brought reasonable benefits to east end residents, though not as much as might be desired given the level of need in the area.
- Nevertheless, around 40% of the employer support and employability programmes, and of the marketing and inward investment programmes, have either had known impacts on the east end already, or the potential for such impacts.
- The evidence to date indicates that it is *feasible* that the package of legacy programmes and developments assembled by the relevant public agencies can be delivered and will have economic impacts upon the east end.

- There is evidence from our survey, and from elsewhere, that some local firms have obtained supply contracts with the Games venues and that a small proportion of local people have gained work and/or training in the construction and operation of the new infrastructure and sports venues in the area.
- Jobs have also been brought into the area through the construction of new business premises. Although firms and public agencies moving into the area will come with current employees, it can be hoped that local employment strategies can be developed to enable east end residents to gain greater access to local jobs as staff turnover.
- In general, economic impacts are more likely to come from regeneration than from the CWG. The *scale and duration* of the regeneration effort in the east end is important. Over the seven years since the Games were awarded to Glasgow and the regeneration effort in the east end began, only a fifth of the vacant and derelict land in the area has been re-used and around 40% of the planned new jobs for the area will have been delivered by 2015. Although this can be considered good progress during a period of economic downturn, it also means that the current plans and range of activities need to be continued long after the Games period has ended in order for the regeneration task to be completed.

The evidence from past multi-sports events, including London 2012, indicates that economic impacts from the CWG are **plausible**, at least in the short term. Economic impacts from multi-sports events in the short to medium term tend to come from three sectors: in each case, there are reasons to be cautious about the impacts upon the east end.

- The construction sector impact may be less than in other Games cities due to the fact that many of Glasgow's Games venues were already in existence, and are spread across the city, rather than being concentrated in one sports park. Non-Games construction has also been important to Games cities. While Glasgow has delivered infrastructure works, the east end has not yet received a major retail development, for example as was the case in Stratford, London.
- As regards the events sector, Glasgow has engaged in city rebranding as suggested by past studies, notably through the 'People Make Glasgow' brand, which has successfully built upon the city's reputation. The city already fits the model of a post-Games events location and has a successful marketing bureau, which is already booking events into Games venues. It is likely to avoid the 'white elephant' syndrome experienced by some past Games cities. However, it is not clear to what extent the east end of the

city will benefit from events held in Games venues in future, beyond the general economic benefit to the city economy from such events. This is because there are few other amenities to retain athletes and visitors in the vicinity beyond their time at Games venues.

- Tourism sector impacts from the CWG have been supported by the provision of additional capacity, and by additional promotional campaigns locally and nationally. On the other hand, the tourism impact may be less than would otherwise be the case due to a lower share of overseas visitors during Games time. The main issue in relation to future impacts upon the east end from tourism spin-offs after the CWG is the lack of promotion of tourist attractions or experiences further east than the People's Palace in the city.
- Many of the elements required for an impact upon the economy and business environment have been in place or operative in Glasgow including: reputational enhancement for local firms and public agencies through a successful event; rebranding the city and marketing it for international businesses and visitors around Games time and thereafter; developing local business networks; providing business opportunities for local firms; and boosting productivity through infrastructure investments.
- Other elements required for a sustained economic impact upon the east end economy could be improved further, including:
 - Further targeting of employability programmes towards the east end, though it is recognised that the URC is attempting to secure employment for local people during the construction and post-construction phases of business (re)location.
 - Providing a high-quality environment in the east end, including shops, cafes and other amenities, green spaces, and clean and tidy streets, to attract and retain skilled people as workers and residents.
 - Giving consideration to a more strategic approach to economic development, including identifying key sectors for growth in the area.
 - Strategic partnership working and ongoing co-operation between relevant public agencies responsible for regeneration, business development, inward investment and skills and training.

Our overall assessment is that *the CWG and associated regeneration are likely to have a short term positive economic impact upon the east end of Glasgow and that medium to long term, sustained economic improvements are also possible*. The latter depends upon the regeneration effort continuing for a further ten to 15 years after the CWG, and upon a strategic partnership operating between the URC and other public agencies relevant to sustainable economic development. This is in order that those organisations with

responsibility for firms, people and place all work with a common, continuing focus and degree of priority upon the east end.

Chapter 1: Introduction: legacy of what and for whom?

This report explores the east end of Glasgow as a focus of particular interest for legacy arising from the 2014 Commonwealth Games, evaluating the potential economic impacts of the Commonwealth Games (CWG) and regeneration interventions in the east end of Glasgow as interrelated activities. In economic terms, the CWG is expected to cost £575m to the public purse, comprising £382m from the Scottish Government, £80m from Glasgow City Council and £90m via Police Scotland for security (Scottish Government Social Research 2014). Glasgow 2014 is also meeting further costs through income from sponsorship, ticket sales, merchandising and broadcasting rights.

Regeneration and the Commonwealth Games

It can be argued that Glasgow's hosting of the 2014 Commonwealth Games (CWG) represents a good example of the shift in the hosting of multisport events from a focus mainly on entertainment and city promotion towards a much stronger focus on regeneration (Preuss 2006; McCartney *et al.*, 2010). In Glasgow's case, the two are inter-related to a significant extent. As Matheson (2010) describes it, the CWG in Glasgow took place 'against the backdrop of wider regeneration projects', particularly the construction of new sports venues and transport infrastructure works which had already been planned. Indeed, she concludes that it is indicative of good practice that in Glasgow's case the event was 'embedded into broader regeneration strategies' (p.20).

The synergistic relationship between the CWG and wider regeneration activity is both problematic and convenient for our purposes. In what follows, we consider the effects of programmes and developments identified by the relevant stakeholders and partners as pertaining to 'legacy'. We have not separated Games programmes from regeneration programmes. In effect, we are considering the impacts of all major developments and programmes identified as related to the CWG, or instituted in and around the CWG main site in the east end of Glasgow, over the period from the award of the Games to the city and the event itself, i.e. 2007-2014. These developments and programmes are generally initiated, planned

and organised by public sector agencies, although they may be implemented by a mixture of public, private and third sector partners.

Legacy for the east end

The candidature file submitted to the Commonwealth Games Federation (CWGF) in May 2007 contained a chapter on the theme of cultivating local support (GCC, 2007). This included a commitment to promote the Games as 'Games for Glasgow, for Scotland, and the Commonwealth'. Legacy aspirations have been framed in terms of 'a games legacy for Glasgow' and 'delivering a lasting legacy for Scotland', as each tier of government has been mindful of responsibility to its wider constituency in what is, necessarily, a city-based bid. In the case of the Scottish Government, this has involved the introduction of CWG-related programmes applicable across the whole country, while GCC have emphasised relevance 'all across the city' (GCC, 2009b, p5).

Nevertheless, from the bidding process, through interventions, to promised legacy, the historically impoverished east end of the Glasgow has remained a focal point of the 2014 Games. The candidature file also specified:

'For the city - a successful Games and significant regeneration of the east end of Glasgow, making effective use of otherwise derelict land and creating employment opportunities for local people' (GCC 2007, p.08).

The east end of Glasgow can therefore be considered the site of dual tensions in relation to legacy. Firstly, it has been identified as a vulnerable area in need of regeneration and, to some extent, this status was used as a lever in winning the CWG bid. It is hoped that intensified policy interest in the area may yield benefits for local residents. However, the primary CWG funders also have responsibilities to wider geographies than the east end of the city, which may mean that the east end is less of a priority for some stakeholders and for some programmes (while nonetheless still being a focus). Secondly, residents of the east end are simultaneously both putative beneficiaries of new developments and programmes and, taking on board research on possible negative effects associated with multi-

sport events, potentially at risk *from* those same policy interests and interventions. Thus, for our purposes, it is important to consider both positive and potentially negative impacts from the CWG and associated regeneration activity. For example, the problems of displacement of local people prior to multi-sport events, including in the case of Glasgow 2014, and their exclusion from the newly-created post-event place, have been and continue to be reported².

² For commentary on these issues in the case of Glasgow, see Porter, 2009 and www.gamesmonitor2014.org

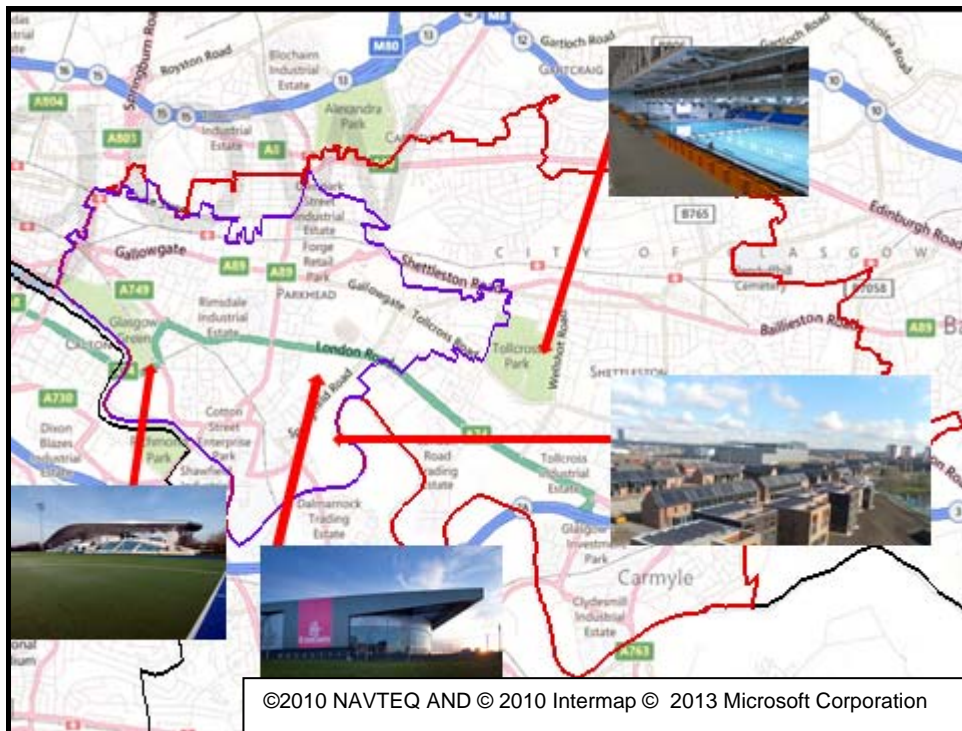
Chapter 2: Conducting a prospective assessment of legacy impacts

In this section we describe the 'host' community around the east end Games cluster, the legacy domains and outcomes we are interested in as set out by the key partners, and why and by what methods and criteria we seek to make a prospective assessment of the likely impacts.

Study area

For the purposes of this assessment, (as well as the Scottish Government evaluation of legacy in the east end overall), the east end 'host' community is defined as lying within an area approximately co-terminus with the Glasgow City Council East End Local Development Strategy Area. In 2012, the study area comprised 623 hectares, around 11,000 dwellings and a population of nearly 19,000 living in six communities: Bridgeton, Calton, Camlachie, Dalmarnock, Gallowgate and Parkhead (Figure 1). This geography includes the location of the main new stadia for the 2014 Games (Emirates Stadium and Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome) and the site of the Athletes Village. It is bounded by the River Clyde to the south, and the new International Hockey Centre and upgraded Tollcross International Swimming Centre to the west and east, respectively.

Figure 1: The study area ‘host community’ (purple boundary), within the context of the greater east end (red boundary), showing Games venues.



Legacy themes and programmes

Both the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council identified legacy ‘themes’ where they aspire to have legacy impact. These are broadly comparable, mapping on to one another with the exception of a few conceptual differences e.g. volunteering is named under Glasgow’s ‘Inclusive’ theme, stressing life skills, as opposed to the Scottish Government ‘Flourishing’ theme, which has a more economic orientation (see Table 1). The thematic structures reflect the perspectives of the three major programme funders: the Scottish Government (SG); Glasgow City Council (GCC); and Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company (URC). Considerable activity and expenditure was also undertaken by Glasgow 2014 Ltd, the Organising Committee responsible for delivering the Games, although that activity is only considered here to the extent that it routed through the procurement networks set up as legacy programmes by SG and GCC (see below for details).

Given the context of a significant expenditure of public money on hosting the CWG, it is unsurprising that GCC and the SG both devote a legacy theme to specifically economic goals: *Prosperous* and *Flourishing* alike reference increased economic growth and employment (see Table 1). The GCC *Prosperous* theme was conceived with an explicitly social dimension, framing economic interventions as a mechanism for “transforming deprived communities”, noting in the *Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework* “particularly in the East End of Glasgow” (GCC, 2009a, p13; GCC, 2009b, p3). The SG’s equivalent *Flourishing* theme includes an emphasis on volunteering as an employability measure, “strengthening the workforce” and contributing to economic growth³.

³ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/Sport/MajorEvents/Glasgow-2014/Commonwealth-games/Indicators>

Table 1. Glasgow City Council and Scottish Government legacy themes.

Glasgow City Council	Scottish Government
<p>Prosperous <i>Build on the investment and social renewal already achieved over the past decade to create real and permanent economic progress</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> growing businesses by improving performance building careers through training and employment transforming deprived communities by investing in regeneration. <p>International <i>Showcase Glasgow and help strengthen the city's image, worldwide reputation and civic pride</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> promoting Glasgow's image and reputation to a global audience increasing cultural and sporting events by investing in world-class infrastructure attracting inward investment and leisure/business tourism by promoting the city's assets. <p>Inclusive <i>An opportunity for all who don't have a formal role in Glasgow 2014 to participate in this once-in-a-lifetime event</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> encouraging participation in volunteering to improve life skills inspiring new learning opportunities from Glasgow 2014 strengthening links with Commonwealth nations. <p>Accessible <i>Around £2bn of investment in the city's transport infrastructure, providing businesses, citizens and visitors with faster, more reliable access in and out of Glasgow</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improving connectivity by investing in major new transport infrastructure encouraging sustainable travel by growing cycling initiatives and walking networks. <p>Green <i>Help Glasgow to become one of the most sustainable cities in Europe by setting an environmental standard the city will follow</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> improving access to and use of green spaces lowering carbon emissions through sustainable living standards reducing climate emissions by reducing waste. <p>Active <i>Inspire more Glasgow citizens to become physically active and participate in sport, leaving a community legacy of world-class venues being developed as part of the Games</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> building and investing in world-class facilities re-energising an active culture, through club, coach and sports development 	<p>Flourishing <i>Contribute to the growth of the Scottish economy</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> increase growth of Scottish businesses increase movement into employment, training and volunteering improve the perception of Scotland as a world-class destination for business, events and tourism. <p>Connected <i>Strengthen connections at home and internationally through culture and learning</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improve the perception of Scotland as a creative nation, producing world-class cultural experiences Increase engagement through new artistic, cultural and creative experiences Enhance young people's learning and everyone's understanding and celebration of our and other countries' cultures. <p>Sustainable <i>Demonstrate environmental responsibility and help communities live more sustainably</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improve the physical and social environment of Glasgow (in particular the east end) Strengthen and empower communities in Scotland and the Commonwealth Demonstrate sustainable design and environmental responsibility. <p>Active <i>Help Scots be more physically active</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improve the active infrastructure (people and places) Increase physical activity and participation in sport Improve Scottish sporting success.

Adapted from: GCC (2009b) *A Games Legacy for Glasgow: Towards 2014*; and SG (2014) *An Evaluation of Legacy from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games Pre-Games Report*.

Programmes categorised under other legacy themes can also be assessed in terms of potential economic outcome. The *International* (GCC) and *Connected* (SG) themes speak partially to external perceptions of Scotland and, in that respect, have implications for tourism and inward investment. The *Inclusive* (GCC) and *Connected* (SG) themes include programmes that may have a bearing on employment and employability. The *SG Sustainable* and GCC *Greener* themes include capital investments in the development of the Athletes' Village, and the latter also includes the promotion of sustainable tourism. Finally, *Accessible* (GCC) references the level of capital investment involved in infrastructure projects as well as "a lasting economic benefit... from the potential increase in number of visitors to the city and improved access to businesses" (GCC, 2009a, p56).

In this report, we have included consideration of the economic impacts of developments and programmes from across the range of legacy themes, not just the Prosperous (GCC) and Flourishing (SG) themes. This judgement is based not only on the categorisation of the programmes, but also based on other documentary and interview data, as well as what we consider to be logical and plausible outcomes from the programmes.

