



## LJMU Research Online

**Hayton, J and Blundell, M**

**Exploring the relationship between social class and sport event volunteering**

<http://researchonline.ljmu.ac.uk/id/eprint/13430/>

### Article

**Citation** (please note it is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from this work)

**Hayton, J and Blundell, M (2020) Exploring the relationship between social class and sport event volunteering. Sport Management Review. ISSN 1441-3523**

LJMU has developed **LJMU Research Online** for users to access the research output of the University more effectively. Copyright © and Moral Rights for the papers on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. Users may download and/or print one copy of any article(s) in LJMU Research Online to facilitate their private study or for non-commercial research. You may not engage in further distribution of the material or use it for any profit-making activities or any commercial gain.

The version presented here may differ from the published version or from the version of the record. Please see the repository URL above for details on accessing the published version and note that access may require a subscription.

For more information please contact [researchonline@ljmu.ac.uk](mailto:researchonline@ljmu.ac.uk)

<http://researchonline.ljmu.ac.uk/>

1 **Exploring the relationship between social class and sport event**  
2 **volunteering**

3

4 **Abstract**

5 There is a dearth of research that examines the relationship between sport event volunteering and  
6 social class. This article contributes to this gap by exploring the social class of volunteers involved in  
7 the running of a series of major international field hockey events each held between 2015 and 2017  
8 at the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, London. To do this, the article draws upon longitudinal  
9 research that utilises demographic information and qualitative data from semi-structured interviews  
10 with 46 event volunteers. To gauge the social composition of this sport event volunteer pool, the  
11 article first discerns the social class categories of the study's participants. Following analysis of the  
12 qualitative data, the article then examines how the interplay between social class and Pierre  
13 Bourdieu's principal forms of cultural, economic and social capital serve to shape this volunteer  
14 workforce, and by the same token, how they might operate to inhibit under-represented groups  
15 from seizing such opportunities to volunteer. In parallel to the class analysis of the participants, the  
16 article lends novel insights into the organisational amassing of an event volunteer workforce. The  
17 article concludes by considering the implications of the nexus between social class, capitals, and  
18 inclusion within event volunteering and its management.

19 **Key Words:** Sport events; Bourdieu; Capital; Volunteers; Social class

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

## 34 **1. Introduction**

35 Sport events would not be feasible without volunteers—whose contributions help to reduce  
36 operational costs (Hoye, Cuskelly, Auld, Kappelides, & Misener, 2020). Kim and Cuskelly  
37 (2017) add that where event delivery relies almost entirely on volunteers, it is important that  
38 event organisers develop a core group of capable volunteers to run them. While previous  
39 research has examined socio-demographic factors associated with volunteering, such as age  
40 and gender (Downward et al., 2006; Skirstad & Hanstad, 2013), ethnicity (Koutrou &  
41 Downward, 2016), and one’s employment status (Downward & Ralston, 2006), research that  
42 critically engages with the relationship between sport event volunteers and aspects of social  
43 class is limited. Saliently, Kitchin and Howe (2013) have stressed that there is an entrenched  
44 marginalization of minority groups from and within formal sporting contexts, due to  
45 inequalities which are drawn, for example, along gendered, racial and class-based fault lines.  
46 What is more, authors such as Doherty (2009) and Wicker (2017) have highlighted the need  
47 for research that examines how cultural, economic, and social characteristics influence  
48 volunteer behaviour both at an event, and in any continued voluntary action.

49 In this article, we seek to understand how social class influences volunteer behaviour by:  
50 (a) profiling the social class of sport event volunteers; (b) examining how capital shapes  
51 individuals’ access to and deployment in volunteering, and (c) by contextualising repeat  
52 volunteering at events using a capitals-based approach. To do this, we first employ the Great  
53 British Class Survey (GBCS) to discern the class composition of our sample of event  
54 volunteers (Savage, Devine & Cunningham, 2013). Second, we apply Bourdieusian  
55 sociological concepts of cultural, economic and social capital to uncover the conditions and  
56 often unconscious actions and processes that may serve to either facilitate individuals’ access  
57 to or exclude them from sport event volunteering. We follow this by addressing the  
58 implications of our findings for event management and identify strategies that event

59 organisers can incorporate into their practice to diversify access to event volunteering and the  
60 developmental benefits such activities are purported to yield.

