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CREATING SOCIAL LEGACY: FLOW IN MEGA EVENT CEREMONIES

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EVENT MANAGEMENT

ABSTRACT

The paper offers a novel conceptual framework linking narrative, attention, immersion, and flow as antecedents of social legacy using examples of polysemic events, such as mega event ceremonies. By doing this the paper uses a multidisciplinary approach to conceptualise the connection between narrative and social legacy, a relationship currently overlooked. Through the creation of this framework, we propose several key findings. First, narrative within polysemic events is useful for creating a targeted social legacy. This happens when the consumer's attention is caught and maintained by the narrative, allowing them to become immersed in their experience. Second, we suggest that to optimise this process, the narrative must position consumers within a state of flow. Once in this state of flow, the individual's goals shift to reflect that of the narrative thus contributing to social legacy. In proposing this framework, this paper makes a valuable contribution by addressing the surprisingly overlooked links between narrative, flow, and social legacy. Using the case of ceremonies, the paper also adds to the limited literature surrounding the social legacy of mega events, currently dominated by economic perspectives.

Keywords: Presence of Flow, Event Experience, Ceremony Narrative, Immersion, Social Legacy

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INTRODUCTION

Since its introduction over thirty years ago, there have been several accounts portraying the growth of the events industry (Arcodia & Rob, 2000; Getz, 2000, 2008; McWilliams & Siegel, 1997). These discussions hold a series of typologies which attempt to classify the events within the industry, through size, form and content (Bowdin, Allen, O'Toole, Harris, & McDonnell, 2011). For example, the industry contains different types of events including festivals and cultural celebrations, arts and entertainment, religious, exhibitions and conferences, sports, recreational, private and educational (Getz & Page, 2016). Most commonly, events are classified by their size (major, mega, giga, local/community) although there are often blurred lines across the field (Bowdin et al., 2011). Often classified as the largest type of event (excluding the introduction of the 'Giga event' by Müller, 2015), mega events dominate literature due to their vast size and need for economic investment. Defined as 'ambulatory occasions of fixed durations that attract global visitors, have large mediated reach, come with large costs and have large impacts on the built environment and population' (Müller, 2015, p. 638), mega events enlisted academic interest through their connection with the concept of 'legacy'.

Mega event legacy focuses on what is left post event, concentrating on both tangible and intangible impacts created, that remain longer than the event itself (Dashper, Fletcher & McCullough 2015; Preuss, 2007). Whilst research into legacy has become more popular, there is a strong geographical bias towards first the United Kingdom (UK) and then countries such as South Africa, The United States of America (USA), Canada and Australia (Thomson et al., 2018, p. 7). In a systematic review of mega event legacy literature Bocarro, Byers and Carter (2017) conclude that research recognises legacy to be a complex concept, consisting of multiple and

possibly infinite forms (Bocarro et al., 2017, p. 17). Moreover, legacy can be interpreted with reference to the particular context and organiser of the event (Chalip, 2017; Sant & Mason, 2015), which could explain the geographical bias towards countries which have recently held mega events. Whilst many forms of legacy are discussed within literature, intangible legacies such as social legacy are often neglected (Bob & Swart, 2010). In a review of sporting legacy literature, Thomson et al. (2018) concluded that only 19 out of 479 articles considered the importance of intangible legacies (e.g. social and environmental) with much more discussion considering tangible legacy (Thomson et al., 2018, p. 12). Social legacy, ‘the aspects associated with a mega event that are symbolic in nature and thus often lead to the creation of many stories and myths that form part of the collective memory of the event’ (Holt & Ruta, 2015, p. 72), needs further examination in order to enable greater utilization of events to achieve social benefits (Thomson et al., 2018). Furthermore, legacy literature has focused its aim on defining and measuring legacy outcomes using measurements such as benchmarking (Preuss, 2007), use of the triple bottom line (Sherwood, 2007), the radar method (Dickson, Benson & Blackman, 2011) and the legacy cube (Gratton & Preuss, 2008). Yet, very few articles examining legacy consider factors that enable and constrain the production of legacy (Bocarro et al., 2017). This is problematic considering legacy planning has shifted from post-event to pre-event, changing legacy from retrospective to prospective (Girginov, 2012). Therefore, event producers must plan for social legacy within the design of their event. By understanding the antecedents of social legacy, producers will become aware of how to create an effective narrative for enhancing legacy.

The aim of this paper is to offer an innovative conceptualisation exploring the antecedents of social legacy including consumer flow and narrative. This contribution is valuable

for a range of polysemic settings including mega events, political rallies, fan bases, festivals and charity events whereby narrative within these settings can cause multiple meanings, interpretations, and understandings. Whilst applicable to a range of polysemic events, this research focuses on mega events, specifically, in order to set research parameters, mega event ceremonies. Ceremonies are chosen as our case study because whilst literature embraces mega events as a topic for exploration, mega event ceremonies are neglected in terms of their contribution to social legacy, although intertwined with social issues. Instead mega event ceremonies are investigated as a destination marketing tool for the host country (Heinz Housel, 2007; Puijk, 2000; Traganou, 2010). This is a gap that needs addressing for a number of reasons.

Mega event ceremonies often attract a larger global audience than the main sporting events and thus have significant reach that can translate into a social legacy. For example, the opening and closing ceremonies of the London 2012 Olympic Games were the two highest viewed events within the Olympic period, with one-third more viewers tuning in to watch them than the so-called 'blue riband' event, the men's 100m final (BBC News, 2012). Ceremonies also matter because of the universalising rhetoric woven into their design such as peace, harmony, and hope, their potential impact (Tomlinson, 2005). For example, Channel Four Television Corporation proposed that the 1936 Berlin Olympic ceremony was used to influence the rest of the world's perception of Germany, guiding them away from the horror stories they had heard about 'Nazi Germany' that were, in fact just stories. As such, it is important that mega event ceremonies are investigated through a social legacy lens to examine their usefulness as platforms for influencing behaviour on a global scale (Channel Four Television Corporation, 2016). Most research on both ceremonies and legacy uses a single approach, for example, an economic lens (Hagn & Maennig, 2007; Mules & Faulkner, 1996; Szymanski, 2002) or are

positioned within event management. On the other hand, this research uses a multidisciplinary approach drawing from psychology, drama, consumer research and event management to develop a multi-layered approach.