Methodological approach

The approach taken to this assessment was informed by theory-based evaluation, considering the context within which programmes operate, the circumstances under which they might function successfully, and for whom they may, or may not, be useful (Kazi, 2003; Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

The contextual investigation comprised an assessment based on a range of sources:

- The *GoWell East* longitudinal community survey of the 'host community', most directly proximate to new or improved CWG facilities (see Clark & Kearns, 2013).
- Semi-structured interviews with residents and people in local organisations.
- Interviews and workshops with stakeholders involved in CWG and regeneration programmes.

- Secondary and ecological data for the study area and city.
- Existing research evidence on similar programmes and their effects.

Drawing on information from key stakeholders, we first identified developments and programmes relevant to current regeneration in the east end of Glasgow and/or to the CWG. We then identified those programmes relevant to having economic impacts, going beyond those identified as within the flourishing and prosperous legacy themes. Further information on the nature of the programmes (e.g. what policy instruments were being utilised; which groups were being targeted), their scale of operation (e.g. monies allocated; outputs anticipated), and their spatial focus or targeting was collected wherever possible.

The prospects for economic impact were then considered using a set of criteria organised into three areas of assessment as described below: People and Places; Programmes; and Plausibility.

1. People and Places: This part of the assessment identified the potential for impact, drawing on current performance data for the study area. Three kinds of questions were asked:

How much *scope* or room for improvement is there, compared with city and national norms?

What are the *preferences* of local residents for some of the programmes being delivered and outcomes being sought via legacy?

Are there identifiable *barriers* to the programmes having impact upon the east end community, or upon their intended beneficiaries?

The *GoWell East* 2012 baseline community survey provided a key source for this area of assessment.

2. Programmes: This part of the assessment considered the nature and success to-date of the legacy programmes relevant to economic impacts. Four groups of questions are asked:

Relevance: Are programmes being delivered which are relevant to producing the outcomes being sought?

Are the programmes relevant to the needs and interests of the host community?

Note: All themes include items which pre-date the successful Games bid; thus, inclusion as 'relevant' was based on a strategic conception of the project or programme as contributing to the legacy theme.

Scale: Are the programmes of sufficient scale (in terms of money or intended participants/beneficiaries) to have impact within the study area?

Note: Availability of information and the differing nature of programmes rendered scale a particularly problematic issue for comparison.

Targeting: What is the geographic focus of the programmes? Are the programmes targeted in whole or in part upon the east end community? Or is the east end one among many areas that may potentially benefit from the programmes? Is there any emerging evidence of east end benefits or impacts?

Note: Where information was available, we recorded whether specific benefits to the east end have been reported for the programmes.

Feasibility: Are programmes being implemented as planned and are outputs emerging which are necessary for impacts upon outcomes? What causal pathways are providers anticipating?

Note: Information on input and/or (projected) outputs have been listed as available but, noting the risks of double counting within various measures, these must be considered purely as offering context⁴.

3. Plausibility: In order to assess the plausibility of what is being attempted, we addressed the following three groups of questions:

Evidence: Does the existing evidence from evaluations of other multi-sport events or from other similar programmes indicate that impact upon the outcomes of interest is likely?

Linkages and pathways: Is there evidence that indicates that key linkages or elements for success are present or absent from programmes? What causal pathways would the research evidence suggest might be operative or required?

Negative impacts: Are there plausible or verifiable grounds for thinking that programmes could potentially have adverse, unexpected or negative impacts upon the East End community?

This structure for the prospective assessment can be considered a development of the criteria set out by Connell and Kubish (1998) - namely that programmes and their outcomes are plausible, do-able and testable - and similar to the approach taken in Theory of Change evaluations, combining process information with primary and secondary outcome data (MacKenzie and Blamey 2005).

Following this evaluation process, we then offer a view of the *likelihood* and *extent* of impact upon the east end population.

⁴ see Grant Thornton *et al.*, 2011, pp.9-14 for a summary of similar methodological challenges associated with evaluation.

Chapter 3: People and place

This chapter reviews what we know from our survey about the employment situation and employment-related attitudes and behaviours of householders in the study area.

Economic activity status

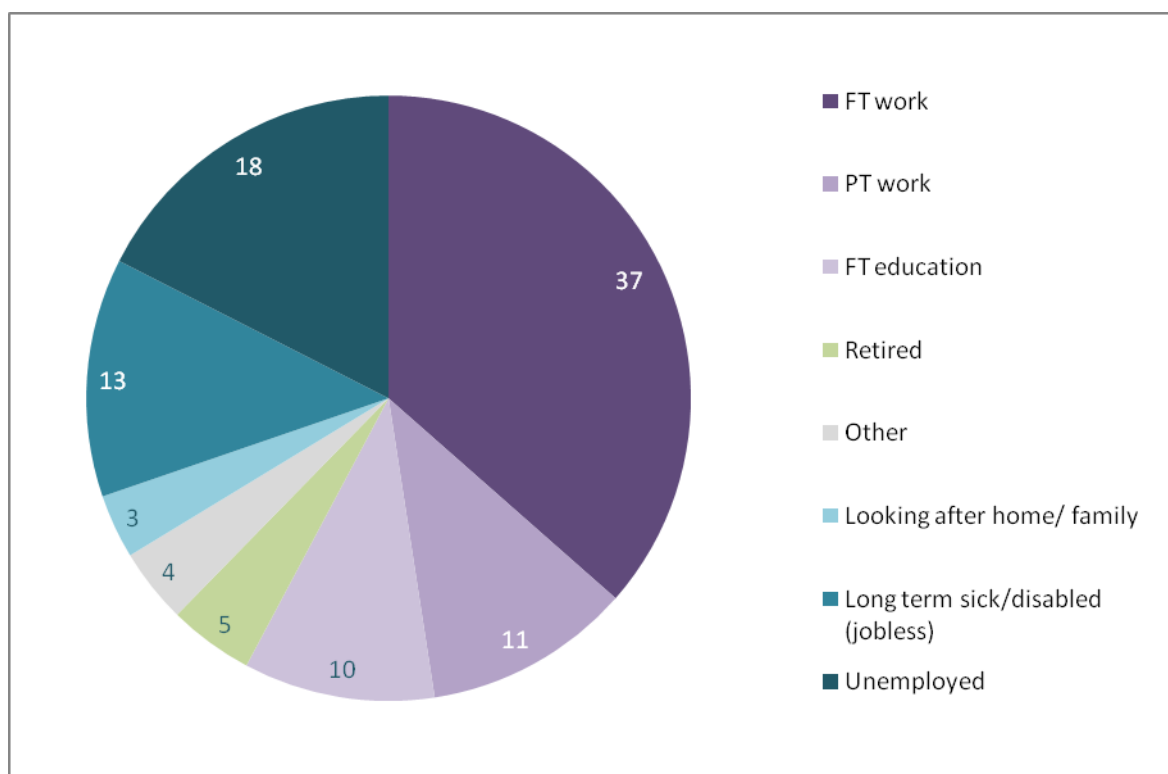
The spatial concentration of poverty in the east end of the city has prompted much heated and high-profile debate⁵. The study area comprises 27 datazones, 21 of which are in the most deprived 15% in Scotland according to SIMD rankings. For the GoWell East survey cohort, the employment rate in 2012 was 48%⁶ (see Figure 2). This compares unfavourably with both Scotland (71%) and the GCC area (61%)⁷, and indicates scope for legacy programmes to have impact through employment opportunities. As Figure 2 shows, around three quarters of participants aged 16-64 in the GoWell East survey were economically active (working, looking for work or in full-time education), and almost a quarter were economically inactive, defining themselves as outside the labour market, i.e. not working or looking for work. However, only 37% were working full time and 11% working part time. Nearly one-in-five (18%) were unemployed and nearly one-in-eight (13%) were long-term sick or disabled.

⁵ For example, Allardyce, J. (2012) 'Tycoon: Scots are addicted to welfare', *The Sunday Times*, 13th May; Ashcroft, B. (2012) 'Benefits: Ground control to Sir Tom', *Scottish Economy Watch*, 15th May; Gillan, A. (2012) 'The people of Glasgow's East End are many things, but they are not pampered', *The Guardian*, 15th May.

⁶ GoWell East data here and elsewhere is weighted to be representative of adults in the study area.

⁷ Source: NOMIS 2013.

Figure 2: Economic activity status of householders aged 16-64.



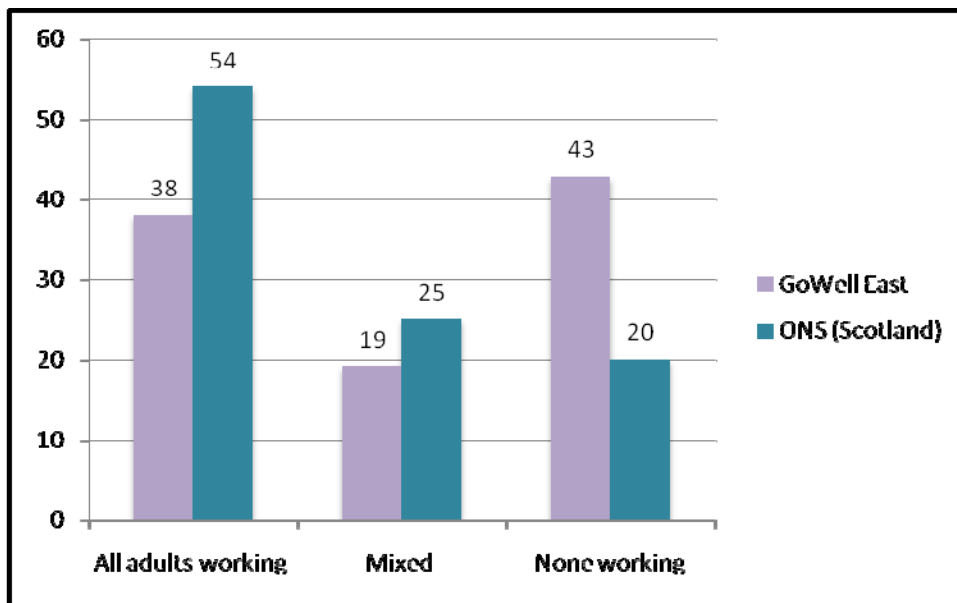
Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

Workless households

Considering household data from the survey, 86% of households in the cohort contained at least one person of age 16-64. Of those households, over half (57%) had at least one person in employment (full or part time). In 43% of cases, no adults in the household were working (Figure 3). Households where no adults worked were more than twice as common in the east end survey area than in Scotland, according to NOMIS data. Scottish figures are comparable with the rest of the UK where 18% of households did not have any working-age people in employment⁸.

⁸ Source: ONS 2012.

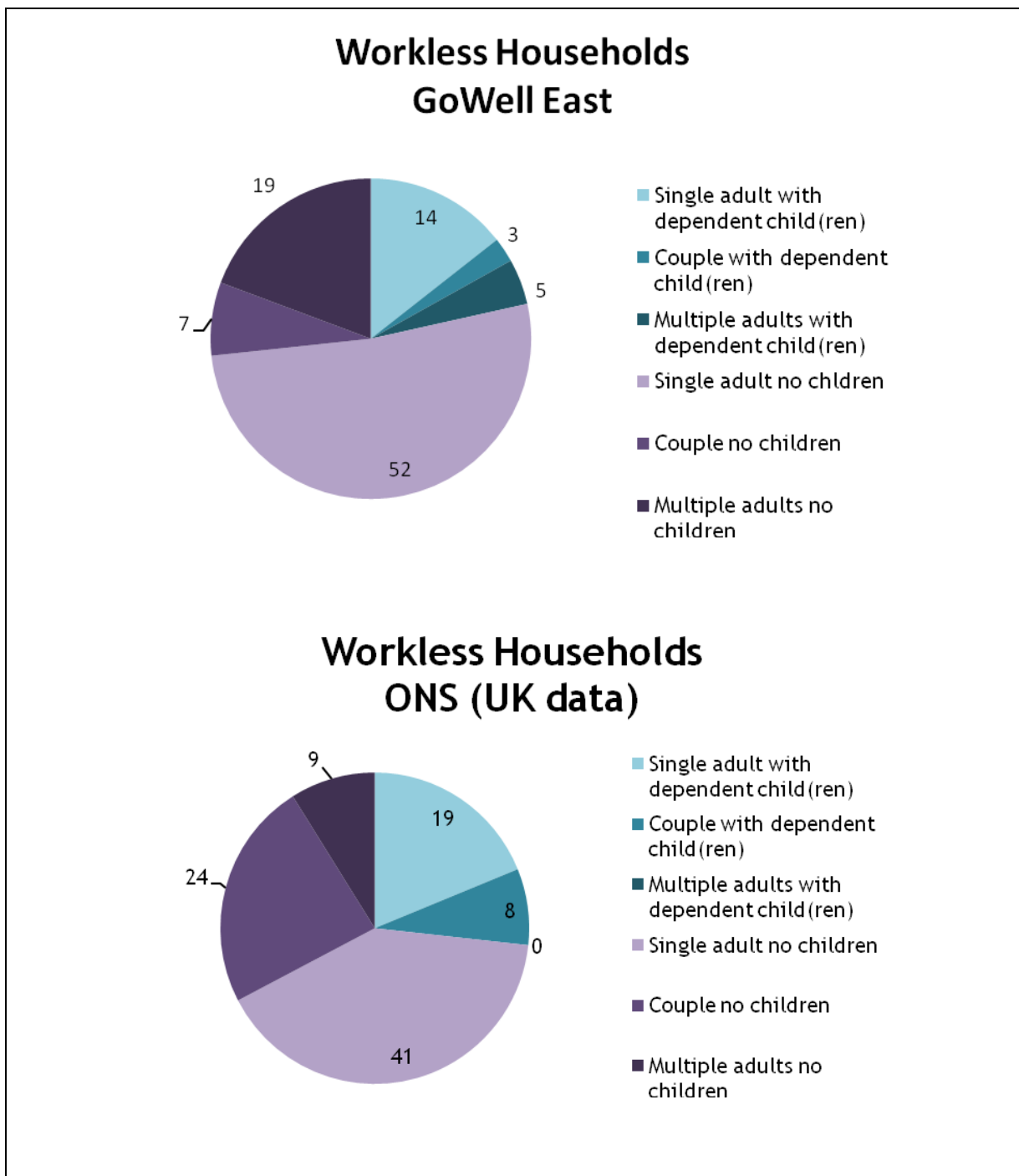
Figure 3: Households by economic activity status of adults aged 16-64.



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

Single adults account for a large proportion of the workless group, to a somewhat greater extent than in the UK generally. Contrary to the UK situation, fewer non-working households in the east end cohort include dependent children (Figure 4). A major employment challenge for the east end host community therefore, relates to work opportunities for single (and multiple adult) householders. Further, for a fifth of workless households in the study area, lack of affordable childcare might be a barrier to employment.

Figure 4: Workless households by household type.