## 61 **2. Literature Review**

### 62 *2.1 Social class and (sport) volunteering*

63 Studies on volunteering outside of sport have suggested that existing class patterns can serve  
64 to deny people from “working-class” backgrounds access to pathways into volunteering  
65 (Bradford, Hills, Johnston, 2016). Research in the U.K. by the National Council for  
66 Voluntary Organisations (2017) report that regular volunteering both in and beyond sport  
67 lacks diversity because formal activities are often exclusive in nature, with those of high  
68 education and socio-economic background found to be more readily engaged. Hardill and  
69 Baines (2007) expounded that networks and patterns of social organisation shape the  
70 demographic profile of volunteers taking up such opportunities.

71 Correspondingly, regular grassroots sport volunteers often share a homogeneous  
72 demographic profile, particularly in the UK and Western societies more broadly. Such  
73 volunteers are often composed of individuals who identify as being of White ethnicity, are  
74 educated beyond compulsory schooling, are in full-time employment, and occupy higher  
75 socioeconomic classifications (Morgan, 2013; Taylor, Panagouleas, & Nichols, 2012). Such  
76 patterns were reflected in Sport England’s Active Lives Survey (Sport England, 2018).  
77 Although few studies explore the relationship between event volunteers and social class,  
78 Downward and Ralston (2006) suggest that event volunteers may share homologous  
79 demographic characteristics to their grassroots participant counterparts.

### 80 *2.2 The promise of sport event volunteering (?)*

81  
82 Volunteering can provide low-income individuals important opportunities to build and  
83 leverage cultural, human, political and social capital, assets key to poverty reduction  
84 (Benenson & Stagg, 2015). Volunteering at events can yield a variety of individual level

85 benefits that include employability-boosting skill development, social interaction and  
86 friendship, as well as a range of intrinsic and psychological rewards individual to the  
87 participant (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999; Doherty, 2009).

88 To attract groups who would not usually engage in volunteering activities, organisers of  
89 mega-events—such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games—have embedded pre-volunteer  
90 programmes (PVPs) as part of their social legacy planning agendas. Typically scaffolded  
91 around an employability discourse, PVPs provide accredited training to disadvantaged  
92 sections of society and subsequent opportunities to volunteer at major sporting events where  
93 it is hoped that a target quota of PVP graduates will join the volunteer workforce (Nichols &  
94 Ralston, 2011).

95 However, whilst event volunteering opportunities can increase one's employability  
96 (Nichols & Ralston, 2011), Hiller (2006) explains that event managers are more likely to  
97 identify service workers, or office-based “white-collar” employees, as possessing the  
98 desirable characteristics required by event personnel (conscientious, disciplined and image-  
99 conscious), and which ultimately influence their recruitment of volunteers. Minnaert (2012)  
100 stresses that individuals from socially excluded backgrounds are likely to be most in need of  
101 the requisite skills and experience and would therefore require greater levels of training,  
102 supervision, and support. Exacerbating this issue, Handy and Mook (2011) highlight that  
103 training costs for volunteers are prohibitive, and so, as Kim and Bang (2012) note, event  
104 organisers are likely to directly recruit role-ready volunteers. Therefore, in the absence of  
105 PVPs, or access to them, it may prove difficult for individuals without such white-collar  
106 occupational profiles to gain selection for event volunteer roles.

### 107 *2.3 (Repeat) event volunteering*

108 Individuals may volunteer for a one-off-event where they would be considered an episodic  
109 volunteer (Handy, Brodeur, and Cnaan, 2006). Handy et al. (2006) differentiate among those

110 who volunteer for up to two events (genuine episodic volunteers), volunteer for more than  
111 three episodes (habitual episodic volunteers), and those who are committed to regular long-  
112 term volunteering with an organisation (continuous volunteers). Doherty (2009) and Fairley,  
113 Green, O'Brien, & Chalip (2014) further discern between "planning" or "pioneer" volunteers  
114 who are often involved for months or even years before the event, and "games-time"  
115 volunteers who only volunteer for the duration of the event.