This paper aims to develop a conceptual framework that illustrates the antecedents of social legacy including narrative and flow. To achieve this aim, the objectives of this paper are to explore:

- how the theory of flow can support the extended narrative transformation process in enhancing social legacy
- the role of narrative in contributing to consumer flow
- how flow combined with the extended narrative transformation can result in social legacy.

As a result, the paper proposes a model which demonstrates the role of flow as an antecedent of social legacy (Figure 1). The model proposes that if you link the theory of extended narrative transportation (van Laer, de Ruyter, Visconti and Wetzels, 2014) with theories of immersion (Jennett et al., 2008) and flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975) they can be used to explain how the narrative impacts upon an individual's personal goals. This impact upon personal goals, may then in turn influence the behaviour of the individual thus contributing to social legacy. We feel that it is necessary to view flow, immersion and attention in relation to social legacy in order to consider the roles of both the producer (through their design) and the consumer (through their experience). For example, the legacy of the London 2012 Olympic games has been researched in terms of economic outcomes, tourism levels and infrastructural differences but little research focuses on the consumers experience in terms of legacy. Yet, the ceremonies of such events are designed to be first and foremost – 'a majestic show' providing its audience with a unique

experience (Olympic.org, 2014). Therefore, by creating this framework producers of such a ceremony can plan for the successful creation of social legacy by understanding the most powerful techniques for designing event narrative. The remainder of the paper is structured to explain the formation of the model by considering each potential antecedent of social legacy. Finally, the paper concludes by offering suggestions for future related research and practical implications for those within the events industry.

<<<Figure 1 here>>>

THE ANTECEDENTS OF SOCIAL LEGACY

Legacy is increasingly used by event organisers, industry organisations (e.g., the International Olympic Committee) and national governments to promote the long-term impacts gained from events (Bocarro et al., 2017). Academics also have interests in researching events to evaluate their worthwhileness for public investment. As a result, research can be split into those that focus on economic impacts and those that consider legacy. Economic impacts are favoured due to their tangible nature, needed for potential justifications of investment (Preuss, 2018). Legacy research suggests that events produce multi-faceted impacts rather than being limited to economic impacts (Chalip, 2017, p. 556). These include impacts such as urban regeneration, national pride, feel good factor, participation in physical activity and international prestige (Grix, Brannagan, Wood, & Wynne, 2017). In a recent quantitative systematic literature review, examining papers between 2000-2016, Thomson et al. (2018) collate the most frequent types of legacy explored by academics. Their review showed that economic impacts were the most popular amongst academics, closely followed by the more tangible, measurable impacts such as sport participation. The least researched are the more intangible impacts such as symbols, memories and histories – these ‘social’ legacies are often neglected (2018, p. 9).

Social legacy, ‘the actual skills and experiences that people gain through their direct or indirect involvement in a mega event’ (Holt & Ruta, 2015, p.72), is a core source of event value (Chalip, 2006). Examples of social legacy include pride in citizenship, increasing enthusiasm, reinforcing collective identities, encouraging volunteering, increasing awareness of charitable causes and promoting increased participation in well-being activities (Misener & Mason, 2006; Smith, 2009; Young & Okada, 2014). Understanding the antecedents of social legacy is important, due to the increasing use of social legacy as a rationale for investment, yet research on social legacy is often neglected (Bob & Swart, 2010; Thomson et al., 2018). Social legacy is overlooked by academics and event organisers because it is intangible, often more complex, difficult to understand and harder to accurately calculate (Cornelissen, Bob, & Swart, 2011). Instead, economic legacy provides tangible justification for public and political investment (Preuss, 2007), leading event organisers to primarily focus on this to generate support for hosting mega events (Bob & Swart, 2010; Deccio & Baloglu, 2002; Kim & Petrick, 2005). Yet social impacts can also be acknowledged as being crucial factors for underpinning investment rationale for hosting mega events (Fredline, Jago & Deery, 2003; Li & McCabe, 2013) and are noted to be useful in inspiring social change (Filo, Funk, & O’Brien, 2009). Therefore, social legacy requires further investigation.

Whilst legacy research is a current trend within academia, legacy research is limited in that academics concentrate on the legacy impacts left behind rather than considering how legacy is created (Bocarro et al., 2017; Kassen-Noor, Wilson, Müller, Maharaj, & Huntoon, 2015; Thomson et al., 2018). One way to address this is by introducing event ‘leveraging’. Leveraging, ‘identifying and exploring event implementations that can optimise desired event outcomes’ (Chalip, 2004, p. 228), looks at how to produce legacy rather than what types of legacy may be

produced (Bocarro et al., 2017, p. 18). Chalip (2017) suggests that because events provide a state of limonoid, this creates opportunities to align events with social issues in order to entice and lengthen engagement, and showcase social issues (2017, p. 577). However, whilst leveraging considers how events can be strategically integrated into a host destinations product/service mix (2017, p. 57), it does not explore how the impacts are sustained after the period of limonoid – this is where legacy research offers a solution. Whilst the current research acknowledges the role of leveraging in enhancing legacy, it does not aim to consider the strategic use of the event for the host destination, instead it considers the antecedents of social legacy of a mega events ceremony.

Ceremonies, in particular, are useful tools as they provide a platform for global communication whereby they aim to educate, transfer knowledge, provoke thought, stir emotion and create meaning (Goldblatt, 2011; Lemus Delgado, 2016; Traganou, 2010). With these aims embedded within the ceremony narrative, social legacy can be created in the form of ‘lived, enduring memories and experiences’ (Holt & Ruta, 2015, p.72). This is particularly important when viewed through a social legacy lens as ceremonies have the potential to attract not only a global audience but a diverse audience made up of more than just sports fans. By creating experiences that drive context specific cognition and behaviour, event organisers are in fact creating social legacy specific to the event experience. Therefore, ceremonies provide a useful platform for considering the antecedents of social legacy.

To address the need for further investigation, this paper considers the antecedents of social legacy using narrative theory and theories of flow and immersion.