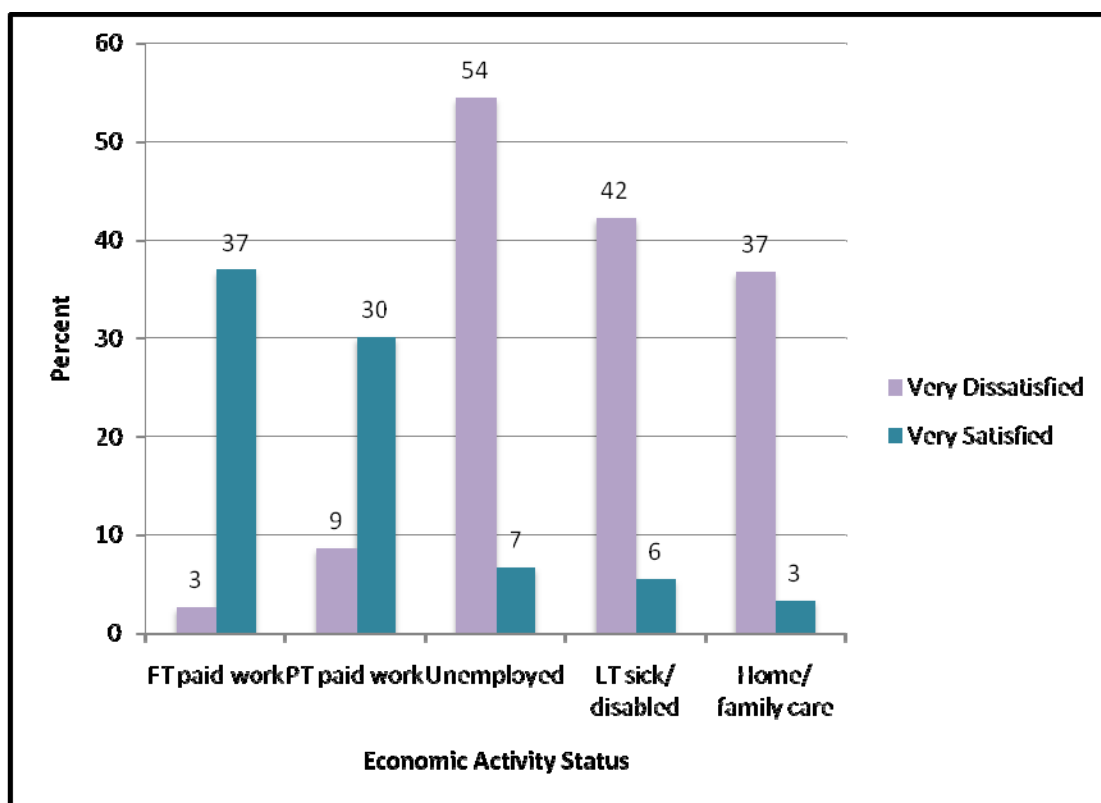


GoWell East, 2012; ONS, 2012

Employment attitudes and behaviours

The potential for legacy impact on economic activity is reinforced by further data from the GoWell East survey, where participants were asked *“Overall, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your employment situation at the moment, whether you are working or not working just now?”* There were significant differences between working and non-working adults, with a majority of the currently unemployed participants (54%) describing themselves ‘very dissatisfied’ in contrast to only 3% of those in full time paid employment (see Figure 5). Again, this is suggestive of both scope and appetite for increased employment opportunities among many east end residents.

Figure 5: Householder satisfaction with current economic activity status.

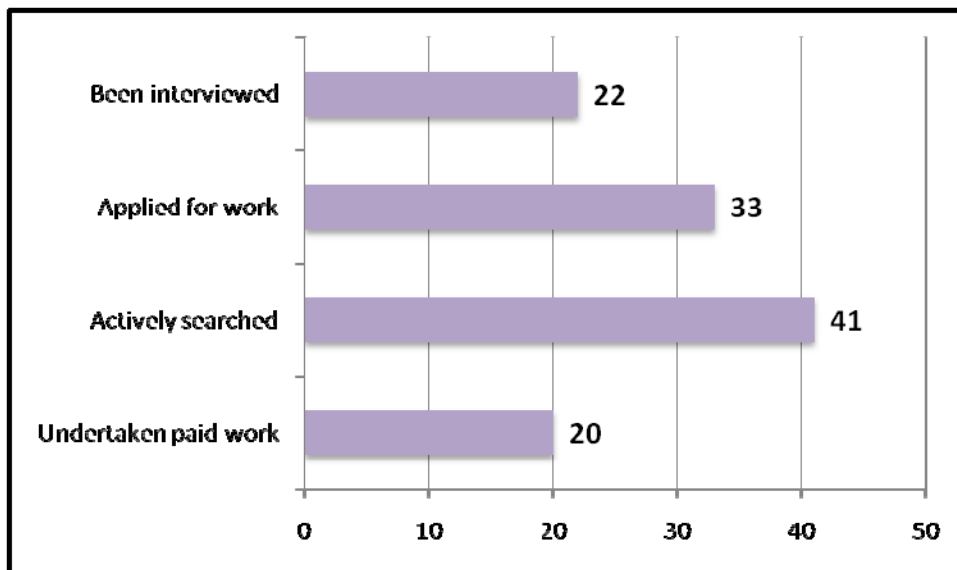


Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

The above figures are reflected in the survey findings on job search activity among the out-of-work group. Of those participants aged 16-64 group who were not involved in full time work or education at the time of the survey, 20% said they had done some paid work over the previous year, 41% had actively searched for work, 33% had applied for a job, and 22% had been interviewed for a job (Figure

6). There are, therefore, large numbers of people in the east end who are actively engaged in job-seeking activity, and who could be assisted by CWG-related opportunities.

Figure 6: Job-seeking behaviours among adult respondents ages 16-64 not in full time employment.



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

Employability and human capital

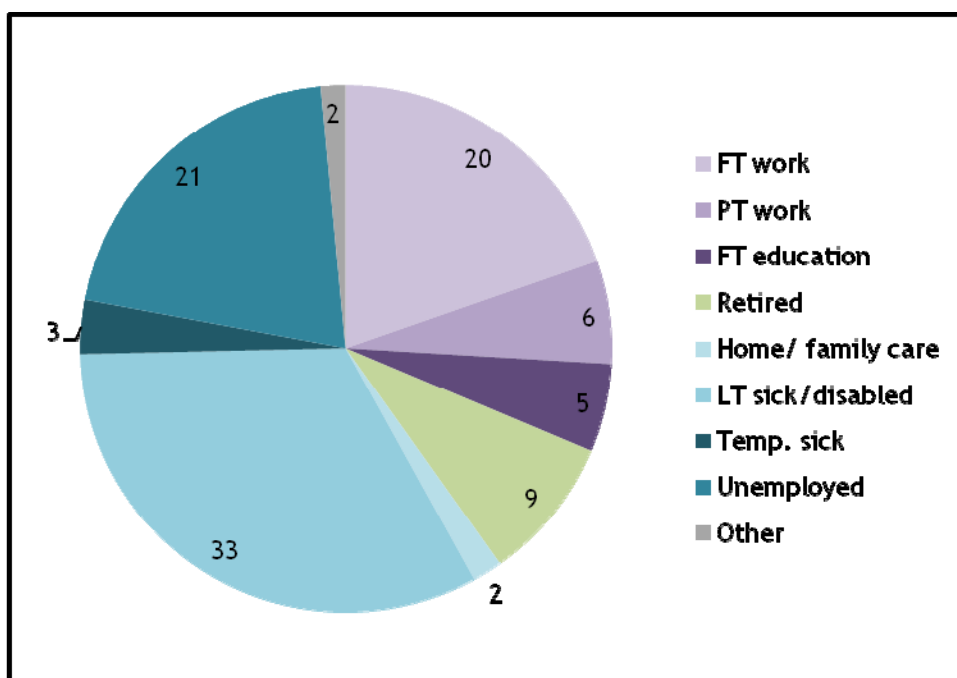
Levels of volunteering in the east end cohort were comparable to what might be expected in a relatively disadvantaged community, with nearly a quarter of adults surveyed replying positively when asked “In the past 12 months, have you done any voluntary work - that is, have you helped an organisation, group or individual in an unpaid capacity” (Clark and Kearns 2013). The same proportion of the cohort (24%) expressed an intention to get involved with the CWG by volunteering, when they were asked in 2012.

The success of employment and employability programmes is dependent upon the pre-existing human capital of the local adult population; for example, are people healthy and well educated enough to take advantage of opportunities? In terms of education, the situation was not as poor as might have been expected. Overall, for the study cohort, the proportion of adults of working age without any educational qualifications was lower than the city average (12% in the study cohort, as against 16% for Glasgow), and the number with degree level qualifications was only slightly lower than the rest of the city (38% in the study area versus 40% for the city).

However, there were parts of the study area where the situation was not so good. In the Camlachie and Parkhead area (the north east quadrant of the study area), the proportion of working-age adults with no qualifications (19%) was only slightly higher than the city average (16%)⁹, but the proportion with degree level qualifications (23%) lagged far behind the city average (40% in 2012). This indicates that the targeting of education and training opportunities to particular communities might be appropriate.

The health status of working-age adults might be considered a more important limiting factor to employment impacts in the east end (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Economic status of respondents aged 16-64 with a long-standing illness, disability or infirmity.



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

Two-in-five (39%) respondents of working age (16-64 years old) reported that they had a “long-standing illness, disability or infirmity”. It is difficult to provide a strict comparison for this figure, but the Scottish Health Survey (SHeS) indicates that approximately 39% of Scottish adults aged 16-64 had a long-term health condition or illness in 2012. Because our question also referred to ‘disability or infirmity’, it may be more equivalent to the SHS measure of limiting long-term

⁹ Sources: NOMIS 2012.

conditions, for which the equivalent figures for men and women aged 16-64 were 22% and 29% respectively¹⁰, indicating a higher rate of illness in our study cohort than nationally.

As Figure 7 shows, only a quarter (26%) of interviewees were in work and a further quarter (24%) were either unemployed or out of work temporarily for sickness reasons. Thus, nearly half of the group defined themselves as being outside the labour market, totalling almost one-in-five working-age adults in the study area. Another way of identifying the employment challenge in the area is to note that of those respondents aged 16-64 who are not currently in employment, full-time education or retired, three-in-five (63%) report that they have a long-term illness, disability or infirmity.

Summary

We found scope for improvement in the economic circumstances of the east end resident population in the following respects:

- The employment rate for working age adults in the east end was substantially below that of the city of Glasgow as a whole, and of Scotland.
- A large proportion of the workless households comprised single and multiple-adult households, rather than couples or families with children.

The potential for impact was reinforced by our survey findings on east end residents' preferences in relation to employment:

- Half of the unemployed and two-in-five of those who were long-term sick or looking after the home were very dissatisfied with their current economic circumstances. This suggests a significant appetite for gaining employment among the resident population.
- Two in five of the working-age adults who were not either in full-time work or full-time education reported that they had actively sought work in the

¹⁰ Estimated from Scottish Health Survey Annual Report 2012, Table 8.2, using weighted bases.

past year. This indicates a significant level of engagement with the labour market.

- One in four adults was a recent volunteer, and a similar number were interested in Games-time volunteering. This indicates a degree of interest in activity that might add to someone's skills or experience.

On the other hand, our survey also highlights substantial **barriers** to achieving impacts upon employment levels in the east end:

- There were a high number of workless households in the area, which may add additional challenges for those wishing to gain employment, e.g. through poor employment connections, lack of knowledge about how to seek or retain a job, or low expectations within households about obtaining a job.
- Almost two-thirds of the out-of-work adults reported having a long-term illness or disability.
- The number of adults with higher level education qualifications was low in some of the study communities.
- One-in-five of the workless households in the area might have a need for affordable childcare before seeking or obtaining a job.

Chapter 4: The Commonwealth Games & legacy developments and programmes

Introduction

This chapter considers those activities associated with the Commonwealth Games and regeneration which might have economic impacts on the east end. After considering the Games themselves, the chapter proceeds by identifying other projects and programmes relevant to economic development and employment outcomes. These activities are classified according to their nature and their relevance to different economic outcomes. The scale of projects and programmes is also discussed, considering the level of financial investment and number of jobs or training places to be provided. With regard to the sustainability of legacy, the nature and duration of proposed work has also been noted where available. We also consider the extent to which developments and programmes associated with potential economic benefits are targeted towards the east end of Glasgow and review early evidence on the feasibility of programmes supporting desired outcomes.

After a review of the range of legacy programmes, we have structured this chapter according to five areas of activity:

- The Commonwealth Games and associated cultural programmes
- Procurement networks
- Capital investment projects
- Employer support and employability programmes.
- Marketing and inward investment programmes.

Within each area of activity, we consider, as far as we can at this point, the issues of relevance, scale, targeting and feasibility. We also consider the extent to which each national and local programme can be attributed to the advent of the Games. Glasgow City Council classifies its projects as occurring directly as a result of the

award of the CWG ('attributable impact'); speeded up ('accelerated impact') or boosted ('enhanced impact'); or happening anyway and unaltered by the CWG ('mainstream impact'). We have adopted most of the GCC categorisations for their programmes, though with a few exceptions where we considered attribution to the Games to be debatable. The categorisation framework was also applied to Scottish Government programmes. A full list of the relevant legacy programmes, with associated details for each, is provided in Appendix A, accompanying this report.

Commonwealth Games and associated cultural programmes

The Commonwealth Games took place over 12 days in July-August 2014, with around one million tickets available for fixtures across the 17 sports on offer. In addition, two cultural programmes were also be mounted. Festival 2014 took place in Glasgow at the same time as the Games, with events held in the city's entertainment venues, parks and streets, including a series of shows at Glasgow Green, the Merchant City and at the refurbished Kelvingrove Bandstand in one of the city's main parks¹¹.

The Culture 2014 programme ran throughout the year and across Scotland, consisting of 200 projects and exhibitions and 800 events¹². The programme reached its peak from June to July to accompany the Queens Baton Relay across the country. Culture 2014 is supported a series of events in the east end of Glasgow - see Appendix B. Over a five-month period, Culture 2014 included regular music events at local bars and community centres under the title 'The East End Social'. Were this programme to gain enough momentum to continue in some form after the Games, it might help attract more regular visitors to the east end in the future, spreading Glasgow's live music scene beyond its usual venues. This could contribute to changing the image and boosting the local economy in the east end.

¹¹ (see: <https://www.glasgow2014.com/feature/festival-2014>)

¹² (see <https://www.glasgow2014.com/video/culture-2014-national-celebration>)

As regards the CWG itself, *Glasgow 2014* (the CWG Organising Committee (OC)) employed around 1,400 staff at Games time, in addition to supporting 30,000 contractor vacancies and recruiting 15,000 volunteers¹³. It was also anticipated that around 1,000 jobs will be created in the broadcasting of the CWG. In a First Minister's press release, Alex Salmond announced that Global Television and Sunset and Vine would be hosting the media coverage of the CWG and that they "committed to having as many as possible of these filled by local talent and Scottish talent"¹⁴.

The main economic benefits from the three programmes (CWG 2014, Culture 2014 and Festival 2014) were to be derived from business supply services, construction jobs (see below for consideration of both of these) and from visitors to Scotland and Glasgow, and their associated tourism expenditures, which should have boosted the income of local businesses and provided additional temporary employment during the period in question. London saw a 0.9% rise in overseas visitors during the Olympic year, with 471,000 overseas visitors coming primarily to attend the Olympics and Paralympics. Despite the fact that visitor numbers were down in the Olympics month of August, tourist expenditures rose by 8.5% in the third quarter. This was because the average tourist expenditure of Olympics visitors was twice that of visitors coming for other purposes, at £1,553¹⁵.

Of course, Glasgow is not a global city in the same sense as London, and the CWG are smaller than the Olympics, so the boost to tourist numbers and expenditures can be expected to be less in absolute terms. Furthermore, in the case of Glasgow 2014, the vast majority of tickets released to the public (more than 95%), were sold to people living in the UK (or at least giving UK addresses for ticket delivery)¹⁶. This could also mean that the economic impact of tourism expenditure around Games time will be less, since overseas visitors typically spend nearly three times as much as domestic visitors to Scotland¹⁷. Notwithstanding the fact that the

¹³ 'Glasgow 2014: Games recruits 1,000 staff', *The Scotsman*, 3rd March 2014, quoting Search Consultancy.

¹⁴ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o_uOM-xpbzE

¹⁵ Source: ONS Travel Trends 2012: Release 19 April 2013.

¹⁶ Figures based on the first, main release of tickets for sale.

¹⁷ Source: Scottish Government, Overnight Tourism Annual Statistics 2013.

difference in expenditure between the two groups may be less for Games-related visitors than for routine visitors, we still consider it likely that the large proportion of ticket sales to domestic customers will have meant a lesser economic impact from tourism than would have been the case with a stronger overseas component.

Procurement networks

Both the Scottish Government (SG) and Glasgow City Council (GCC) have set up procurement networks to help local businesses compete for contracts to provide services related to the staging of the CWG. GCC has implemented a business engagement strategy which includes a new Buyer Engagement Team to oversee procurement through its business portal, and an effort to raise awareness of its existing Supplier Development Programme. Both the national and local procurement networks thus offer business support services, particularly focusing on third sector organisations and SMEs, as well as advising members about contracts. The establishment of the Glasgow Business Portal as a permanent feature, alongside the number of registrations and proportion of contracts won by businesses in the Glasgow area (see below) speaks to a level of success, which may have had beneficial effects for east end businesses and employees. Beyond the sporting and cultural events themselves, the capacity-building components of these networks should assist in the future with growing business, improving performance and increasing movement into employment and training.