116 Multiple motives exist to volunteer. For example, individuals may volunteer to get behind  
117 the scenes, experience the event, build relationships and networks, or contribute to society  
118 (Nichols et al., 2016). The experience of volunteering at an event can serve to instigate or  
119 rekindle an interest in voluntary action, lead to repeat volunteering, or even a volunteering  
120 "career" nourished by the development of a volunteer role identity (Doherty, 2009; Fairley, et  
121 al., 2014; Fairley, Gardiner & Filo, 2016). For example, Doherty (2009) found that first time  
122 event volunteers with no prior voluntary experience strongly anticipated volunteering again at  
123 another event, while also reporting an increased willingness to volunteer in the community  
124 context.

### 125 **3. Theoretical Framework**

#### 126 *3.1 Bourdieu's capitals in focus*

127 For Pierre Bourdieu (1985), a person's position in the class structure is determined by the  
128 volume and composition of capital, or species of power, that they possess. These principal  
129 "powers" are economic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). *Economic* capital  
130 (material wealth and income) is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may  
131 be institutionalised in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 16). *Cultural* capital  
132 includes educational credentials and the possession of legitimate knowledge, skills and tastes.  
133 Indeed, Bourdieu (1986) identified three main types of cultural capital: embodied, objectified,  
134 and institutionalised. *Embodied* cultural capital refers to the long-lasting dispositions of mind

135 and body which inform taste, categories of judgment and bodily comportment; *embodied*  
136 cultural capital is objectified in the form cultural objects such as books, clothes, equipment  
137 and instruments; and educational qualifications and other credentials represent types of  
138 *institutionalised* cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Friedman & Laurison, 2019). Friedman and  
139 Laurison (2019) operationalise one of Bourdieu’s lesser developed types of cultural capital:  
140 *technical* capital—specialised and hands-on know-how that is amassed in occupational  
141 settings. Whilst *social* capital refers to the valuable social connections one can call upon  
142 (Bourdieu, 1985).

143 Classes then, are a space of relationships formed of people possessing similar distributions  
144 of capital. Accordingly, these properties are embodied in a class habitus: the class-based  
145 dispositions of the individual that governs how they perceive, think and act (Bourdieu, 1984).  
146 Patterned according to one’s habitus, a person’s cultural choices—for example, the ways they  
147 engage with sport and physical activity—are a reflection of their tastes, and thus a reification  
148 of cultural capital (Gemar, 2018). Those who possess high stocks of cultural capital are able  
149 to convert their embodied dispositions and cultural knowledge into implicit and explicit  
150 tastes, consumption patterns and styles of life that symbolically function as legitimate and  
151 exclusive forms of culture, consequently reinforcing privilege and class position (Bourdieu,  
152 1984; Gemar, 2018).

153 As Bourdieu (1984) and Friedman and Laurison (2019) illustrate, such processes can  
154 transcend into the organisational workplace. Friedman and Laurison (2019) examined class  
155 mobility within Britain’s elite occupations and suggested that structural (class) privilege  
156 “provides a kind of cultural symmetry with what is valued in the workplace” whereby some  
157 people are viewed as “naturally” suitable for a profession whilst others are deemed unfit,  
158 regardless of their aptitude (p. 126). Judgements of “fit” and capability are therefore based  
159 upon the perceptions of a person’s cultural competency (Friedman & Laurison, 2019). Work

160 culture is bound up in the histories of occupations, and therefore dominant behavioural codes,  
161 the “right” image, and the “right” way to act at work are liable to become institutionalised  
162 over time, and such elements of cultural competency are said to become embodied via and  
163 rooted in middle class socialisation (Bourdieu, 1984; Friedman & Laurison, 2019). Such  
164 embodied forms of cultural capital are therefore predisposed to function as symbolic capital,  
165 often unrecognised as capital, and instead such codes and norms are misrecognised as  
166 “objective” markers of merit (Bourdieu, 1984; Friedman & Laurison, 2019). Occupational  
167 admission then, often requires gatekeepers to recognise and value particular incarnations of  
168 embodied capital alongside the necessary technical capital, thus serving as a form of currency  
169 in the labour market (Friedman & Laurison, 2019). The upshot of this is that those  
170 individuals hailing from outside of the middle-class milieu must decode, decipher, and master  
171 the dominant behavioural codes in order to “get on”, yet most often struggle to do so  
172 (Bourdieu, 1984; Friedman & Laurison, 2019).