NARRATIVE AS AN ANTECEDENT OF SOCIAL LEGACY

The importance of researching ceremonies lies in their reach; a global stage with lasting impact. Ceremonies, such as the opening and closing of the Olympic Games, provide a dissimilar experience to that of the mega sporting event as they have a different purpose and reach a wider audience (Tomlinson, 2005). Mega events attract fans by satisfying audience needs including both competition and mass participation (Parent & Chappelet, 2017). Their ceremonies, in contrast, eliminate elements of competition, uniting nationalities and concentrating on transferring knowledge of history, culture and tradition (Cajete, 2000; Goldblatt, 2011; Puijk, 2000; Traganou, 2010). For example, the London 2012 Olympic Opening Ceremony was described as the ‘greatest global TV event of the year’ (Mastrogiannas and Dorvillé, 2016, p. 95) with global audience figures of 900 million and a budget of £80 million for all ceremonies (including opening, closing, medal ceremonies and the torch relay), with £27 million spent on the opening ceremony (Insidethegames.biz, 2015). With such high global visibility (Traganou, 2010) and large economic investment, research that seeks to understand the wider importance of ceremonies in terms of their impact on consumer experience, is vital.

Ceremonies, ‘public arenas in which social memory is acted out, performed or demonstrated’ (Silk, 2015, p. 70), are often treated as a singular event within the literature, discussed in terms of their use for promoting a host destination (Heinz Housel, 2007; Puijk, 2000; Traganou, 2010) or examined through their ritualistic nature (Liang, 2010; Qing, Boccia, Chunmiao, Xing, Fu & Kennett, 2010; Sinclair, 2001). Furthermore, ceremonies, as part of a larger sporting event, are polysemic by nature, in that they provide multiple sources of affective meaning (Chalip, 1992) within their narrative. To create these meanings, polysemic events include multiple narratives, embedded genres and layered symbols found within the ceremonies

design (Chalip, Green and Velden, 2000). These elements of the narrative are used to promote consumer interest on a global scale whilst representing more than ‘just a mere game or contest’ (Chalip, 1992). It is this polysemic nature that we propose is key for delivering a narrative that is both attractive for the individual and useful for enhancing legacy.

Like many events, a ceremony’s narrative is designed to create a unique experience for the audience (Berridge, 2011). Furthermore, ceremonies offer a unique platform for global communication as well as entertainment. Other global events focus on global competition (sporting events) or global entertainment (Super Bowl half time show), whereas ceremonies offer a more cognitive narrative; to educate by transferring knowledge of a political, cultural or historic nature (Cajete, 2000; Goldblatt, 2011; Gusfield, 1963; Lemus Delgado, 2016; Puijk, 2000; Traganou, 2010). For example, the Opening Ceremony of the Olympic Winter Games in Sochi adopted a historical theme, relaying Russian historic events such as the industrialisation, space exploration and the foundation of St. Petersburg (Olympic.org, 2014). It is important to understand how the narrative within such ceremonies are designed and how this impacts the experience of the audience.

Research surrounding experience emerged in the 1960s, with academics considering the roles of ‘peak experiences’ (Maslow, 1964; Thorne, 1963). By the 1980s, business literature had also begun to explore the potential of creating consumption experiences (Hwang & Seo, 2016). By the 1990s, Pine and Gilmore (1999), famously proposed that businesses were operating in the ‘experience economy’, “a transition from an economy that sells services to an experience economy that sells memorable experiences which has become central to a marketer’s interest” (Hwang & Seo, 2016, p. 2219). As a result, researchers have dedicated time to creating theories which help develop the best experiences for consumers, for example, Dramaturgy (Goffman,

1959), Atmospherics (Kotler, 1972), and Servicescape (Bitner, 1992). As the demand for experiences grows, so does the events industry (Getz, 2013, p.4). Events are classed as experiences, interactive sensations ‘triggered by product, service or event that affects physical, cognitive levels over a period of time’ (Diller, Shedroff, & Rhea, 2008, p. 18) because they engage individuals in a personal way (Pine & Gilmore, 1999, p. 12). However, in order to be effective, an experience needs to be designed in a way that satisfies the needs and wants of both the consumer and the producer (Smit & Melissen, 2018).

In order to guide the type of experience for the audience, producers must design events using a mixture of cognitive and/or affective experience aims (Berridge, 2011). Cognitive experiences aim for the audience to learn from the event, to increase awareness, change perceptions and remember what they have learned. Affective experiences, on the other hand, aim to increase pleasure, and to evoke emotions and preferences (Berridge, 2011; Getz, 2007). Whilst some events are biased towards cognitive (e.g., a conference) and others affective (e.g. a music concert), the narrative used in a ceremony incorporates both cognitive and affective themes. This is important for social legacy as it gives ceremonies a unique platform to both attract a high number of viewers (through affective themes) and confront the social and cultural challenges of the audience’s lives, whilst supporting messages of social cohesion (Bevolo, 2015) through cognitive themes. Therefore, the event narrative can simultaneously drive enjoyment and social messages. As a result, an individual’s reaction to an experience causes context specific cognition and behaviour (Yoon, 2012). In terms of social legacy this means that the cognitive themes embedded within the narrative can cause behaviour which reflects the narrative (e.g. donating to charity, awareness of global warming). If designed well, a ceremony can be seen as a ‘transportive experience’ (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). When this happens, the outcome of a

transformative experience is a sustained change in an audience member rather than just a memory of the experience (Smit & Melissen, 2018). Therefore, it is important to understand the impact experience design has on driving content specific behaviour, which if sustained can enhance social legacy. We suggest that the consumption of narrative is classed as a transformative experience and therefore the cognitive and affective elements within narrative can cause context-specific behaviour. This we suggest is a vital link to social legacy.

By creating narratives that drive context specific cognition and behaviour, event organisers are in fact creating social legacy specific to the event experience. We offer that including suggestions of the desired social legacy within narrative can drive behaviour and cognition that reflect the desired experience goals and social legacy of the mega event. For example, the Rio opening ceremony of the Olympics in 2016 heavily featured messages of global warming (Kearns, 2017). This was designed to make the audience think about their own contribution to global warming thus impacting their environmental behaviour post-event. Therefore, ceremony organisers need to understand what consumer 'behavioural outcomes' they want as a result of narrative consumption in order to mould their social legacy. We suggest that an understanding of the antecedents of social legacy may aid in the measurement of legacy success as there is currently no standard measurement for social legacy.

To further demonstrate the use of narrative for producing social legacy, we offer that the extended narrative transportation theory (van Laer et al., 2014) should be included within our conceptual framework. The theory of narrative transportation proposes that when a person becomes immersed in the narrative, their attitudes, intentions, behaviour, and beliefs change to reflect the messages within the narrative (Green et al., 2008, van Laer et al., 2014). This transportation through a narrative is a cognitive, emotional and imagery experience where the

consumer becomes involved with the narrative (Green, Brock, & Kaufman, 2004). Furthermore, the model integrates cognitive psychology with consumer culture theory to illustrate the process of narrative transportation (Figure 2).