Substantial sums are associated with the procurement networks in that they are used to award contracts. The procurement networks worked successfully and Glasgow-based enterprises have fared well in the award of contracts. The Glasgow Business Portal (originally the 'Commonwealth Games' portal, set up for CWG related construction contracts) awarded 50% (£200m) of all Tier 1 contracts to Glasgow-based businesses,¹⁸ and now handles some private as well as public-sector contracts. The number of registered businesses also gives an indication of the scale of the networks: just over 3,000 in the case of Business Club Scotland and over 22,000 for the Glasgow Business Portal. These figures indicate that business

¹⁸ Source: data provided by GCC in July 2014.

activity related to the CWG has benefitted Glasgow based firms, though we cannot currently confirm how many of these firms are based in the east end of the city. There was no means in existence on the part of the OC to encourage east end firms in particular to register for contracts, although all Glasgow businesses had been encouraged to sign up to the Business Portal, including business engagement sessions held at Celtic Park in the pre-Games period. The URC has, however, facilitated local firms signing up to the portal, and there is some evidence of local success. As of February 2014, four existing businesses within the east end study area had been identified as securing business contracts in relation to the Emirates Arena and Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome¹⁹ and a fifth firm had been awarded work in relation to the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre precinct to the south west of the city centre.

Capital investment projects

Capital investment projects come in a number of forms, and for a number of reasons: to provide facilities for the CWG itself; as part of the regeneration of the east end area, including both public sector funded activity to improve local amenities, prepare land for development, and provide business premises, plus private sector investment in business premises also. Capital investment can provide jobs during the construction period, for which public agencies can institute community-benefit clauses within works contracts, as well as post-construction employment within the new buildings and their occupant firms.

As well as direct benefits associated with increased employment and training opportunities, stakeholders have theorised that there will be further 'induced' benefits, deriving from the scale of investment and publicity around the CWG. It may be possible that capital investment programmes in the wider city will also benefit people from the east end. For example, in 2011, funding totalling over £1m was earmarked for improvements to two major arts venues in the city in time for the CWG. Under the theory of induced demand, better supply of amenities may create additional demand for them, providing more jobs in the long term.

¹⁹ From <http://www.legacy2014.co.uk/legacy-in-action-map>

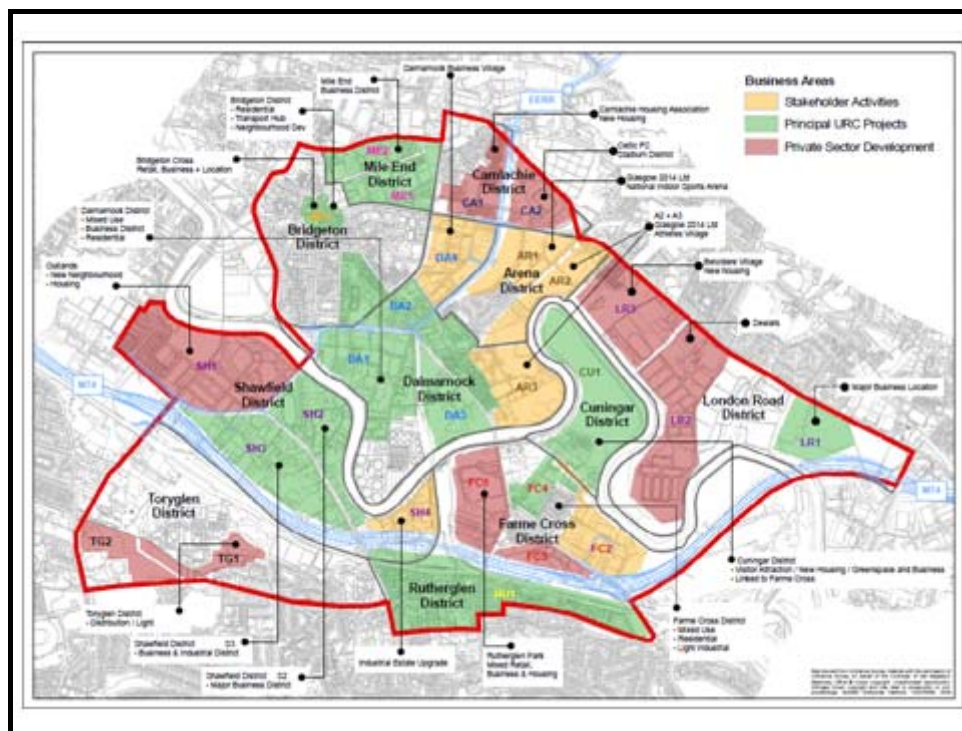
There are 21 capital investment projects identified as associated with either the CWG or the regeneration of the east end, divided into six types as shown in Table 2 (further details in the appendix): construction of business premises; housing and related developments; sports facilities; transport infrastructure projects; public realm improvements; and cultural venue construction and refurbishments. Around half of these capital investment projects (11) are either wholly attributable or partly attributable to the CWG, i.e. enhanced, safeguarded or accelerated due to the Games. Thus, half of the capital projects are the product of the regeneration strategy for the area and enacted primarily through the URC Clyde Gateway, rather than being the result of the hosting of the CWG.

Table 2. Capital investment projects.

	Number of projects	Of which:	
		Wholly or partially attributable to CWG	With potential or known benefits to the east end
Business premises	7	1	6
Housing related	2	2	2
Sports facilities	3	3	3
Transport infrastructure	3	1	3
Public realm works	3	2	3
Cultural venues	3	2	0
Total	21	11	17

As can be seen from Figure 8, the east end study area sits at the centre of the Clyde Gateway operational area, comprising the URC's business areas of: Bridgeton, Mile End, Camlachie, Arena and Dalmarnock. However, the URC's area extends both further east and south of the River Clyde, covering an area twice the size of our study area. The remit of Clyde Gateway, with its focus on regeneration, makes it a particularly powerful player with regard to the *prosperous* theme in the east end. Although the URC was established independently of the successful 2014 Commonwealth Games bid (both in 2007), it has been responsible for delivering a range of 'transformational projects', some of which are directly associated with the Games as well as continuing efforts to support the economic and social regeneration in the area.

Figure 8: Clyde Gateway (URC) business areas.



The Clyde Gateway projects can be viewed as aspiring to positive outcomes at multiple levels. Most immediately, construction work - associated with initial land remediation and then housing, environmental improvements, public realm works, transport infrastructure, business, sports and cultural facilities - provides employment and training opportunities. Further, it is planned that many of these new and improved amenities will continue to provide jobs on an ongoing basis, as well as providing high-quality, accessible environments into which new employers might move.

Most of the capital projects (17 of the 21) have known or potential benefits to east end residents and communities. This is mainly because they are situated in the study area itself, comprising sports facilities and transport infrastructure allied to the CWG, and business premises associated with the east end regeneration strategy. Beyond this, the public realm improvement projects are also intended to contribute to economic growth. In particular, the Calton Barras Action Plan is a £3.5m programme that aims to refurbish a market trading area on the transit routes in between the city centre and some of the main Games venues in the east end. This initiative, mainly funded by Glasgow City Council, is expected to deliver

jobs on completion as well as work integral to the refurbishment process. On a smaller scale, the Parkhead Cross Improvement programme involves an expenditure of approaching £400,000 for restoring traditional shopfronts in the run up to the Games: objectives are listed as encouraging greater footfall and reducing the number of vacant properties.

Capital projects can be expected to have potential economic impacts in a number of ways:

- *Jobs in the construction phase*

The URC is a strong advocate of gaining community benefits from investments and has negotiated for recruitment, training and in-work assistance for posts filled by local residents, particularly during construction. And indeed, there is some evidence of local employment gains from construction work. Glasgow City Council recorded that by March 2014, 500 jobs for the long-term unemployed and education leavers, including 168 apprenticeships²⁰, had been provided on CWG infrastructure-related contracts. In the GoWell East baseline survey, we found that 3.9% of the adult respondents had had a period of paid employment related to infrastructure, sports facilities or other regeneration-related construction projects, over the previous two years (2010-12). Some of this activity will continue after the Games, for example the retrofitting of the Athletes' Village and construction of future phases of housing development on the site, which are attributable to the CWG, will provide further employment opportunities.

- *Jobs in newly constructed premises after completion*

While it is possible to estimate the volume of construction jobs, it is more difficult to translate 'input' values - such as the value of a contract, land or materials - into assumed 'outputs' such as number of long-term jobs

²⁰ Source: data supplied by GCC, July 2014.

created. New premises may lie empty for some time, or not be fully occupied, and new jobs could in theory be displaced from elsewhere.

However, there is some evidence of a local employment impact. In the GoWell East baseline survey, we found that 3.0% of adult respondents reported paid employment working in the new or refurbished sports facilities over the previous two years. The URC report that 27 of 50 staff in the Emirates Arena live within the URC's operational area (which is larger than our study area)²¹.

The URC has plans for ten business premises developments in the Bridgeton and Dalrnarnock area over the medium term, of which three have come to fruition and are now occupied, providing 502 jobs in the area (Clyde Gateway 2013). Two other projects are close to being occupied, and are expected to provide a further 1,290 jobs in the near future. Thus, after seven years of operation, and by one year after the CWG, there should be 1,792 jobs in the study area which were not there prior to the enactment of the URC's regeneration strategy. These jobs amount to 9% of the URC's gross job target across its entire area of operation (see Figure 8) and around 40% of the projected jobs in all URC completed and pipeline projects in the study area²².

The full potential in the area may be even greater, given that over the six-year period from 2007²³ to 2013, the amount of derelict land in the study area has only reduced by around a fifth (-18.8%), from 98.81 hectares to 80.23 hectares. Thus, in due course, it is possible that more business premises developments could be identified and progressed, once more land has been remediated and serviced, and interested potential occupants identified.

²¹ See Paterson, S. (2014) 'Regeneration of East End is "creating jobs"', *Evening Times*, 31st July.

²² Clyde Gateway use the following job density assumptions in their plans, expressed as floor-space per employee: office 12 m², retail 19 m², industrial 36 m², leisure 36-90 m².

²³ 2007 being the year when the Games were awarded to Glasgow and the URC commenced.

Of course, unless they are start-up firms, private companies and public sector organisations will tend to come to the area with their pre-existing complement of employees. For local people to gain access to job vacancies in these companies and organisations, as and when they become available, good linkages will be required between a number of organisations to deliver a coherent employment strategy for the area which connects regeneration activities, economic development strategy for the city, local employers, employment services, and further/higher education institutions. This is so as to ensure that local people have the necessary relevant skills for the known and intended employers in the area, and have good awareness and access to vacancies. The URC has been attempting to make some of these linkages between regeneration developments and access to forthcoming job opportunities, but a firmer partnership and co-ordinated strategy may be required between the various agencies involved to ensure success in this regard. Considering the enduring nature of worklessness, low levels of qualifications and health issues among the resident population, employment support will probably be needed not just prior to engagement, but during the early period of employment as well.

- *Local expenditures by people travelling into the area and working in the area as a result of firm (re)location and occupation of the completed business premises, to the benefit of local businesses.*

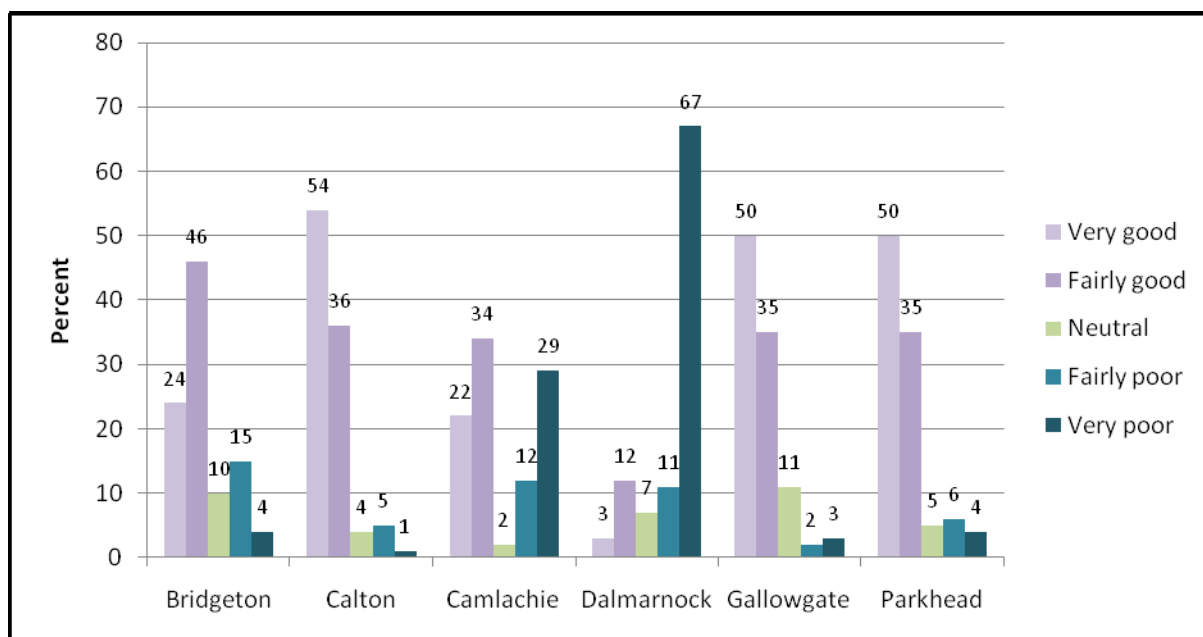
It is plausible that people working in business premises in the area may spend money in the local economy, for example, on food and drink. This is more likely if they travel to the area by public transport, rather than by car directly to their workplace. However, the likelihood and level of local expenditure from people travelling into the area will also depend upon the quality of the local shopping and services environment, which in many parts of the study area would need further improvement to meet a wider, non-local demand (see next chapter for further consideration of this issue).

On the other hand, it is also possible that some local businesses have been adversely affected by the infrastructure works and other developments. There are two ways this may have happened.

First, businesses may have had to close or relocate due to local developments, such as the shops closed for the development of the Athletes' Village. Small businesses can be very vulnerable in cases of regeneration clearance (Raco and Tunney, 2010), so re-establishing and sustaining businesses and employment opportunities, especially *retail* facilities, will continue to be an important issue post-CWG. Construction on the new, community-owned Dalmarnock Legacy Hub began in December 2013. This centre is managed by the local People's Development Trust and will house a general store, community café and pharmacy among other facilities. Potentially, the occupation of the Athletes' Village may also stimulate some interest from retailers but to date there are no definite plans and it is too early for a market-led response.

Our survey findings from 2012 highlighted the issue of poor retail provision in parts of the study area. Although, overall, over two thirds of the east end cohort rated local shops as very or fairly good, there were significant differences in this patterning at community level, with over two thirds of people interviewed in Dalmarnock at the time of the 2012 survey rating local shopping as 'very poor'. Although opinion in neighbouring Camlachie was more divided, interviewees there also gave more negative ratings than did the rest of the cohort.

Figure 9: Perceptions of local shops by neighbourhood.



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

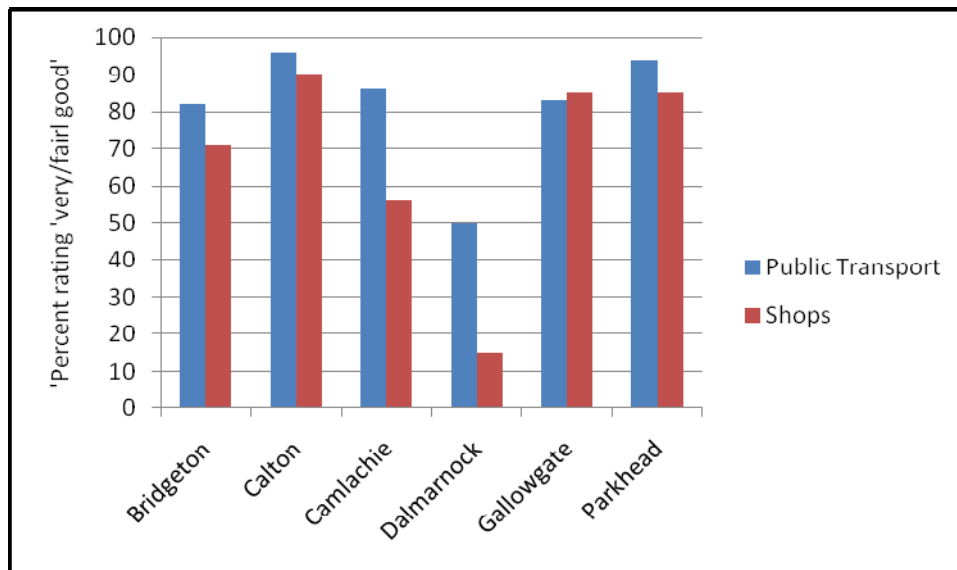
Second, some local businesses may lose passing trade due to the re-routing of traffic and people as a result of transport infrastructure developments. This would have to be weighed against new local expenditures as a result of more incoming workers to the new business premises.