### 173 *3.2 Application of Bourdieu’s forms of capitals to sport*

174 Bourdieusian concepts have proven popular in sociological examinations of the relationship  
175 between social class and sports consumption, chiefly focussing on the modes of participation  
176 and spectatorship (Gemar, 2018; Stempel, 2005; White & Wilson, 1999; Wilson, 2002). For  
177 example, research from Canada (White & Wilson, 1999) has reported a positive relationship  
178 between the possession of economic capital (as measured by household income) and cultural  
179 forms of capital, and adult spectatorship at professional sports events. Subsequent studies by  
180 Wilson (2002), Stempel (2005), and Gemar (2018) have investigated adult sport involvement  
181 across North America. Wilson’s (2002) mapping of sport participation and spectatorship in  
182 the US, and Gemar (2018) and Stempel’s (2005) analyses of sport participation in Canada  
183 and the US, respectively, all indicated that social classes highest in economic and cultural  
184 capital were not only more likely to engage in sport more often, but also in a broad range of

185 activities. Although economic capital provides more money to engage with sport, Gemar  
186 (2018), Stempel (2005), and Wilson (2002) emphasised that cultural capital provides a  
187 stronger explanation for the social class-based differences in sporting choices, and one that  
188 accords with Bourdieu's (1984) principle of cultural distinction—whereby the dominant  
189 cultural class fractions attempt to distance themselves from those below them. Cultural  
190 capital—such as one's preferences, tastes, skills, and knowledge—therefore serves as a marker  
191 of social differences and underpins all cultural consumption (Wilson, 2002).

192 Bourdieusian frameworks have been applied to sport volunteering sparingly. However,  
193 Harvey, Levesque and Donnelly (2007) studied the relationship between social capital and  
194 sport volunteering in two Canadian communities; they found that although long-term  
195 volunteering in a voluntary sport organisation narrowed volunteers' networks—thus limiting  
196 their access to citizens representing a variety of social positions—those within their networks  
197 however, tended to occupy higher status positions in the social hierarchy. The restricting of  
198 social capital can reinforce and homogenise social ties to such an extent as to exclude  
199 “outsiders”, as exposed by Whittaker and Holland-Smith's (2016) research which illustrated  
200 the insidious recruitment of parental volunteers to Scottish rugby union clubs. The research  
201 exemplified above illustrates how social class differences in people's engagement with sport  
202 is not only dictated by economic capital, but that sporting taste and access are intricately  
203 bound to social and cultural capital as well.

### 204 *3.3 Social class and the Great British Class Survey (GBCS)*

205 As the official measure of social stratification currently used in the UK, the National  
206 Statistics, Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) organises people into one of eight  
207 analytic classes according to their employment relation and occupation (Office for National  
208 Statistics, 2010). However, Savage et al. (2013) contend that occupation-based schema which  
209 reduce class to such a discrete categorical variable are unable to “effectively capture the role

210 of social and cultural processes in generating class divisions” (p. 220). More specifically,  
211 Savage et al. (2013) draw several lines of criticism of occupation-based models such as the  
212 NS-SEC: they attach homogenous descriptions to class groups which obviate the analytical  
213 potential to explore intersectionality, they fail to adjust for income variations within  
214 occupations, and the emphasis upon employment relations decentre the influences of wider  
215 cultural and social activities upon class identities.