<<<Figure 2 here>>>

To summarise, the model demonstrates that for knowledge to be transported through narrative there must be a storyteller (ceremony) and a story receiver (audience member). The storyteller then uses elements discussed in narrative theory, characters, story and events (Chatman, 1978) to transport knowledge through different mediums e.g. song, dance, audio. The story receiver brings their own elements to the narrative including personal characteristics and social groups that may affect how they interpret the narrative. Although further research needs to investigate how significant these antecedents are in effecting narrative outcomes (van Laer et al., 2014) the personal identities of the ceremony audience are ignored within the extended transformation model. Thus, whilst the model proves to be useful in demonstrating the link between narrative and social consequences it is noted that the model depicts an idyllic process.

In this paper, we explore the extended narrative transportation model in the context of social legacy, something not attempted previously. Van Laer's (2014) model looks at how narrative links to narrative consequences. An analysis of these consequences demonstrates that there are significant overlaps between the direct consequences of narrative (within the model) and social legacy. However, social legacy is something that happens in the long term (Li & McCabe, 2013), something outside of the model's remit. This is something we will consider within this research when mapping the antecedents of social legacy. Using ceremonies as a medium we theorise that narrative is an important antecedent of social legacy (Figure 3). This is because narrative captures attention whilst guiding how we think and behave (Smith, Tomasone,

Latimer-Cheung, & Ginis, 2015). For example, the narrative within the Invictus Games ceremony, an international adaptive multi-sport mega event for wounded, injured or sick service personnel, uses characters to tell stories of life after their incident/episode which resulted in the individuals' physical and/or mental disabilities. This knowledge of the athletes' journeys to recovery, how people and charities helped and supported them, could be transported into an intention to support these charities post-event or lead to changed attitudes surrounding disability. For the consequences of the model to be considered as a social legacy, they must last longer than the event itself (Preuss, 2007). We, therefore, adapt van Laer's (2014) model by including constructs of attention, immersion, and flow to help sustain the consequences of the narrative.

<<<Figure 3 here>>>

ATTENTION, IMMERSION, AND FLOW AS ANTECEDENTS OF SOCIAL LEGACY

To solidify the link between narrative and social legacy, this paper recommends that theories of attention, immersion, and flow can be used to strengthen the extended narrative transportation model. Whilst these concepts are theories in their own right we suggest that within this framework they link to form a hierarchy structure dependent on the consumer's relationship with the narrative. For example, first the individual's attention must be attracted by the narrative, second, they become immersed in the narrative and finally they reach a state of flow. This section of the paper demonstrates the role of these constructs as antecedents of social legacy.

Attention, featured within narrative transportation, is one of the most powerful tools for enhancing an experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002, p. 33). This is because the process of converting information to action within the human consciousness implies that before any action is taken, action stimuli must first catch a consumer's attention (Hommel, Brown, & Nattkemper, 2016; Kamen, 2001; Wickens, Hollands, Banburym & Parasuraman, 2016). The narrative

(stimuli) is then referenced against the personal memories of the individual so that suitable actions can be identified (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Wickens et al., 2016). In day-to-day life, this could be as simple as reading and responding to a road sign, but within a ceremony, the audience's attention must be caught by the narrative. For event organisers, this means ensuring people are attracted to the action stimuli, in this case, the narrative.

The link between attention and social legacy via narrative is currently not explored, yet, this research suggests attention is key for driving social legacy. Firstly, within their design events incorporate experience aims of both a cognitive and affective nature (Berridge, 2012). These aims are used to communicate cognitive messages (such as social issues) and to capture the attention of the audience. Therefore, producers understand the role of audience attention in communicating through narrative. Second, by the nature of the narrative within ceremonies, social legacy can be communicated to a global audience. Therefore, it is important that the impact of consumer attention on narrative is explored in relation to social legacy. If a consumer's attention is not caught by the narrative, it is important to understand the effect this may have upon the social legacy. It is also relevant to theoretically consider the role attention has in driving social legacy. Narrative transportation (discussed above) is grounded in immersion (Phillips & McQuarrie 2010; van Laer et al 2014), therefore for an audience to be transported by narrative they must become immersed within an event (Green & Brock, 2000). In order to do so, their attention must first be caught (Brown & Cairns, 2004). Within this paper, we propose that for a consumer to contribute to social legacy, their attention must not only be caught but maintained by the ceremony, to reach immersion.

Immersion happens when, in one specific moment in time, a person is completely, both physically and psychologically, distracted by another reality (Bell, 2008; Jennett et al., 2008;

Murray, 1997; Streitz & Markopoulos, 2016). Within gaming literature, Jennett et al. (2008) offers that there are three levels of immersion; 1. Engagement, 2. Engrossment and 3. Total immersion. These three levels have yet to be applied to a ceremony setting but can be used to demonstrate the process of a consumer becoming fully immersed in the ceremony. To completely experience an event of any kind, a person must first engage with it before they can begin to interpret its meaning (Rossman, 2003). This level of engagement then progresses, until the individual's (be that gamers or mega event attendees) emotions are directly affected and they become less aware of their surroundings (Jennett et al., 2008). Finally, they reach a level of total immersion where they are completely cut off from reality. For example, Aykol, Aksatan, and İpek (2017), offers that when attending the theatre, the audience's attention is focused towards a temporary world, where they can escape the chaos of everyday life (Aykol et al., 2017).

By applying the theories of immersion to our conceptual framework we suggest that to sustain the consequences of the extended narrative transformation, consumers should be immersed in the narrative. This immersion allows the individual to solely concentrate on the narrative within the ceremony, which will inevitably strengthen the link between narrative and social legacy. When immersed in the environment, narrative transportation proposes a ceremony attendee is less likely to counter-argue, or disagree with the narrative (Hinyard and Kreuter, 2007), making them more likely to respond to the narrative aims (Green & Brock, 2000; van Laer et al., 2014). However, theories around immersion do not address why a consumer may feel motivated to contribute to social legacy. We conceive that the theory of flow can be useful for explaining this link.

Flow, 'the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990, p. 4) is a successor of total immersion (Jennett et al., 2008).