We will attempt to both estimate the extent of the negative impact upon shops in the area, and also monitor local retail provision in the future to see if the number of local shops recovers after the occupation of the Athletes' Village after the Games. Jones and Evans (2013) note that if neighbourhood amenities such as shops and schools are not of adequate quality, the new Athletes' Village development "runs the risk of simply becoming a car-based commuter settlement, with all the resultant implications for sustainability" (p.194). However, if a local primary school is eventually provided for children of families living in Dalrnarnock and the Athletes' Village, this is much more likely to 'anchor' families in the area so as to undertake further activities and expenditure locally.

- *Future attraction of further firms to the area as a result of improved transport infrastructure and an enhanced public realm.*

The 2012 GoWell East survey offers insight into the perceptions of local people about a range of amenities in their area. These are presented in Figures 10 and 11.

Figure 10: Resident ratings of public transport and shops.



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

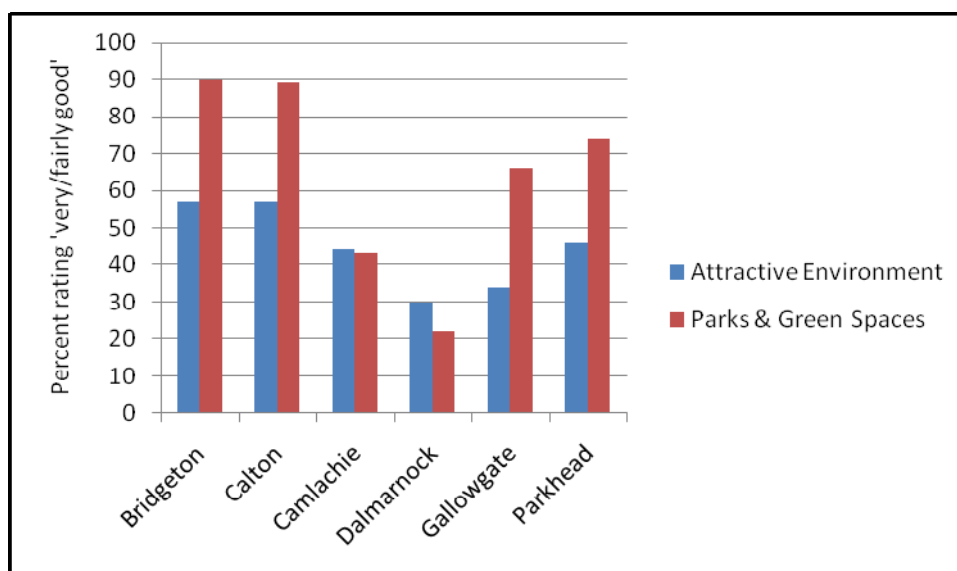
In Dalmarnock, only half the respondents rated public transport as good (Figure 10). It is evident that since the survey, transport infrastructure works have been completed in or near Dalmarnock, and that from an economic development perspective the new road and refurbished railway station are addressing a weakness in the local business environment. Residents, though, may not agree about the benefits of the road, and they may see a need for further improvements to bus services for their own use. Thus, quality of life issues for local people require attention as well as business development needs.

A number of larger and smaller scale environmental improvement projects are due to occur in or near the study area which will contribute to an improved public realm. The Cuningar Loop Woodland Park, due to be developed on a 15 hectare site across the river from Dalmarnock is intended

to contribute to driving economic change (Forestry Commission 2011). A Multifunctional Green Space is to be built on the site of an old bus park for Celtic Park. This is primarily for the use of residents in Camlachie, but will also contribute to the overall appearance of the area (Wilde 2013).

Nevertheless, in many parts of the study area, the local environment is not considered by residents to be of good quality. In four of the six study communities, only a minority of people rate the appearance of the local environment as 'good', and this is also true for parks and green spaces in two of the study communities (Figure 11). This requires sufficient programmes to be in place to tackle the untidy, dilapidated environment that exists in pockets across all parts of the study area, and which may also serve as a deterrent to attracting businesses to the area. Clearly, some of these environmental issues will be addressed for the period of the CWG, but there needs to be a longer-term, sustained environmental plan for the area that combines more small-scale improvement projects (such as that in Camlachie mentioned above) with more intensive environmental management.

Figure 11: Resident ratings of the local environment.



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

The construction of the Athletes' Village is also intended as a contribution to future economic development in the area. Of 700 homes, 400 are to be allocated in the social rented sector, with the remaining 300 homes to be sold following refit after the CWG and a 120 bed care home included in the development. A further 700 homes are to be provided in the Athletes' Village in a second phase of development (Clyde Gateway 2014). As well as supporting hundreds of jobs and many apprentices during construction²⁴, the development is also intended to bring opportunities for local businesses and social enterprises. The Village is described as replacing a previous 'thriving industrial community' with a 'vibrant new community' to act as a 'catalyst for regenerating Glasgow's East End'²⁵. The consortium responsible for the homes also conceives of the development as part of a housing-led regeneration which will "provide a wonderful environment for a new family focused regeneration"²⁶. This 'rebranding' of the area is also connected to the idea of the east end as a more attractive site for business set against perceptions of the area in recent decades. This plan is seen by some, including academics and commentators, as an attempt to 'gentrify' the east end, removing or pricing out the original residents (Gray and Mooney 2011; McKenna 2014). As part of the GoWell East study, we will be considering what local people think of the Athletes Village and redeveloped Dalmarnock area in the future, and investigating local access to the new housing.

Not all capital investment projects progress as planned, of course. One of the major private sector developments anticipated in the area has been more problematic. *The Arena* development was to be located directly opposite the Emirates Arena and comprise a 160 bed hotel, plus retail and restaurant units for visitors²⁷. The project stalled in May 2013 with disagreements over payments and paperwork, between GCC and the developer²⁸. Difficulties with this project were problematic for the

²⁴ 620 jobs and 84 apprenticeships according to Clyde Gateway: see

http://www.clydegateway.com/pages/games_village.php

²⁵ See: <http://www.thelighthouse.co.uk/visit/exhibition/building-a-legacy-the-athletes-village> and

<http://www.glasgowarchitecture.co.uk/commonwealth-games-village>

²⁶ City Legacy Homes: <http://www.citylegacy.co.uk/>, checked /7/2013

²⁷ <http://www.glasgowarchitecture.co.uk/the-arena-retail-leisure-park>

²⁸ The Herald, 4/5/12; Leask, 2/5/13.

Dalmarnock Legacy Hub, which was possibly going to be co-located on *The Arena* site until the latter got stalled. In a positive up-turn, construction of the Dalmarnock Community Hub began in December 2013²⁹ at a new site close to the Emirates Arena venue when GCC sold a £200,000 plot to the Dalmarnock People's Community Trust for the nominal sum of £1. With joint funding from the SG and URC (£2.05m and £1.03m, respectively), it is anticipated that the construction of the new amenity will create 60 jobs, along with four apprenticeships, and a further 55 new long-term positions on completion. As well as a general store, community café and pharmacy, the Hub, due to open in January 2015 will include a community hall, GP surgery, nursery, training and educational amenities.

Employer support and employability programmes

The suite of employment related programmes from both Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government are likely to impact upon the 'people' rather than 'place' aspects of the economic development themes. The scale of investment directed towards employer subsidies and employability initiatives might appear relatively modest compared with capital projects. However, these programmes bear a more obvious and direct connection with the CWG than much of the construction work, which was based on pre-existing regeneration or planning commitments.

Programmes within this group of legacy projects can be considered of three main types: business support; employer subsidies and employability and volunteering programmes. Table 3 summarises the number and nature of these programmes. The vast majority of programmes to support employers and employees have been put in place wholly or partly because of the advent of the CWG. They are not generally focused particularly on the east end of the city, although some prioritise deprived areas, which would include the east end.

²⁹ www.urbanrealm.com/news/4561/Construction_gets_underway_at_Dalmarnock_community_centre.html

Table 3. Employer support and employability programmes.

Focus	Number of programmes	Of which:	
		Wholly or partially attributable to CWG	With potential or known benefits to the east end
Business support	6	5	2
Employer subsidy	5	3	4
Employability and volunteering programmes	13	12	4
Total	24	20	10

Business support programmes are mostly concerned with enabling firms who might add to the tourist experience in Glasgow during 2014 to improve their skill base or expand their capacity in preparation for the task. The Glasgow 2014 Cultural Open Fund can also be considered under this heading, insofar as financial awards can be made to support individual artists as well as community-led groups or other organisations involved in cultural production. The fund totalled £4 million, and was open to both Scottish-based artists and those outside Scotland working with a Scottish partner. It is worth noting that although the number of business sites in the study area declined by -5.6% over the period 2008 to 2013, contrary to the city-wide trend of +2.6% over the same period, two areas of growth in the number of firms/sites in the east end were the creative industries (a rise of +26%) and sustainable tourism (a rise of +11%), which may both be partly the result of efforts to gear up towards the CWG³⁰.

Employer subsidy measures include public subsidies to encourage firms to create jobs. The merit of employer subsidies is contested. However, they can be used to target employment opportunities at particular groups or geographies.

³⁰ Scottish Government Legacy Indicator F2: Business Sites in Key Sectors. Source: Inter-departmental business register/ONS.

Nationwide, the Scottish Government has instituted two programmes directly connected to the CWG under the £5m Legacy 2014 Young Persons Fund. The *Legacy Employers' Recruitment Incentive* runs from July 2012 to March 2015. It provides subsidies to employers creating apprenticeships for 16-19 year olds (up to 1,500 places). Over 400 awards had been made by mid-2013 and the Scottish Government is reviewing additional frameworks to ensure opportunities go to businesses and young people from the east end.

The most financially significant suite of interventions in employment and employability come under the heading of the 'Glasgow Guarantee'. Originally, this was a £25m funding pot put aside by GCC with the aim of providing a job, apprenticeship or training place for everyone in the city aged 16-26. The remit for the fund also encompasses programmes targeted towards the long-term unemployed, care leavers and recent graduates. From July 2013, the fund was extended to 2018 with an additional £25m resource boosting the Glasgow Guarantee fund to £50m. The Commonwealth Jobs Fund, Apprenticeship Initiative and Graduate Funds are employer subsidy programmes, contributing to a proportion of salary costs for new jobs or new/additional apprenticeships.

Employability and volunteering programmes are a mixture of training and volunteering programmes to either prepare people for employment or provide some short-term job experience. Training and employability programmes can be useful where there are appropriate job opportunities arising (Martin, 2000). There are a dozen employability and volunteering programmes directly allied to the CWG.

Scotland's Best is a national employability programme linked to the major events sector in sports and culture and delivered by Skills Development Scotland. It combines volunteering with training for SCQF 4 qualifications for up to 1,000 16-24 year olds. No data is available on the number of places filled on the programme at this stage. A Glasgow version of this scheme also exists, known as *Personal Best*

which, like the city council's own volunteering programme (see below), is targeted at people living in deprived areas of the city.

Volunteering opportunities are available for 15,000 people through the CWG OC. Preliminary findings from a study of those applying to become Clydesider³¹ volunteers for the CWG suggest that, despite the fact that in the GoWell East baseline survey, 24% of the respondents expressed interest in volunteering during the Games, a lower proportion may actually have applied to become a volunteer. Of applicants completing an online survey: 13% were from Glasgow; the vast majority (83%) had volunteered in a formal capacity in the past year; and a significant number (26%) had volunteered at London 2012³². It should be noted that these proportions relate to those applicants for volunteering who responded to the survey, and do not represent the composition of the final group of volunteers. More information on the demographic profile of Clydesider volunteers will become available after the Games, at which point it should be possible to identify how many east end residents applied and were successful in becoming Games-time volunteers. Games volunteering opportunities have also been offered for 1,500 people through the Host City Volunteer programme run by GCC and Glasgow Life³³.

Within this group of activities, a more tangible link between capital investments and the city's 'Prosperous' legacy theme lies in the GCC Community Benefits Policy, which mandates that 10% of the project workforce on Games-related public sector contracts must come from key target groups, such as the long-term unemployed. Although not specifically targeted at the east end of the city, there are relatively high levels of activity around the main CWG site in the east end, which may benefit local people in need of work or training opportunities. The efforts of the URC, directing local people and companies towards opportunities, as well as online procurement networks at both city and national level, may also reinforce the value of community benefit policies to the host community.

³¹ Clydesider is the name given by Glasgow 2014 to the 15,000 volunteers recruited by the OC to work in and around the Games venues.

³² Source: Headline Findings: Volunteering for the Glasgow 201 Commonwealth Games. Note to Glasgow Evaluation Group, June 2014.

³³ Host City Volunteers is the name given to volunteers recruited by Glasgow Life to work in the city centre and along key travel routes to provide directions and assistance to visitors to the Games.

While we have no specific information on the impacts of community benefit clauses on economic development outcomes in the east end, stakeholder interviewees reported that the fact that community benefit proposals can account for 10% of GCC's evaluation of contract bids has led to competition between contractors on that basis. Although neither the URC nor the two governmental tiers can insist on the employment of local people, the portals provide ease of access to opportunity for local businesses. Furthermore, there are signs of an increasing push for community benefits, particularly from GCC, in relation to requiring training and employment opportunities for groups furthest from the labour market. Measures include a heavy emphasis on demand and there is some recognition of equalities issues in the targeting of measures towards care leavers, the long-term unemployed, people new to the labour market and some recognition of gender issues.

All together, the main employer subsidy and employability programmes identified by SG and GCC include up to 8,000 places, excluding volunteering programmes. As Table 4 shows, over 4,600 participants across the city had taken part in the Glasgow Guarantee Programmes by March 2014, including around 130 from the east end study area. The latter figure is a reasonable pro-rata reflection of the population of the study area compared to the city as a whole (both around 3%), but nonetheless somewhat modest given the scale of worklessness in the area and the relative extent of need in the area³⁴.

Table 4. Glasgow Guarantee participation, 2009 to 2013/14.

Programme	Glasgow ¹	East end study area ²	
	participants	Registered	Participants
Apprenticeship initiative	3,144	331	79
Graduate fund	577	42	13
Jobs fund	719	110	30
Youth fund	193	28	5
Total	4,633	511	127

1. March 2014. 2. December 2013.

³⁴ 21 of the 27 datazones (78%) which make up the study area are in the 15% most-deprived in Scotland, compared with 289 of the 694 datazones (42%) in Glasgow. The 21 most-deprived datazones in the study area represent 7.3% of all the most-derived datazones in Glasgow (SIMD 2012 Local Authority Summary – Glasgow).

There are some indications that the Glasgow Guarantee and other employability initiatives in the city have had a positive impact. The unemployment claimant count in Glasgow rose by less over the period of the economic downturn 2008-2013 than for the Scotland as a whole (by 43% compared with 54% respectively), though Glasgow's rate at 5.3% of those aged 16-64 claiming unemployment benefit is still higher than the national rate of 3.7%³⁵.

The GoWell East baseline survey also showed that in 2012 17% of the adult cohort aged 16-64 had undertaken training ('a training course, apprenticeship or work experience') in the past year, and that in around 90% of cases (15.8% of working age adults), the respondents identified their training or experience as being associated with a Commonwealth Games or regeneration project.

Marketing and inward investment programmes

Marketing and Inward Investment efforts are generally high-level programmes designed to enhance interest in and access to Glasgow and Scotland. As Table 5 shows, the majority of these programmes were created or enhanced because of the CWG. However, most will benefit other parts of Glasgow and Scotland, rather than the east end specifically.

Table 5. Marketing and inward investment programmes.

Focus	Number of programmes	Of which:	
		Wholly or partially attributable to CWG	With potential or known benefits to the east end
Business	3	3	1
Events (inc. conferences)	3	2	2
Tourism	2	2	1
Combination	4	0	1
Total	12	7	5

³⁵ Scottish Government legacy indicator F4: claimant count.