216 To inductively explore social class on a national scale, Savage et al. (2013), in  
217 collaboration with the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), launched the GBCS, online,  
218 from January 2011 to July 2013. Receiving 325,000 responses, the data amassed from the  
219 GBCS informed the genesis of a new and multi-dimensional approach by which to  
220 understand class formation and differentiate between social classes in Britain. The GBCS  
221 model is based upon the triumvirate of cultural, economic and social capitals originally  
222 theorised by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) to explain how each of these different types of assets or  
223 resources confer particular advantages on the beholder. Savage et al. (2013) argue that the  
224 differing stocks and compositions of capitals possessed by individuals “combine to  
225 generate distinctive class boundaries” and therefore lend insight into class formation (p. 223).

226 The original survey asked questions related to cultural, economic and social capital and  
227 was designed to capture the interplay between these different kinds of capital (Devine &  
228 Snee, 2015; Savage et al., 2013). Information pertaining to economic capital was garnered  
229 using questions about household income, savings and home value (if owned); social capital  
230 was assessed by measuring the range of people’s social ties and the various occupations that  
231 these associations spanned as a measure of status<sup>1</sup> (Savage et al. 2015). Cultural capital was  
232 assayed via questions about respondents’ leisure interests, musical tastes, food preferences

---

<sup>1</sup> As well as recording the number of social contacts one has, social ties were also scored according to the “status” attributed to specific occupational type.

233 and media engagement: this was in order to understand the class patterning of cultural  
234 activities engaged in according to *highbrow*<sup>2</sup> or *emerging*<sup>3</sup> tastes. Savage et al. (2013) then  
235 applied a latent class analysis to garner the observable variables of income and assets, total  
236 number of contacts, mean status scores of contacts, highbrow cultural capital, and emerging  
237 cultural capital to identify unobservable sub-groups within their sample, and subsequently,  
238 cluster them into seven novel social classes. These classes are summarised in Table 1.

239 *Insert Table 1 here*

240 Indeed, the findings of the GBCS highlight, above all, a social polarisation between the  
241 privileged and poor in British society, and second, a fragmentation of middle-class bands  
242 (Devine & Snee, 2015; Savage et al., 2013).

243 Breaking new ground in the academic study of the UK cultural and creative industries,  
244 proponents of the GBCS, Friedman et al. (2016) therefore used the GBCS as a framework  
245 with which to explore the existence of a “class ceiling” for actors from working-class  
246 backgrounds. Utilising data from the GBCS to first assay the social composition of British  
247 actors, Friedman et al. (2016) then drew upon 47 qualitative interviews to examine in richer  
248 depth how uneven distributions of capital amongst this cohort shape opportunities within this  
249 field. Separately, Randle, Forson and Calveley (2015) employ Bourdieu’s capitals as part of a  
250 multi-level analytical framework to qualitatively investigate the lack of diversity in the social  
251 composition of the UK film and television workforce. Randle et al. (2015) argue that social  
252 advantage or disadvantage is mediated by one’s class, and that a resource-based analytical  
253 framework allows for a far more intricate understanding of the social dynamics of  
254 inclusion/exclusion than classificatory schemas informed by discrete demographic variables.

---

<sup>2</sup> A mode of cultural capital, highbrow cultural tastes are “historically sanctioned in the education system” and cultural institutions such as museums and galleries; A traditional marker of cultural status, yet increasingly associated with older generations (Savage, 2015, p.113).

<sup>3</sup> An emerging, flexible and adaptable mode of cultural capital associated with younger generations who valorise engagement in intense forms of contemporary and cosmopolitan cultural activities (Savage, Hanquinet, Cunningham, & Hjellbrekke, 2018).

255 More recently, Friedman and Laurison (2019) similarly used this Bourdieusian framework to  
256 evince a relationship between one’s social origin and social mobility in the UK’s elite  
257 occupations, once again revealing a class ceiling. To this end, we adapt the approach  
258 undertaken by Friedman et al. (2016) to examine the interplay between social class, capital  
259 and event volunteers.