Although flow has been investigated in gaming, personal happiness, online platforms, athlete performance and education (Clarke & Haworth, 1994; Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Hsu & Lu, 2004; Jackson, 1996; Skadberg & Kimmel, 2004) research has neglected to consider the theory of flow in connection with social legacy. We believe that flow can be used to explain a ceremony experience as those that attend a ceremony report high levels of enjoyment (MacIntosh & Nicol, 2012; Yoshida et al., 2014), a key criterion of flow. More importantly, flow is also linked to the concept of goals, specifically a shift in personal goals to reflect the context of the flow, thus providing a contribution to social legacy.

Within our conceptual framework, we feel it is important to acknowledge the roles of both flow and immersion. This is due to several key similarities and differences between flow and immersion. Firstly, flow and immersion differ by the type of experience that causes them. Whilst immersion can occur within day to day activities such as gaming, flow requires a more extreme and optimal experience (Jennett et al., 2008). An optimal experience can be defined as “a positive and complex condition in which cognitive, motivational and emotional components coexist” (Delle Fave, 2009, p. 285). Ceremonies are often unique to each mega event, perishable after just one live performance and have limited ticketing allowance, causing them to fall into the extreme category (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). However, they feature elements designed to trigger emotions and thoughts allowing them to also be categorised as an optimal experience. When immersed, an individual loses their sense of context, whereas in a state of flow, they should feel a complete level of involvement with the experience. Finally, flow and immersion often appear together due to their individual links to distinct aspects found within one experience. Immersion is linked to the environment within the experience, the audio-visual or sensory elements of the event (Nacke, Stellmach & Lindley, 2010), such as the settings, smells, performance and lighting

within a ceremony. Flow, on the other hand, originates from elevated levels of enjoyment, where the opportunity for action matches the capabilities of the consumer (Ijsselsteijn De Kort, Poels, Jurgelionis, & Bellotti, 2007) and a keen sense of sequence, pace, and challenge (Nacke et al., 2010). Within this context a challenge can be defined as ‘a circumstance which one has to engage in the full use of one’s abilities or resources to resolve a problem or threat or to achieve a goal or objective’ (Wehmeyer, Little, & Sergeant, 2009, p. 363), resulting in an optimal level where existing skills are stretched to result in more complex skills for action (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). This sense of challenge varies dependent on the existing skill level of the individual. Within the example of a ceremony, this could include the challenges of understanding and interpreting the event’s narrative.

However, if the challenge required to contribute to social legacy is too difficult, the person will not be challenged but instead become unmotivated (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Green 2004; Gold, Holden, Iles, Stewart, & Beardwell, 2013; MacConville & Rae, 2012). As discussed above, in order to reach a state of flow a person should be tasked with overcoming a challenge which requires the use of their skills (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). If the activity in question is too simple, the person (or audience) can become bored, and loose interest (MacConville & Rae, 2012). On the other hand, if the task is too challenging or does not match the skill set of the person, they will become demotivated, overwhelmed and will ultimately give up (Gold et al., 2013, p. 272; MacConville & Rae, 2012, p. 95). Therefore, in terms of a ceremony, it is important for the consumer to enjoy the narrative to satisfy their intrinsic needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness (Ryan, Rigby, & Przybylski, 2006) but it is also vital that they feel a sense of challenge. When this happens, flow enhances narrative transportation, if the narrative is too simple/difficult, transportation cannot occur (Green, 2004). Within a ceremony setting, both

environment and challenge are needed. Environment is useful for capturing attention and allowing the audience a space in which they can become immersed within narrative. Challenge on the other hand is crucial for creating audience flow. Therefore, both immersion and flow are considered within this conceptual framework to enhance the process of narrative transportation within a ceremony context. Table 1 has been developed to demonstrate the components of both flow and immersion within a ceremony context.

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We theorise that flow is the link between narrative and a sustained social legacy. This is because once in a state of flow, the consumer is driven to achieve personal goals that challenge them. From the narrative, they then experience clarity of goals, knowledge from the performance, concentration, and control (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Jackson & Marsh, 1996). Therefore, if a consumer can be moved to a state of flow during a ceremony they are significantly more likely to engage with the aims of the ceremony. For example, the narrative within the Paralympics is one of unison and inclusion, changing attitudes and perceptions of others (International Paralympic Committee, 2007). Therefore, the social legacy could be for an individual to become more inclusive in the workplace or volunteer their time to charity. The alignment of goals with the narrative is what motivates the consumer to contribute to the social legacy of the mega event. This is important on a broader scale as all polysemic experiences that result in flow, such as political rallies and large-scale charity events like Live Aid, can be powerful tools for influencing shifts in a person's short-term personal goals (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Yet, surprisingly, the link between flow and social legacy via narrative has not been investigated. It is vital to understand this process as there is little research into what drives consumers, consciously or subconsciously, to contribute to the social legacy of a mega event.

Once the antecedents of social legacy are better understood, more global, specific and effective ceremonies can be produced. This paper addresses this issue, within our conceptual model, thereby contributing to existing knowledge.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL

By combining the theories of narrative transportation with immersion and flow, our conceptual model (Figure 4) is designed to illustrate the antecedents of social legacy using the case of a mega event ceremony. Legacy in relation to sporting events has existed for many years with the first mention being in relation to the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne (Preuss, 2018). However, academics suggest that there is still not enough legacy research to keep pace with the industry or to offer justification for the huge investment needed to produce mega events (Brittain, Bocarro, Byers, & Swart, 2017; Cornelissen et al., 2011; Preuss 2011; Sant & Mason, 2015). The model proposed by this research seeks to justify the investment into mega event ceremonies by mapping the antecedents and impact of ceremony social legacy.

The model maps the experience aims of the event - formed from the mega event's overall aim and legacy vision - through the experience of consuming narrative. These initial aims can be classified under a cognitive or affective category, both of which are needed to create an ideal experience for enhancing social legacy. The affective aims are used to create the spectacle of the experience, attracting the audience to narrative and enticing in them feelings of pleasure. Cognitive aims, on the other hand, embed the narrative with messages. For example, the narrative of Olympic opening ceremonies is often designed to portray the host city or country in a way which may change perceptions of the host's culture. However, narrative can also include global messages such as peace, harmony, and hope (Tomlinson, 2005). We propose that to increase the likelihood of social legacy both cognitive and affective aims should be included

within the narrative to ensure consumers are attentive and therefore reach the state of immersion needed to absorb information within the narrative.