The bulk of activity in this category is ongoing and also challenging to scale, in that it is largely strategic, involving partnership working between agencies, such as Glasgow Life, Glasgow City Marketing Bureau and VisitScotland, and different tiers of government. For example, Glasgow City Council has a dedicated 'Invest Glasgow' team to promote the city as a place to invest and do business. Of particular note, Glasgow City Marketing Bureau (responsible for the Destination Marketing Portal peoplemakeglasgow.com) is a particularly successful example of its kind, winning the industry award for the UK's Best Convention Bureau for the seventh consecutive year. The process of planning for the CWG has increased levels of contact and co-ordination between strategic partners involved in marketing and inward investment and a focus on delivering sustainable benefits through cultural and sporting activity around the Games has come across strongly in workshops and interviews.

In early 2014, none of the 'Top Ten Must Sees'³⁶, listed on the Glasgow destination portal were located in the study area. Nevertheless, the clustering of international-standard venues in the east end raises the profile of that part of the city and east end venues feature prominently in the destination portal's '*Go For Gold Sporting Break Guide*'.

The east end CWG venues were completed and open to the public a year in advance of the Games. The venues fall under the management of Glasgow Life, which already has a portfolio of 25 gyms and 12 pools across the city. This established infrastructure, along with early public accessibility and liaison with local schools, should support sustainable use of amenities and minimise the risk of 'white elephant' venues after the Games (Raco, 2004; Cashman, 2006).

Enthusiasm around the opportunity for the people of Glasgow to see world-class sport 'on their doorstep' was a dominant theme for many of those involved in attracting events to the city. However, there was also a strong expectation that

³⁶ <http://peoplemakeglasgow.com/guide-book/useful-info> [accessed 30/1/2014]

economic benefits to the local community would be derived because of the calibre of the venues; Glasgow will both keep regular annual competitions (athletics events, in particular, were mentioned as being at risk due to inadequate facilities) and be able attract new events because previously there was no capacity to host them. The city's experienced and well-developed infrastructure around event planning makes the claim of sustainable use credible.

Marketing and Inward Investment initiatives concentrate mostly on international trade. However, attracting visitors to the new and improved venues from elsewhere in Scotland and the UK is also part of the event planning remit. Planning for the sustainable use of new facilities has so far been both determined and creative; the refurbished Tollcross International Swimming Centre has been designed flexibly to allow access for business and local community groups and even act as a wedding venue. The new and improved venues in the area also, by default, make the east end a focus for the efforts of the Strategic Major Events Forum and Event Scotland. The ongoing use of these venues is a high priority for strategic planning partnerships involved in event marketing and inward investment. By mid-2014, there had been a notable degree of success in that 30 sports events had been booked into the CWG venues, including for both the pre-games and post-Games periods³⁷. However, the extent to which the east end economy will gain from these future events is unclear. While east end residents may benefit from any general boost to the city's economy from attracting more events, the local multiplier effects of events is lessened by the poor retail and consumption environment. In the immediate vicinity of the new venues, there is little accommodation and few high quality amenities to retain athletes and visitors to spend money in the area (the proposed Arena development having stalled, as noted earlier).

The 2014 Cultural Programme's connections with the east end, through support for local creative industry firms and through events which will raise the profile of the area, potentially attracting future visitors and investment if momentum for cultural activity in the area continues after the Games. Several cultural events

³⁷ Figures include events booked into the venues from 2010 to 2014, secured as a direct result of the CWG, according to Events Scotland.

funded under the Programme and taking place in the study area have been identified and are described in Appendix B.

Summary

This review of the programmes and developments associated with the Commonwealth Games and regeneration shows that there have been **relevant** activities for having economic impact in five areas: the Games themselves and associated cultural programmes; procurement networks for business suppliers; capital investment projects; employer subsidy and employability programmes; and marketing and inward investment efforts. Thus, there are a wide range of economic programmes aimed at businesses, the environment, and the labour force.

However, only two of these sets of programmes - the Games themselves and the capital investment projects - were particularly **targeted** on the east end of the city, and the others less so, although all categories of programme show some potential for impact on the east end. Two of the programmes (Glasgow's Personal Best and Host City Volunteers) were targeted towards the most deprived areas of the city, which would include much of the east end. While the various employability programmes associated with the CWG are supported by the URC, their general targeting on the east end is limited by wider commitments on the part of the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council to leave a legacy for the whole of the country and city.

It seems **feasible** that the package of programmes in operation can be delivered and have economic impacts upon the east end. For example, we have found evidence that local firms have obtained supply contracts with the new venues, and that local people have found work and training in the construction and operation of the infrastructure and sports venues in the area. However, in general, the economic impacts upon the east end are much more likely to arise from the regeneration activity in the area than from the CWG (either the event itself, or through changing the area's image). Economic impacts via future boosts to tourism

and the attraction of major events to the city may have limited impacts upon the east end economy because, despite the new venues and a rich local history, the overall cultural and visitor attraction *offer* in the east end is weak, and the quality of the local retail and consumption environment is poor, there having been no major local developments in this sector to accompany the new venues. Thus, tourists may perceive few reasons to venture eastwards, and participants and audiences for major events in the new venues may have few opportunities to spend money locally.

In this regard, **scale** and **duration** are important issues for impacts. By 2015, one year after the Games, the regeneration effort will, all going well, have delivered around 40% of the planned new jobs in the area. This will be a considerable achievement in a period of economic downturn, but nonetheless means that most of the new jobs are yet to come. The majority of the vacant and derelict land in the area will still exist, despite considerable investment since 2007. This confirms the need for regeneration efforts to continue for a further 10-15 years at least, in order for the regeneration and transformation of the east end to be substantial.

Chapter 5: Plausibility

Here we consider what past research and evidence tells us about the ability of multi-sports events to generate economic and employment impacts, as well as what more recent evidence from the London Olympics and elsewhere indicates. We identify a number of routes to economic impacts mentioned in the evidence base and consider how they might apply in the case of Glasgow's east end.

General economic impacts

Evidence from previous multi-sport events

Past evidence would suggest that the economic domain is one in which we should expect to see beneficial effects. The most commonly reported positive impacts of past events have been economic relating to: employment, including in the case of the Commonwealth Games, Manchester in 2002 (Newby, 2003); economic growth; investment and stock market values; and development of business networks, particularly in the case of the Sydney Olympics 2000 (Giesecke and Madden, 2007; Berman *et al.*, 2000; O'Brien, 2005), but also in the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne, 2006 (KMPG, 2006). Economic impacts are often said to be either temporary (Spilling, 1996) or greatest in the three to five year period around the event itself (Oxford Economics, 2012).

Having said that economic benefits are among the most likely impacts of the CWG, we must also recognise both scepticism and a number of criticisms expressed by researchers about these effects. Two of the issues identified by reviewers of the evidence have been about the opportunity costs and scale of investment (McCartney *et al.*, 2010 and 2013). First, economic growth stimulated by public sector investment in infrastructure is said to have a potential opportunity cost in other areas of public and welfare spending, as found in the case of the Sydney Olympics (Searle, 2002). This is not something we can easily measure for Glasgow as a whole, nor for the east end, for which local public expenditure data is not readily available. However, as noted above, we can monitor developments in local

public services and amenities and collect residents' views about these provisions on an ongoing basis.

On the other hand, a multi-sport event and its associated investments has to be large enough to have significant economic impacts, which is also relevant to the criticism that the organisers of multi-sports events have a 'tendency to overstate the potential economic... benefits' (Horne 2007, p.86). These two issues, scale and opportunity cost, are related. Having noted on the side of scepticism that the Glasgow CWG provides a relatively small intervention from which to expect health and other impacts compared with other multisport events, McCartney *et al.* (2012) also remark in more positive vein that the possibility of opportunity costs being felt in other spending areas was less, due to the fact that the amount of investment required in infrastructure for the Games is less than for other similar events, since many existing venues are to be used. At the time of writing, the public funds allocated for the CWG was fully committed, including the entire contingency budget, but excluding a small reserve fund³⁸. However, the Glasgow CWG were funded to large extent by national government rather than presenting a major financial risk to the host city, so that Glasgow seems likely to avoid the most significant negative effect experienced by some past host cities for multi-sports events, namely being left with a large debt that constrains city budgets for years to come.

Evidence from the London Olympics

It is worth considering specifically the emerging evidence from London 2012 for a number of reasons. London is the most recent multi-sport event, occurring just two years prior to the Glasgow CWG 2014, and of course it was also held in the UK, so one would expect that Glasgow as a host city has tried to learn as much as possible from the London experience of how to organise such an event, what worked and what didn't work. Furthermore, London has been considered the exemplar to-date in term of preparing and organising for a legacy.

³⁸ BBC News Glasgow and West Scotland, 9th June 2014: Glasgow 2014: Commonwealth back-up budget 'used up'.

On the other hand, two of the main differences between London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 should be recognised. First, the London event was on a much bigger scale than the Glasgow CWG. The London Olympics cost over £9 billion, some 18 times the cost of the CWG in Glasgow, and hence, the economic impact from investment and business contracts will be a lot smaller in Glasgow's case. London also used nearly five times as many volunteers as Glasgow, 70,000 versus 15,000, so again, the employability impacts of the CWG can be expected to be less. The second difference is one of configuration: for the London Olympics, many more new venues were constructed alongside the Athletes' Village on a shared site in the Olympic Park, whereas in Glasgow, more of the venues are spread around the city, thus lessening the concentration of Games investment and activity.

The meta-evaluation of the London Olympic Games has reported a 'substantial boost' to the UK economy of the order of £8bn Gross Value Added (GVA) in the Games year and up to £3bn a year over the next decade, translating into 600-900,000 years of employment up to 2020 (Grant Thornton *et al.*, 2013a, p.4), but with the peak in 2012, followed by a sharp drop in the next three years. The main routes to this economic benefit came from four sources: the construction of the Olympic Park; the development of the Westfield shopping centre beside the Park (a development that was accelerated by five to seven years, but would have happened in any case); the boost to inward investment and the opening up of overseas markets as a result of Games-related promotional activity, support to businesses, and the contacts made through Games-related contracts; and the boost to tourism. What is more, the business expansion and tourism boost are considered likely to continue into the medium-term. The study also identified that many workless Londoners (60-75,000) gained from the Games in terms of training, employment and skills development.

Supporting the latter finding, a survey conducted for the BBC found that 33% of Londoners considered that the Olympic Games had had a positive impact on the local economy in their area, higher than across the country as a whole (22%), and

many more than the 5% who thought it had had a negative impact (ComRes, 2013). Moreover, the host boroughs' residents' survey conducted in early 2012 found that 45% of respondents agreed that the hosting of the Games had increased the number of jobs available to local people, against 29% who disagreed.

The meta-evaluation report on the impact of the Olympics on east London (rather than London as a whole) gives further indications of positive impacts. The conclusion reached was that "activities related to the 2012 Games have either directly... or indirectly... created a significant amount of employment opportunities, a notable proportion of which have helped workless Londoners from the six host boroughs into employment"; what is more, "a significant number of employment opportunities are still to be created" (Grant Thornton *et al.*, 2013b, p.61).

We must also bear in mind that some businesses will experience disruption to their operating environment around the time of a multi-sports event. In the case of London this was a problem for small firms in particular, and led to a drop in business of up to a third for some of those affected by disrupted travel arrangements in the city (LCCI, 2012; Vlachos, 2013). This could also be the case in Glasgow near the venues across the city, and in particular in the east end where a number of venues are located. Of course, there may be other firms whose passing trade increases for the same reason, travel arrangements bringing more CWG customers to their door.

Sectors of impact

The three economic sectors most affected by multi-sports events are often said to be construction, events, and tourism. The first two of these have been identified as the sectors most impacted by the London Olympics 2012 (DCMS, 2013).

Construction is boosted in the period leading up to the event, but falls away in the year of the event itself (Giesecke and Madden, 2007; Smith, 2012). In Glasgow's case, as has been noted, the majority of the Games venues were already in existence, so that the construction sector impact from the CWG 2014 itself will be less than elsewhere. But non-Games construction is also important: in London's case, a large part of the construction boost came from the Westfield Shopping Centre as well as the Olympic Park. The east end of Glasgow has experienced additional construction, notably infrastructure works, but not on the same scale as in east London. There is no substantial new retail provision in the study area, yet this may be an important element in providing both employment and a quality urban experience for new residents and workers in the area. However, continuing land remediation and development of new business premises, under the auspices of the URC, could extend the employment gains from the construction sector into the years after the Games.

The events sector has also been identified as an area of impact from multi-sports events. A combination of city re-branding and the development of an events industry around the time of a multi-sports event are said to contribute to longer lasting economic growth, more so if the city in question targets a range of types of events to become known as an events location, rather than a single type of event. Melbourne is sometimes held up as an example of this, though for sports events rather than a wider range of events (Westerbeek and Linley, 2011). Glasgow is already well known as an events location, and has a successful events sector which attracts a wide range of sports, musical, academic and professional events to the city, so to this extent it *already* fits the model of a successful post-Games events location. Thus, it is less likely that the CWG will have a big, long-term effect upon the events sector in the city. Nevertheless, stakeholders have indicated that they will be using the organisation of the CWG as a further lever to attract events to the city. The two new sports venues should bring more of the events business to the east end. But it is not clear to what extent the local east end economy would benefit from events held in the main CWG venues, particularly as there is no nearby major accommodation facility, and there are few other attractions (e.g.

shops; cafes) to retain visitors in the area beyond their time at the main sports venues.

Economic impacts can also come via tourism, both around the time of the multi-sports event and in the years following. In the case of London, there is expected to be a net tourism gain for at least five years after the Olympics (Oxford Economics, 2012). In London's case, however, there was also displacement of regular tourists during the time of the Olympics due to concerns about overcrowding, price rises and disruption (DCMS, 2013). This was less likely to be the case in Glasgow, the city not being as highly popular a regular destination as London, and due to attempts by the authorities in Glasgow to reach agreement with hoteliers to prevent or limit price rises during Games time. Nevertheless, there were reports of price-hiking by hotels in advance of and during the Games, which VisitScotland tried to discourage³⁹. The experience and reports of unusually high prices for visiting Glasgow could deter some future visitors to the city.

Two of the factors that have supported a positive tourism impact in London and elsewhere are applicable to Glasgow's case: the provision of additional tourism capacity (Smith, 2012) and campaigns to support tourism allied to the multi-sports event (UKTI, 2013) such as the Homecoming campaign in Scotland. A successful Games event-time may also contribute to future tourism gains, if visitors from overseas and the UK return home with good reports of their experience of Glasgow. To support future tourism expansion, and raise standards in the sector, a legacy training programme, 'Glasgow Welcomes', is being provided by local colleges for tourism sector staff and managers, with over 500 firms involved by the end of 2013.

Yet, unless the tourist experience that is marketed to visitors includes tourist attractions in the east end (further east than the People's Palace), then the economic impacts of city tourism on the study area may be very indirect and

³⁹ See: 'Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games: hotel prices soar', *The Scotsman* 21st August 2013; 'Gold dig backfires!' *Mail Online* 20th July 2014.

small. To redress this requires some consideration by the tourism and regeneration agencies of new possibilities such a heritage or other experience-related trails in the east end, and the construction of new visitor attractions in the area, other than sports venues.

Impacts on place and the business environment

Glasgow fits the class of post-industrial city said to have gained the most from hosting multi-sports events: Barcelona, Manchester and Turin are cited as examples of this positive impact, for example upon employment rates and tourism (OECD, 2010). What is more, the economic impacts of multi-sports events are found to be local to the city in question rather than to the wider metropolitan area (London East Research Institute, 2007; Dansero and Puttilli, 2010), though past studies have not considered whether local impacts includes, or even emphasises, the host community itself. Similarly, while economic convergence has been reported between boroughs in London after the Olympics, we do not know whether such convergence can occur at a smaller spatial scale in a medium-sized city like Glasgow. It is recognised by the authorities that economic convergence between areas within the city will not be brought about to the CWG alone, and that regeneration activities such as those instigated by the URC are also necessary.