## 260 **4. Methodology**

### 261 *4.1 Methods and interview guide*

262 This research emerges from fieldwork undertaken with 46 volunteers across three  
263 international hockey tournaments hosted by England Hockey—the national governing body  
264 (NGB) for hockey—at the Lee Valley Hockey and Tennis Centre, Queen Elizabeth Olympic  
265 Park and former site of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games (hereon referred to  
266 as “London 2012”). The first phase of data collection placed the first author *in situ* at the  
267 2015 *EuroHockey* tournament, and subsequently in attendance at the 2016 *Champion’s*  
268 *Trophy* during phase 2. The third phase simply involved follow-up telephone interviews with  
269 “Hockey Makers” (the title given by England Hockey to its event volunteers) who had  
270 volunteered at the *Hockey World League* event in the summer of 2017. Each hockey  
271 tournament held at the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park operates at full strength with 300  
272 volunteers. The 2015 tournament was served by 271 hockey makers. The Men’s and  
273 Women’s Champions Trophy tournaments ran during two separate periods in June 2016  
274 availing the services of 350 hockey makers, while the 2017 event utilised 181 hockey makers.

275 Following a similar theoretical and methodological approach by Friedman et al. (2016)  
276 and Friedman and Laurison (2019) and, the first author utilised semi-structured interviews to  
277 gather rich qualitative insights, whilst allowing the flexibility to clarify, probe and explore  
278 participant responses. The semi-structured interviews entailed the following core elements.  
279 The first author enquired about participants’ reasons for and choices in volunteering; to

280 uncover their pathways into hockey making; to establish the extent of their previous event  
281 experience and training; to understand the resources and level of commitment required to  
282 event volunteer, and to ask interviewees to compare hockey making to their working or day-  
283 to-day lives. Participants were questioned about organisational practices such as volunteer  
284 selection and recruitment; the roles they have performed as event volunteers; their  
285 perceptions of role allocation, progression, and the conferring of opportunities for  
286 responsibility and leadership in hockey making. The first author delved into participants'  
287 lived experiences by exploring: what it meant to volunteers to be a hockey maker and, in turn,  
288 what expectations did they have of their fellow event volunteers; what kinds of relationships  
289 had they experienced with their hockey maker peers, and whether they had encountered any  
290 tensions amongst the volunteers during their involvement. All interviews were audio  
291 recorded and transcribed verbatim, and all participants were assigned pseudonyms to ensure  
292 their anonymity.

#### 293 *4.2 Data collection and sampling*

294 A purposive sample of hockey makers actively volunteering at these tournaments was  
295 therefore recruited. To undertake the first two phases of data collection, the first author  
296 attended the 2015 event for 5 days, and then the 2016 event for 10 days, typically spending 6-  
297 8 hours per day in the presence of event volunteers. In phase 1, the first author met and  
298 interviewed 21 volunteers on-site, and arranged a further four telephone interviews with  
299 participants whose availability was affected by their shift patterns. During phase 2, the first  
300 author interviewed an additional 21 hockey makers, and re-interviewed 21 of the previous  
301 cohort. To make efficient use of the research resources available to us, the intention was to  
302 re-interview each participant who had repeat volunteered, at least once. Of the 21 hockey  
303 makers recruited to the sample in stage two, only 11 volunteered at the *Hockey World League*  
304 event in the summer of 2017, and so the first author re-interviewed them via telephone. The

305 46 hockey makers in the sample represented a variety of event departments, including access  
306 control, field of play, event control, logistics, media services, spectator services, statistics,  
307 and team liaison.

308 Following each volunteer's initial interview, all research participants were sent an email  
309 via the first author's smartphone, containing a link to the short interactive BBC Great British  
310 "Class Calculator". The class calculator was designed to mimic the model that Savage et al.  
311 (2013) had generated from the GBCS survey data. The class calculator condenses the GBCS  
312 to a reduced set of indicator questions, although its simplified design has led to concerns that  
313 the categories that it assigns may not always consistently align to those articulated by the  
314 latent class analysis (Devine & Snee, 2015). As a consequence of this, the GBCS class  
315 calculator is said to be particularly susceptible to variability when discerning between the  
316 middle and elite classes. For both the convenience of the participant and in the interest of  
317 practicality in field-based research, the class calculator is therefore used in this study as a  
318 crude diagnostic tool to gauge the social profile of the volunteer sample. In combination, and  
319 alongside filling out consent forms, participants were also asked to complete a monitoring  
320 form which recorded demographic information that included: age, gender, ethnicity,  
321 domicile, and occupation (of which has been translated into an NS-SEC status). Participants'  
322 demographic details have been distilled and illustrated in Table 2, below. This graphic also  
323 includes participants' self-calculated GBCS social classifications and these, alongside  
324 volunteers' NS-SEC grades, are outlined in full within the findings. Of this sample, 24  
325 members were male, 22 were female, with the majority of volunteers (39 out of the 46) of  
326 White ethnicity.