This model suggests one possible process used to convert cognitive and affective aims within narrative into a social legacy. Drawing from extended narrative transportation (van Laer et al., 2014), the ceremony is seen as a storyteller, whose aim is to transport the audience via narrative. The process produces narrative consequences in the form of challenging beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviour. We believe these consequences could be subcategories of social legacy. For example, changes in an audience members attitude or intentions may lead to behavioural changes causing “changes in the collective and individual value systems, behaviour patterns, community structures, lifestyles and quality of life” (Raj & Musgrave, 2009, p. 81). However, in order to sustain the consequences of narrative, we extend van Laer (2014)’s model to include attention, immersion, and flow.

For the consumer to reach a state of flow, first their attention must be captured and maintained for them to reach a state of immersion. However, this state of immersion does not provide a strong enough link between narrative and social legacy. This is because once immersed, a person loses their sense of context. On the other hand, when in a state of flow, a consumer becomes completely involved with the narrative. This involvement is important as it facilitates a change of their personal goals to mirror the narrative. Thus, we propose that to improve the likelihood of social legacy, a consumer must reach a state of flow. This can only happen if their attention is captured and maintained enough to first become immersed in the narrative. However, flow cannot be reached in day to day experiences, whereas immersion is often found in activities such as gaming and reading. As such, the conceptualisation offered

within this research can only be facilitated by an optimal and extreme experience such as a ceremony.

<<<Figure 4 here>>>

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, our paper presents a framework which maps the antecedents of social legacy for the context of mega event ceremonies. Currently, research focuses on the more tangible side of legacy such as economic impacts and infrastructure (Thomson et al., 2018), failing to consider both the intangible side of legacy (social legacy) and the factors that enable the production of such legacy (Bob & Swart, 2010; Bocarro et al., 2017). To address this gap within legacy research, this paper focuses exclusively on social legacy. Furthermore, research on legacy uses single approaches positioned within event management (e.g., Burgan & Miles, 1992; Gratton, Shibli & Coleman, 2006; Lee & Taylor, 2005). Conversely, this paper uses a multidisciplinary approach by drawing from psychology, drama, consumer research and event management to develop a novel way of understanding social legacy (Getz, 2008). Throughout this paper, we suggest that ceremony social legacy can be understood through the combination of multiple existing theories, showcasing multiple perspectives of social legacy from its planning to its outcomes. By achieving each of the aforementioned objectives, insight is given into the relationship between ceremony and social legacy, offering several key contributions to extant theory.

First, narrative transportation has been applied to the new context of ceremonies and extended to incorporate consumer flow. Narrative transformation has been used in contexts such as online presence, video gaming, advertising, addiction, entertainment and education (Batat & Wohlfeil, 2009; Durkin & Wakefield, 2008; Escalas, 2004; Green & Clarke, 2012; Jensen,

Imboden & Ivic, 2011; Kim & Petrick, 2016; van Laer et al., 2014) but has yet to be applied to events such as ceremonies. This is somewhat surprising given their potential to showcase narrative on a global platform. This research suggests that narrative transportation is an important antecedent of social legacy due its ability to produce ‘consequences of narrative’ (van Laer et al., 2014) which impacts consumer actions, intentions and behaviours.

Second, although narrative transportation is originally grounded in immersion (Phillips & McQuarrie, 2010; van Laer et al., 2014), this paper extends the theory by suggesting that both immersion and flow are needed to categorise narrative transportation as an antecedent of social legacy. This is because immersion is often related to day-to-day activities whereas flow, a successor of immersion, appears only within optimal experiences (Jennett et al., 2008). For social legacy to take place, this paper suggests that consumers must reach a state of flow, not simply immersion, as this is a much stronger experience and more likely to impact attitudes, feelings and behaviour. However, for a consumer to reach a state of flow they must first become immersed within a narrative, hence the inclusion of both immersion and flow as antecedents of social legacy. This is a further contribution to knowledge as multiple consumption experiences have been investigated in terms of flow (shopping, online presence, video gaming) yet the presence of flow in event attendees has not been considered. By addressing this gap, this paper suggests a conceptual framework which can be applied to several optimal, polysemic events. The framework implies that consumers must be seduced into moving from a state of immersion to a state of flow, where they are not only surrounded by the narrative but feel part of it (Ijsselsteijn et al., 2007). When this happens, consumers are more likely to express and sustain the consequences of narrative transportation needed to produce social legacy.

The conceptual framework developed in this paper offers several practical implications to the fields of events management, psychology and more broadly consumer behaviour. By investigating the antecedents of social legacy, this paper suggests an innovative approach to delivering social change on a global scale (e.g., cultural appreciation; attitude change – e.g. towards people with disability). It is important to appreciate the impact events have on consumer attitudes and behaviour, not only among the general public, but also among policymakers, regulators and the media (Gordon, 2013). For example, large charity events such as Live Aid (a dual-venue benefit concert held to raise money for the Ethiopian famine) and more recently One Love Manchester (a benefit concert organised in response to the 2017 Manchester bombing), are designed to shape attitudes and behaviour. Whilst effective in spreading global messages over a short period of time, the link between flow and social legacy suggested in this framework proposes that these events can sustain their effects (as a form of legacy) by encouraging immersion and flow within their design.

By highlighting the antecedents of social legacy within the context of events, this paper suggests that event producers should consider how narrative elements could enhance or detract from consumer flow. For example, Olympic ceremonies are notorious for their length, particularly the length of the Athlete's parade. Yet, whilst this element of the ceremony is an important part of Olympic Protocol, it is important to acknowledge that an overly long episode in any event might hinder consumers from achieving flow due to boredom or lack of attention (Lawson, 2011).

This in turn reduces the likelihood of social legacy being realised. To enhance the likelihood of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975) - and consequently social legacy - occurring among event consumers, event producers must consider the characteristics of narrative that both capture

attention and challenge the consumer. An example of this can be found in the Invictus Games ceremony featuring complex narrative which challenges consumers both intellectually and emotionally? For those within the industry responsible for designing ceremonies, this insight will encourage them to invest time and effort in developing effective narratives that can potentially impact social legacy on a large scale.