The impacts upon place and the business environment come via a number of routes:

- Reputational enhancement of local businesses and organisations, as a result of putting on a successful, well-organised event. In London's case, this is said to have also resulted in an increase in foreign direct investment. On the other hand, if an event is seen as unsuccessful, or exposes a negative side of the place in question, then there is the risk of reputational damage (Smith 2012). The organisers of the CWG in Glasgow, have drawn a lot on the experience of other host cities, particularly London, and combined with

Glasgow's own past experience of organising major events, there is a good chance that the CWG will be seen as a successful event.

- Using both the Games time and the immediate post-Games period to promote the location itself and local businesses to overseas investors and firms. Shortly afterwards, many London firms were of the view that the Olympics would help promote the capital as a business location internationally (KPMG/CBI 2012). During the CWG in Glasgow, there is a Business Embassy in the City Chambers at which the UK Department of Trade & Industry will be promoting the URC's area of operation as an investment location. Local organisations including Glasgow City Council, the local Chambers of Commerce and Scottish Enterprise will also be promoting the city for inward investment.
- Using the multi-sports event as a time to re-brand the city for international visitors and businesses. This is said to require a pre-planned media strategy, a clear message, and a branding approach consistent with the city's main qualities and assets (Anholt, 2007; Herstein and Berger, 2013). In advance of the CWG, Glasgow changed its main branding theme from one focused on style, to one focused on the people ('People Make Glasgow'), thus emphasising that the friendliness and humour of the city's population will be a major part of the CWG experience for visitors.
- Providing business opportunities for local firms in supplying goods and services for the multi-sports event, channelled through a business portal. The use of a multi-sport event to aid the development of long-term business networks has been identified as one of the ways in which regions can generate a lasting impact from such events (O'Brien, 2005; O'Brien and Gardiner, 2006). The brokerage scheme operated in London (CompeteFor) is credited with having encouraged firms to compete for contracts and develop new products and services (Grant Thornton *et al.*, 2013a). In the case of London, small and medium sized enterprises are said to have won a significant proportion of the work (Michael, 2013). Thus, Glasgow's approach to developing a procurement network is a very positive indicator,

particularly if inter-firm communication and learning can be generated within the network. We have also seen that local suppliers have also won a lot of contract work through the business portal in Glasgow.

- Boosting productivity through infrastructure investments, especially in transport (Smith, 2010). Barcelona's post-Games economic improvement is partly attributed to the extent of infrastructure investment (Brunet, 2005). In the case of Glasgow's east end there has also been a focus on transport infrastructure investment in order both to facilitate the CWG, but more importantly to attract businesses to the area in future.
- Improving the quality of the urban environment and urban experience so that firms with higher quality jobs are attracted to a place. Quality of life, including an efficient transport system and calibre of local amenities, has been identified as important in attracting both people and businesses, determining the competitiveness of urban areas, (Begg, 2002; Mega, 2010; OECD, 2004; Sands and Reese, 2013). Furthermore, although the Florida thesis which links urban liveability to economic development is problematic on some levels (McCann, 2007; Peck, 2005; Sacco *et al.*, 2013), job growth has been particularly associated with the presence of high-income workers (Matuso, 2013); the argument that a sustainable urban neighbourhood is a desirable urban neighbourhood (see Rudlin and Falk, 2009) is, by comparison, uncontentious. In the case of Glasgow's east end, the URC has been instituting changes which meet with some of the elements of this approach including in particular improvements to accessibility and the physical environment, and to some extent also improvements to public amenities. But the quality of the general consumption environment in the area has yet to show the kinds of improvements that might be necessary to attract and retain higher-quality firms and higher-skilled, higher-paid employees to work, spend and live in the area. There is a degree of circularity or feedback-effect involved here though: the early successes of the URC in attracting 1,800 jobs to the area in recent years and over the next year may well lead to improvements in the consumption environment in the near future.

Thus, several of the elements of past economic success from multi-sports events can be seen to exist in Glasgow and, less often, in the east end in particular. But there are also some pre-requisites where questions can be asked about Glasgow's preparedness for economic success:

- *Focused economic development and regeneration strategy.* There are suggestions in the literature that the use of multi-sports events allied to economic development and regeneration is more likely to be successful if there is a strategy either to build on the existing strengths of a city, or if they lead to the development of a specific sector of the economy (Smith, 2012; Andersson *et al.*, 2008). In London's case, future success depends upon the successful conversion of the Olympic Park, and there are encouraging early signs in the attraction of some key tenants. The location and access to the Park is seen as a challenge (the east end of Glasgow may be better located in this regard), but key elements of success include the fact that the development has strong themes - around media industries and sport - and that a higher education institution related to the development themes has been attracted to the site. In Glasgow's case, there are ambitious plans to attract businesses to the area, and as we have seen, this has had significant success in a period of economic downturn. The literature on multi-sports events suggests it would also be worth considering whether a focus on one or two key economic sectors could be a viable and successful strategy for the east end. One emerging possibility may be the further development of the security services industry in the area, but there could be other possibilities, were a focused strategy rather than a pragmatic approach to attracting businesses to be considered. But this may be linked to the next issue.
- *Partnership development.* Studies suggest that new and improved partnerships (a partnership legacy) can be developed around a multi-sports event to be the benefit of public policy and the economy in the future. These can be partnerships between public sector organisations themselves,

partnerships that link public and private sector organisations, and the fostering of business partnerships in the supply chain for events. Evidence for partnership development has been reported for regional partnerships in Manchester (Smith and Fox, 2007), for physical activity partnerships in the case of London (Centre for Sport Physical Education and Activity Research, 2013), and for training partnerships to benefit business in the case of Sydney (O'Brien and Gardiner, 2006), among others. In our own research, stakeholders in Glasgow report improved partnership working between public sector organisations leading up to the CWG.

However, better partnership working may be more the case in relation to legacy programmes and the management of legacy, than for the regeneration and sustained economic development of the east end. The main regeneration effort is being delivered by the URC with a strong focus on the east end for infrastructure works, the development of business premises, and public realm improvements. A more focused regeneration strategy, one which considered whether key sectors could be developed in the area, would require closer working between the URC and agencies responsible for other key elements such as workforce training and skills development, inward investment and business support services, and the improvement of the retail and consumption environments. The transformation of the east end is more likely, we would argue, if the area becomes a main focus of effort, indeed a priority, for other agencies in support of the URC's efforts. The need for regeneration efforts in particular areas to span the operations of a wide range of agencies, not just those agencies responsible for physical regeneration, is one we have commented on in relation to regeneration programmes in other parts of the city.

The importance of regeneration is highlighted by the fact that past studies of more recent multi-sports events have found it difficult to separate the effects of the event from the impacts of allied regeneration strategies, as in the case of east London. The other big confounder that sometimes affects the economic environment around the time of a multi-sports event can be recession, as was the

case for Barcelona and London, and has also been true leading up to the CWG in Glasgow.

Employability and volunteering programmes

Employability programmes

Studies of past multi-sports events such as the Olympics in Sydney and London have argued that it is difficult to target employment opportunities towards the unemployed and others who most need the jobs and experience (Minnaert, 2012). Event organisers tend to hire those with good skills and experience, including often international job applicants, rather than hiring local people and the less skilled, then training them to do the job(s). Not surprisingly perhaps, evidence on the recruitment process and distribution of employment which results from multi-sports events is often lacking in detail.

Nonetheless, beyond the jobs associated with the multi-sports event itself, wider and associated employability programmes supporting jobs beyond the event can have impacts. The employability programmes run in advance of London 2012 appear to have benefited people living in the six host boroughs. Around a third of the participants in the London wide employability programme may have come from the host boroughs. The employment and skills programme run in the host boroughs recruited just over 5,000 participants, of whom around 40% entered employment thereafter, mostly in relation to the construction of the Olympic Park and Athletes' Village, and the delivery of the Games themselves. Of these 2,000 jobs, a third were considered additional, i.e. a product of the Games. Of the original employability participants, 14% remained in sustainable employment 12 months later, a result that was considered to represent an underachievement. The key message from the study was that employment services needed to not only focus on brokering people into jobs, but to provide services to support them in the first year of employment.

The London Olympics are reported to have created around 30,000 jobs in the pre-Games and Games periods, with over twice this number of workless people in London being assisted into employment through the Games (DCMS, 2013; SQW, 2013). The other large employment impact in London came from the operation of the Westfield Stratford City retail development, where a third of the 10,000 jobs created have gone to host borough residents. This was achieved by an effective job brokerage scheme which achieved good engagement with retail employers, and the institution of a retail skills academy to get people job ready for these opportunities. More generally, there was a steady growth in the number of businesses located in the host boroughs in the three years leading up to the Games.

Of course, the CWG is much smaller than the Olympics, and Glasgow is not a capital or world city like London, so positive impacts in London cannot be automatically expected to be replicated in Glasgow. However, on the employability side, *Scotland's Best* is based on the programme run at the London Olympic Games (LEST), which as we have seen is considered to have been reasonably successful. A pilot scheme called *Personal Best*, trialing the transfer of the scheme to Scotland, ran in the east end of Glasgow in 2010 (see McTier *et al.*, 2011). The evaluation assessed the combination of client engagement, advice and guidance, personal development, vocational training, volunteering and aftercare as a very effective means of working with a challenging client group (*ibid.*). Over four fifths of starters completed the course, 47% of those completing entered employment and 53% entered further education or training. Since the findings also indicated that the previous scheme was more attractive to young men than young women, the inclusion of a cultural stream was intended to redress that deficit as the programme is continued beyond the pilot.

The approach to targeting particular groups is also being adopted in the *Glasgow Guarantee* employment programme, with elements targeted towards the long-term unemployed, care leavers and recent graduates. Targeting of employability programmes, such as volunteering, towards disadvantaged groups has been

reported to be beneficial to generating improvements in skills, self-esteem and aspirations, as in the case of the Manchester CWG 2002 (Nichols and Ralston, 2012).

The GoWell East baseline survey demonstrated some early evidence of employment and employability programmes benefiting east end residents. In the two years leading up to the survey, 6% of the respondents had undertaken paid employment related to the construction and operation of the new CWG facilities or on other improvement projects in the east end⁴⁰. Eighty-three percent of these people were in work or education at the time of the survey.

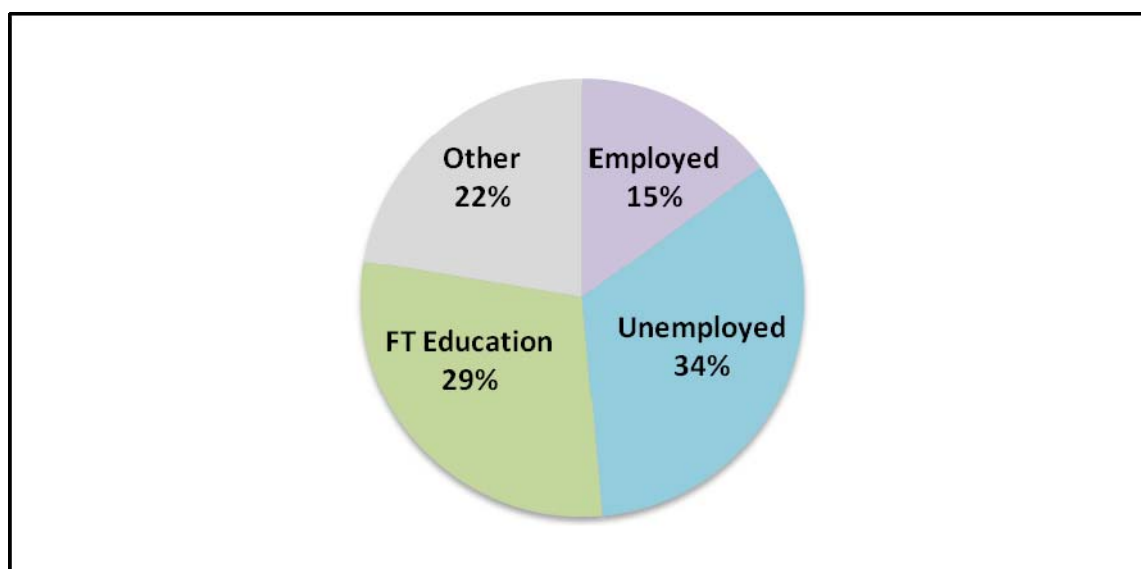
The survey also showed that in 2012 17% of all adults aged 16-64 had undertaken training ('a training course, apprenticeship or work experience') in the past year. In around 90% of cases (16% of working age adults), the respondents identified their training or experience as being associated with a Commonwealth Games or regeneration project. At the time of the survey, the group who had undertaken training described their current employment status as shown below (Figure 12)⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Participants were asked about employment within the past two years in relation to the following –
Buildings/facilities: National Indoor Sports ('Emirates') Arena & Velodrome; Athletes' Village; Scotstoun Leisure Centre or Stadium; Tollcross Aquatic Centre; Kelvingrove Park Bowling Green; Toryglen Regional Football Centre.

Road/ transport developments: M74 completion; East End Regeneration Route; Games Route network.

⁴¹ This cannot be considered as 'destination' data in that some respondents may still be on their apprenticeship/training course.

Figure 12: Current economic activity status of those who had undertaken training in the last 12 months (GoWell East 2012).



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

Of all adults aged 16-64 who were *not* involved in work or full time education at the time of the survey, nearly a quarter (24%) had undertaken a training course, apprenticeship or work experience in the last 12 months. As with the whole cohort, in 90% of cases (89.7%), the respondents identified their training or experience as being associated with a Commonwealth Games or regeneration project.

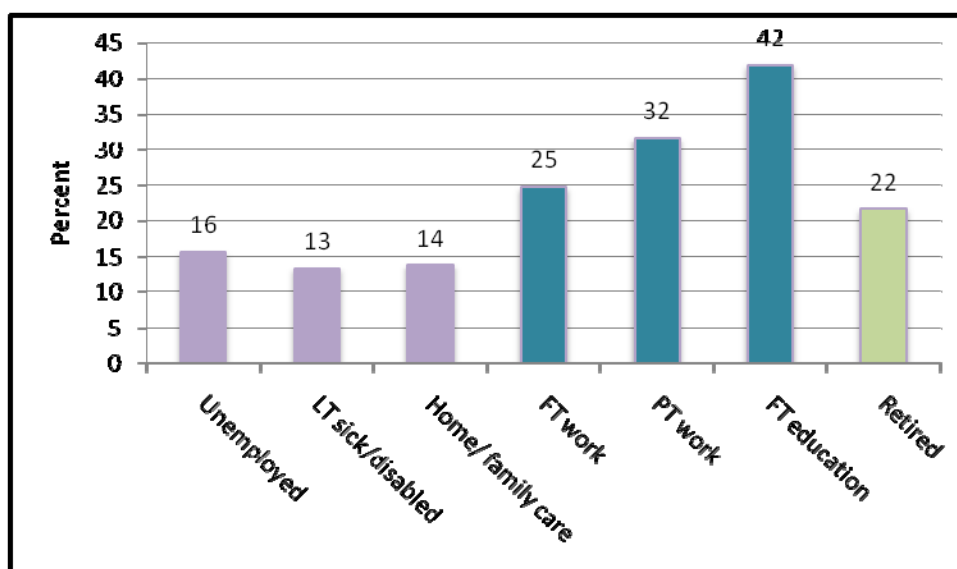
Thus, two years before the CWG, there was evidence that regeneration and CWG-related activities were generating opportunities for training. However, 34% of those who had undertaken training in the past year described themselves as currently unemployed and only 15% were in work at the time of the survey. Subject to the same qualification as above - that some people may have still been on their training or apprenticeship at the time of the survey - these figures nonetheless warrant some concern about the availability of work beyond apprenticeships and training schemes.

Volunteering programmes

Volunteering has become a key element of multi-sports events, though of course this also helps deliver the event itself, as well as having legacy objectives. There are questions, however, around the plausibility of event-time volunteering as a mechanism through which those out of work can move closer to the employment market, as well as its longer term social benefits. While volunteers may perceive that their involvement has increased their skills (McCartney *et al.*, 2010), it is uncertain to what extent this is true, or how much volunteering impacts on employability thereafter (see Schneider *et al.*, 2013 in relation to London 2012). To assist regeneration, volunteering at multi-sports events is said to require associated training and accreditation, and/or to translate into continued volunteering for the community in the future (Smith, 2012). In this regard, the structure of Glasgow's CWG volunteering programmes were appropriate: Glasgow City Council's Personal Best and Host City Volunteer programmes incorporated elements of training and accreditation, and Clydesiders are directed towards future community volunteering opportunities via Volunteer Development Scotland.

However, an examination of GoWell East volunteering data (not CWG volunteering) by employment status indicated that relatively low proportions of those furthest from the labour market were engaged with volunteering (Figure 11). The rate at which those in work or education volunteer was two-to-three times the rate at which those people out of work do so.

Figure 13: Percentage of the GoWell East cohort volunteering over the last 12 months by employment status.



Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

Those employability and volunteering programmes which have been most effective for those making a transition into the labour market tend to be easy for people to join and offer an architecture of support, focused on the needs of the individual (Clark *et al.*, 2010). We have already seen that early data from the CWG volunteering programme, albeit on registrations rather than participants, does not suggest that disadvantaged groups living in the host communities of the east end were likely to become Glasgow 2014 volunteers in any significant numbers. The Host City volunteering programme, run by Glasgow Life for volunteers in public spaces around the city rather than in and around the main CWG venues, may have successfully altered the profile of volunteers to ensure that more people from Glasgow, including the east end, become involved around the Games time.

As we have already seen, however, one of the biggest barriers to generating an employment effect in the east end is the poor health of the out-of-work group. This suggests that providing more jobs on its own may not enable or encourage many of those currently out of work to take up the opportunities.

Negative economic impacts

Other researchers and critics have raised questions about the possible negative economic effects of multi-sport events. We have already noted the potential disruption effect to local businesses, although as we have said, business opportunities may outweigh business interruptions overall.

Other criticisms surround the issue of quality of employment, embracing wider issues than the effects of multi-sports events and regeneration. For authors such as Gray and Mooney (2011) and Paton *et al.* (2012), the activities surrounding the CWG are seen to have potentially negative impacts due to the combination of property-led regeneration, against the backcloth of harsh welfare reforms, and the de-regulation of labour markets in the UK. Gray and Mooney (2011) argue that there is an ongoing process involving 'a steady lowering of the expectations and horizons of the local population in terms of work and income' (p.24) and that this modification of people's ambitions and aspirations is undertaken in order to bring them into line with an insecure labour market. Thus, a second criticism centres on quality of employment, in that "low wage, flexible and casualised forms of employment for some" (p.23) cannot reduce poverty. Furthermore, there is scepticism among the academic critics about the promised number of jobs to be created through regeneration in the east end (Gray and Mooney, 2011), and several commentators have expressed concerns about the short-term nature of employment effects from multisport events in general.

In the residents' survey, we asked people in the east end whether they thought the CWG would have a positive or negative effect upon their local area⁴², and to say what they thought those effects would be. Table 6 summarises those responses which mentioned economic impacts.

⁴² It is interesting to note that in answering this question, respondents referred to regeneration, which was not mentioned in the question, thus indicating that they see the CWG and regeneration as linked activities.

Table 6. Resident perceptions of economic impacts on the local area.

Positive effects	Negative effects
<p><i>More frequently mentioned:</i> Creation of jobs through construction work, regeneration, new facilities. Bringing people and money to the area, both during the Games and generally. Boost to local businesses and shops.</p> <p><i>Less frequently mentioned:</i> Attract further business investment. Local house prices should rise. New houses will attract residents with more money to live in local community.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>n=159</i></p>	<p><i>More frequently mentioned:</i> Money could have been spent better on other things. Costs too much. City can't afford it.</p> <p><i>Less frequently mentioned:</i> Council budgets cut to pay for Games. House prices might go up and become unaffordable for local people. Council tax might go up. Shops forced to close. Things may become too expensive. Jobs only temporary. Rich people and non-locals will make money out it/land.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>n= 24</i></p>

Source: GoWell East Survey, 2012

Expected positive economic effects outnumbered expected negative economic effects by a factor of seven to one, although some (a minority) of the positive impacts were expressed as hopes rather than expectations. Contrary to the views of many critics, the most commonly expected positive impacts among residents were that both the CWG and regeneration in general would bring jobs and money into the area⁴³, and that local businesses would benefit from this. The most commonly expressed negative economic impact was that public money was being spent on the CWG that could be put to better use. Some respondents mentioned a negative impact upon local businesses as a result of closures or disruption, which have been a factor in the Dalarnock area, where both shops and homes have been demolished in the area of the new Athletes' Village. This issue of the potential negative effect of multi-sport events through the interruption to normal business they cause has been identified in a recent review of the literature (Martin and Barth, 2013), but was not a common concern among east end residents. Rising house prices were seen by different people as both a potentially positive and a negative impact of the CWG and regeneration.

⁴³ This refers to bringing income and business revenues into the area, and excludes responses which only mentioned bringing in money for the purposes of physical improvements to the area.

Summary

Overall, it would appear from the evidence from multi-sports events, both generally and in relation to London, that local economic impacts from the CWG are **plausible**, at least in the short term. However, the scale of the Glasgow CWG is much smaller than the London Olympics, by a factor of 10-20 depending on the item of comparison. The use of venues for the CWG is also less concentrated on one site than was the case in London, so expectations for economic impacts in Glasgow need to be kept in perspective.

Three of the identified routes to economic impact in London's case may apply to a much lesser extent in the case of Glasgow. New construction in the city and the east end is far less extensive than in the east end of London, without new retail or hotel facilities being provided in the east end. The immediate tourist boost may be less as fewer of the visitors to the CWG were international, though the television coverage and positive reporting of the event and experience may promote overseas interest in the city, and other post-industrial cities have gained from tourism after multi-sports events. The extent of international business networking around the CWG, and subsequent inward investment may be less due to the lower involvement and awareness of the CWG in significant countries and economies not in the Commonwealth, and of course because Glasgow is not a global or capital city akin to London.

While these factors suggest a lesser intensity of impact upon the east end of Glasgow than on the east end of London, it is also the case that the local area of the 'host' community in Glasgow, namely the east end, is much smaller than the area of the six host boroughs in London, so that locally focused impacts are more feasible from this perspective. However, to the extent that impacts upon employment in the east end depend upon employability and volunteering schemes, the evidence base and our own survey findings suggest a need to be cautious, in that longer-term economic impacts may depend more upon successful regeneration and a general upturn in the economy than upon a successful CWG.

Important programmes and linkages that have helped deliver economic impacts elsewhere are operative in Glasgow, including: effective event organisation; appropriate city brand development; fostering business networks; contract and job brokerage schemes; employability programmes with elements of targeting; and transport infrastructure developments. The opportunity cost consequences of investing in infrastructure for the Games seem to be less of an issue in Glasgow's case, with new public amenities being provided, rather than amenities being withdrawn as a result of the investment in a multi-sports event⁴⁴. However, that is not to say that concomitant austerity measures will not have some negative local impacts. On the other hand, we can also observe that the CWG and associated regeneration have enabled sustained investment in the east end in a way that probably would not have occurred otherwise due to the recent era of austerity.

In the case of all three main sectors that are often impacted by multi-sports events - construction, events and tourism - there are reasons to believe that the economic effects will be smaller in Glasgow's case than for other cities. And while impacts on the construction and events sectors look set to continue after the CWG, and to have a substantial focus on the east end, the same cannot be said for tourism, where the east end is an under-developed site within the city.

The evidence base also suggests that there are barriers or constraints on potential economic impacts in the case of Glasgow's east end, of which four in particular stand out. First, the employability and volunteering programmes associated with the CWG have not especially targeted residents in the host communities of the east end, although some of the smaller programmes have targeted people living in deprived areas, and thus employability impacts in the east end depend upon groups who are at some distance from the labour market accessing general opportunities. Those out of work in east end may also require support both pre- and post-employment, given issues of worklessness, educational attainment and

⁴⁴ We note that the Accord Centre for people with learning disabilities located in Dalmarnock was closed in 2011 to make way for a bus park for the CWG (i.e. not for opportunity cost, or alternative expenditure reasons) and that assurances of a like-for-like replacement were given, although this has not transpired to-date. See Glasgow City Council Agenda 27th October 2011: <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/agenda.asp?meetingid=11453>

poor health. On the regeneration front, however, there have been successful employment support schemes which have helped local people access jobs in construction and refurbishment projects.

Second, a high quality urban environment is still lacking in the east end: a considerable amount of vacant and derelict land remains; and other elements of an attractive local environment that may be required to attract and retain firms and employees in the area require further improvement, such as good quality shops, cafes and restaurants, and green spaces. Work on some of these issues is planned for the year after the Games.

The other constraints on economic impacts in the east end relate to regeneration and are more strategic in nature. One is the question of whether a more strategic approach to the economic development effort, which focused on one or more key economic sectors for the area, would be beneficial. This has been positively remarked upon in relation to other cities which have held multi-sports events and sought to link the event to regeneration for the area in the post-Games period. Though we would not say it is certain that this would be the best strategy, its consideration at least, depends upon another missing component, namely a strategic partnership and co-ordinated effort by the main relevant public bodies. The attempt to transform the east end of Glasgow is unlikely to succeed in producing sustainable economic development in and for the area if left mainly in the hands of the URC, and unless an aligned focus on the east end is present in the strategies of other key agencies, such as those responsible for skills and training, business development and inward investment.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

After considering the scope for impact in the study area, the programmes and projects being instituted, and the plausibility of linkages between programmes and desired outcomes, as well as potential barriers and negative effects, our overall assessment is that *the CWG and regeneration are likely to have a short-term positive economic impact upon the east end of Glasgow and medium- to long-term, sustained economic improvements are also possible*. The latter depends upon the regeneration effort being sustained at the current level for at least another 10-15 years or more, and supported through strategic partnership working among public agencies with a shared focus upon the east end.

There are, however, caveats to this assessment. In terms of the number of people in the east end who benefit from interventions, the extent of impact may be less substantial than might have been hoped. Although scope for change is high, with a large proportion of working-age households having no adults in work, there is a limited extent to which employment, work experience and training positions have been targeted towards local people. Furthermore, in a slack labour market, there is likely to be strong competition for any opportunities available. There is already evidence of some participation by east end residents in employment and training programmes, but the transition rate to continuing employment looks very modest at present. Furthermore, health-related challenges may also limit the ability of many people to become involved in work or training and there are also concerns over in-work poverty: although some employment programmes offer a 'living wage' rate, apprenticeships can be very poorly paid.

A further uncertainty relates to the sustainability of economic change in the area. Over the long term, the number and permanency of jobs to be created in the east end will depend more on the wider regeneration strategy, including in particular business (re)locations following land/site preparation and infrastructure projects, than on the employment generated by Games-related activities and developments. This success, in turn, depends partly upon an upturn in the national and city

economies. If the latter is sustained, then it is possible that new premises in a convenient location such as the inner east end of Glasgow could attract more businesses to the area. It will be important that the city's business and economic development agencies are able to continue to use the CWG themselves and the successful management of the Games to engage national and international firms in the post-Games period in discussions about the future development of the area, and attract them to (re)locate to the east end, as happened in the case of London. This ongoing inward investment activity needs to be supported by further enhancement of the urban environment and amenities in the east end, beyond what has happened so far.

A further issue is the role of local colleges in training and preparing people for the types of jobs which will be on offer, and whether those jobs will be at more than basic skills and wage levels. Some of the recommendations made as part of the CWG Health Impact Assessment (GCC 2010) are relevant here: to focus recruitment programmes and community benefits upon hard to reach groups; make use of further education establishments and social enterprises to provide training opportunities; and, ensure that skills development programmes target jobs-growth areas. There is some evidence that the first two of these are happening, at least to some degree. We are unsure as to whether or not the third recommendation is capable of being met without a more focused approach to economic development being taken and shared between key public agencies.

There are lessons to be learnt from the experience elsewhere which could help overcome some of the barriers to impacts upon local employment. First, it will be important to link training programmes to a clear strategy for the economic development of the area, and to the type of businesses expected to occupy new premises in the locality in the post-Games period. The city has an established history of planning economic development in relation to events, tourism and the arts, and investment in new venues and the attention which the CWG will attract offers a credible basis for the integration of sport into this strategic framework. However, the types of business and associated job opportunities which can be attracted to the new commercial premises developed in the east end is less certain, and vulnerable to wider economic conditions. Secondly, employment

agencies should provide support to people in new jobs and not just focus on their brokerage role. Clyde Gateway already makes effort in this direction, and certain GCC programmes also focus on groups further from the labour market. However, in the case of the east end, support around health issues requires particular attention given the profile of the out-of-work group.

Overall, we consider that the economic regeneration of the east end study area is possible *if* the regeneration effort continues for a further 10-15 years after the CWG, and *if* a strategic partnership operates between the URC and other public agencies relevant to sustainable economic development, so that those organisations with responsibility for firms, people and place all work with a common focus and priority (or significant degree of priority) upon the east end.

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Appendix A: Legacy programmes with relevance to economic impacts.

See separate spreadsheet.

Key to Table.

Column heading	Meaning/Interpretation
Legacy project	Name of project or programme
Legacy theme	Classification of project by SG or GCC legacy theme, depending on which party lists the project in its legacy plans.
Category	Categorisation of project by type of economic programme.
Project description	Description of project by SG or GCC.
CWG initiation	Classification of project according to its origins in respect of the CWG.
Primary geographic focus	Whether the project is national, city-wide or local.
Specific benefits to the East end	Indicates whether or not we have established that the project has delivered direct benefits to the people or place of the east end.
Scale	Indication of size of project, e.g. by funding amount; number of places on offer etc.
Notes	Additional information on types of benefits, scale or geographic focus.

This appendix is provided as a separate document.

Appendix B: CWG cultural events associated with the east end.

The East End Social:

A programme of music events, live performances and community initiatives featuring international artists, as well as smaller and medium-sized initiatives and performances. Events will happen throughout the community, incorporating parks, train stations, sports centres, town halls, pubs, bandstands and schools in the East End. Curated by the Chemikal Underground music label (based in Bridgeton for over 16 years), in conjunction with Clyde Gateway URC.

David Dale Gallery - International Artist Initiated:

David Dale Gallery and Studios is an artist-led voluntary organisation, established in 2009. The gallery team, located near the centre of the east end study area, will work with several artist-initiated projects across the six Commonwealth territories to produce an ambitious programme of visual art exhibitions, public art, music, events, and publications at the organisation's premises and other surrounding spaces within Glasgow's east end.

The Pokey Hat Ice Cream Van:

Stories from Glasgow's east end will be celebrated with puppetry, music and storytelling, performed in an ice cream van. The stories will be gathered during community Gala days and workshops in Glasgow before the tour, which begins in June. Clare McGarry, Artistic Director of Grinagog Theatre, composer Oliver Searle and writer Martin O'Connor will work with a range of other artists and organisations.

'A Breath of Fresh AIR' artist residencies:

There are two residencies based on the Cuningar Loop (a new 2014 Legacy woodland park, south of the River Clyde, adjacent to the study area). Rob Mullholland will develop designs for two installations which will be gateways to the park. James Winnett will work with people from the communities closest to the new woodland, Rutherglen and Farme Cross, to encourage community involvement. Hosted by Forestry Commission Scotland.

VeloCity commission - 'Baltic Street Adventure Playground':

London-base architects' collective Assemble will work with local communities in

Dalmarnock to design and construct a permanent outdoor learning and play area in a disused site near the Emirates Arena and Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome. Commissioned by VeloCity: art for a changing city, which is part of the Glasgow 2014 Cultural programme and funded GCC, Creative Scotland and Clyde Gateway URC.

Journeys to Glasgow:

As part of the Glasgow 2014 Cultural Festival, comedienne Janey Godley, who was brought up in the east end of the city, will host comedy bus tours around the area. Her material will drawing on stories gathered on 'journeys to Glasgow' visits to libraries across the city, including some in the east end. Audio and video interviews will go on YouTube, in the national archive in the British Film Institute Mediatheque at Bridgeton Library and the public will be encouraged to try stand-up comedy.

The Tin Forest:

The National Theatre of Scotland and the National Youth Theatre are undertaking an eight-month project exploring Glasgow's industrial heritage and creative 21st century future. This series of related events, eventually bringing all participants together in the South Rotunda building on Clydeside, will include a large community project based in the East End. Funding is from Glasgow 2014, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and Homecoming Scotland.

Glasgow Green Live Zone:

For the 11 days of the Games, a mixture of sport and cultural activity will be screened live on Glasgow Green, at the south-western edge of the study area.