Whilst this paper delivers an essential first step in mapping the antecedents of social legacy, empirical testing is necessary to understand how to best apply the constructs presented in the conceptual framework to leverage social legacy. This could be done by interviewing ceremony organizers to understand their perspectives on social legacy and how it links with their narrative aims and design. Research would also need to consider the consumer perspective with regards to the impact of narratives within ceremonies on their short and long-term beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviour.

Further research might also consider the different reactions of live versus media audiences to ceremonies and their narratives, which is not examined in this paper. Although theoretically the framework could be applied to all types of consumers, multiple consumption experiences should be empirically tested to extend our current understanding. In today's complex environment of broadcast and social media, producers must consider their different audiences when designing their ceremonies and link these with intended legacies. Finally, we recommend further research into the impact of demographic and socio-economic background on consumer response to narrative within ceremonies and how this influences social legacy.

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EVENT MANAGEMENT

Table 1.**Flow and Immersion in a Mega Event Ceremony**

Component of flow and immersion	Component of flow and immersion in a ceremony
A challenging activity requiring skill	The narrative in any context provides the basis for the challenge through consumer interpretation (Meethan, Anderson and Miles, 2006; Stevens, 2009). Narrative also includes messages to challenge consumers to make a shift in personal goals (van Laer, 2014).
A merging of action and awareness	Action found in setting, lighting, music, characters, and performance Awareness found in narrative, characters, images, speech, and symbolism.
Clear Goals	Found within the experience goals for the event, to enlighten, celebrate, entertain or challenge (Shone & Parry, 2004), and the legacy goals of the mega event.
Direct, immediate feedback	Social media provides a platform for consumers to both give and receive feedback (Leung, Law, van Hoof and Buhalis, 2013) from the ceremony organisers and other consumers watching the ceremony. Live events also provide immediate feedback from the crowd (e.g. applause, booing).
Concentration on the task at hand	Found within artistic performances due to the nature of eliminating distractions and facilitating concentration – to maintain levels of attention and to encourage interpretation of event narrative (Aykol et al., 2017).
A sense of control	Personal control over how to interpret the narrative in the ceremony, whereby the interpretation is personal, partial and dynamic (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber, 1998).
A loss of self-consciousness	When attention is captured (through narrative and spectacle), the audience is transported and maintained by the ceremony so that for a brief period of time they forget the outside world (Aykol et al., 2017).
An altered sense of time	When the audience becomes immersed in music or performance they may also lose a sense of time whereby the length of the ceremony feels shorter than it is (Gilbertson & Muilenburg, 2004).

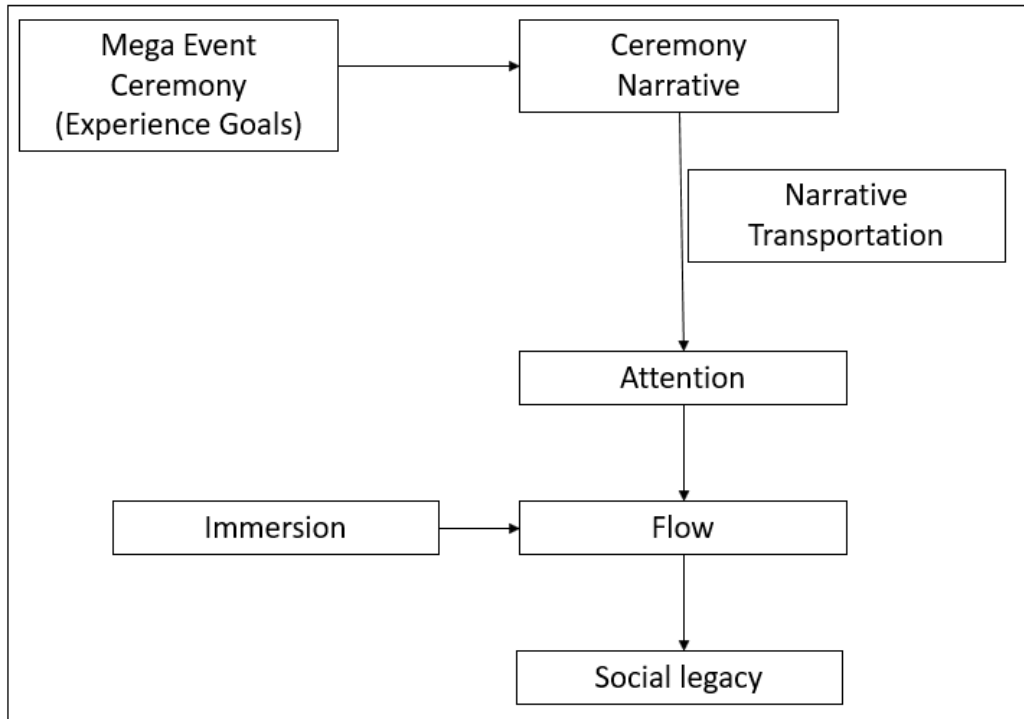


Figure 1 – The Proposed Antecedents of Social Legacy (van Laer et al., 2014, p. 809)

EVENT MANAGER

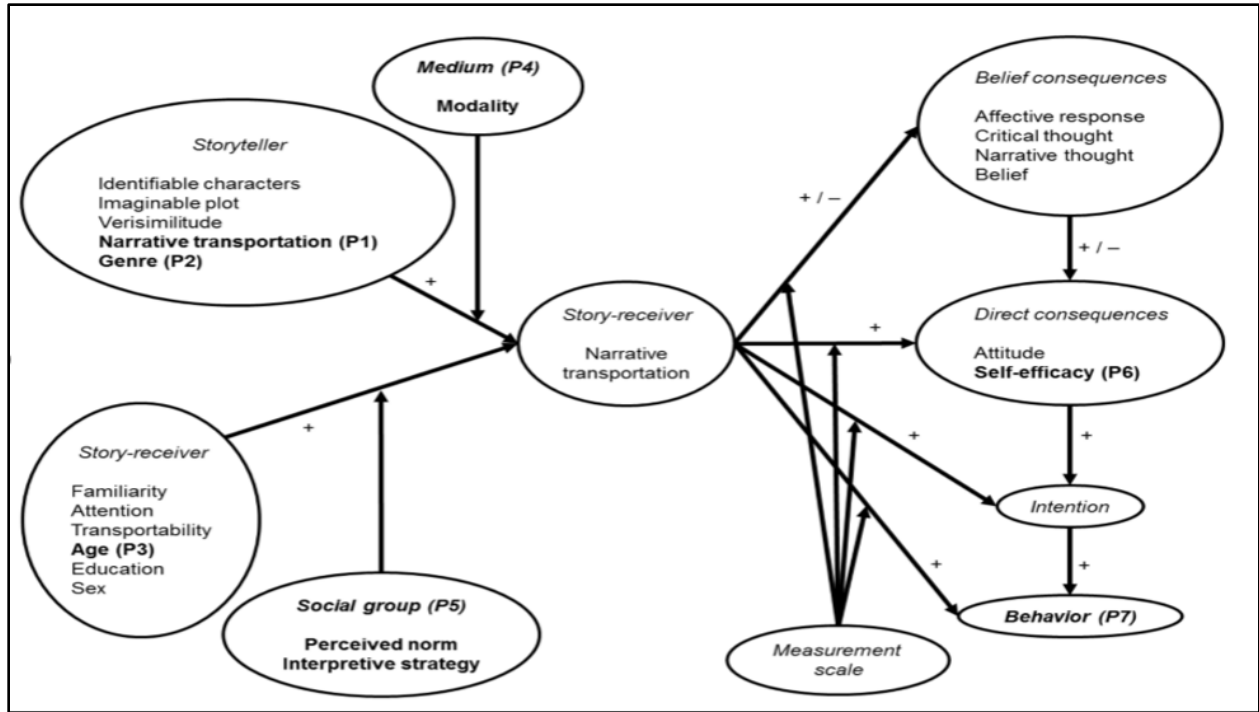


Figure 2 - The Extended Transformation Model (van Laer et al., 2014, p. 809)

EVENT MANAGEMENT

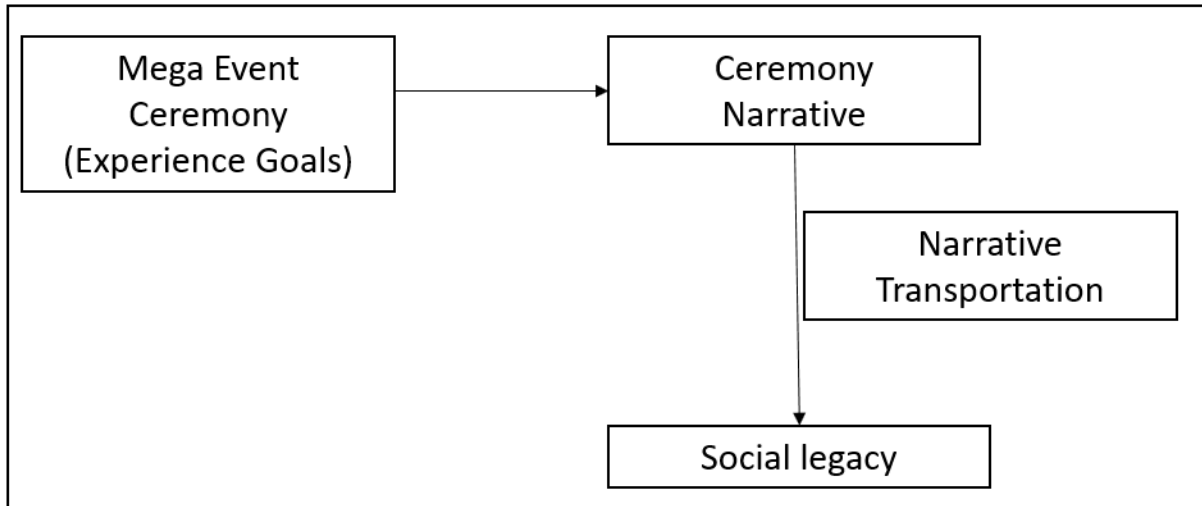


Figure 3 – Narrative Transportation to create a Social Legacy

EVENT MANAGEMENT

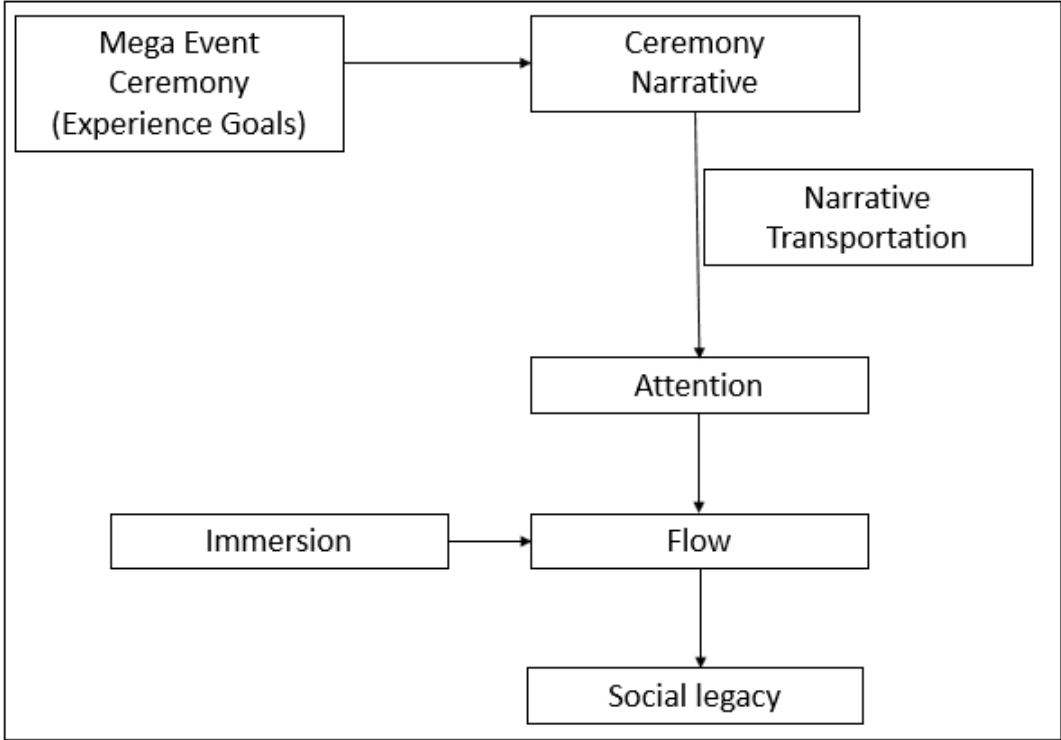


Figure 4 – The Role of Flow in Creating a Social Legacy

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