### 327 *4.3 Data analysis*

328 A deductive thematic approach was taken to analyse the data. The data were coded according  
329 to a priori categories informed by the Bourdieusian framework employed in this article, as

330 well those pertaining to “event volunteer motives”, “previous volunteer activities”, “repeat  
331 volunteering”, and “hockey maker event roles”. More specifically, the a priori categories  
332 derived from Bourdieusian ideas included economic capital, social capital, and the various  
333 forms of cultural capital outlined in this article: embodied, institutionalised, objectified, and  
334 technical. In order to ensure the data quality of qualitative findings, and as advocated by  
335 Lincoln and Guba (1985), steps were taken by the research team to enhance data rigour. To  
336 elaborate, stepwise replication (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was used to mutually support the  
337 dependability of findings. To perform stepwise replication, each author first undertook  
338 separate manual analyses of the transcripts yielded from each phase of the fieldwork in  
339 accordance with the aforementioned a priori framework, before reconvening to review the  
340 consistency of one another’s application of the predetermined categories against the data. To  
341 support the credibility of the findings, the capacity to re-interview participants afforded the  
342 opportunity to check whether the data had been accurately understood, interpreted and  
343 represented by the research team. We refer to this practice as undertaking “member  
344 reflections”: a follow-up process that enables the resolving of gaps in data and which  
345 facilitates a natural co-constructed development and elaboration of previously gleaned  
346 information between participant and researcher (Smith & McGannon, 2017).

## 347 **5. Findings and Discussion: Class and Capital(s)**

### 348 *5.1 Discerning volunteers’ social class and patterns of volunteering*

349 As illustrated by the demographic information presented in Table 2, the results of the  
350 volunteers’ self-administered GBCS calculator demonstrate a predominance of hockey  
351 makers hailing from the model’s three middle class categories, with 29 volunteers falling  
352 within these bands. Add to this the three hockey makers that place in the elite category, this  
353 therefore renders over 70 per cent of the study’s sample in the middle classes or above. The  
354 precise breakdown of participants GBCS reporting is as follows: 3 participants were recorded

355 as elite; 18 in the established middle class; 6 in the technical middle class; 5 were calculated  
356 to be new affluent workers; 3 were assigned to the traditional working classes; 3 were typed  
357 as emerging service workers; 3 participants were students and so their results are not reported  
358 here, and the remaining volunteers did not respond to this exercise.

359 *Insert Table 2 here*  
360  
361

362 In spite of their structural and theoretical differences, Payne (2013) states that the GBCS and  
363 the NS-SEC present “remarkably similar” class formats to one another. When mapping  
364 hockey makers onto the NS-SEC categories by occupation (or if a student, by proxy of their  
365 parent’s occupation), 34 hockey makers align to NS-SEC I and II (managerial, administrative  
366 and professional occupations); 7 participants classify as NS-SEC III (clerical and  
367 intermediate occupations); categories IV (small employers and own account workers) and V  
368 (lower supervisory and technical occupations) were each represented by a single volunteer; 3  
369 occupied NS-SEC positions VI and VII (semi-routine and routine occupations), and none of  
370 the participants occupied NS-SEC VIII (never worked or long-term unemployed) (Friedman  
371 & Laurison, 2019; Office for National Statistics, 2010). Despite their conceptual differences,  
372 this mapping exercise does not paint a wildly different picture of social class between the NS-  
373 SEC and GBCS.

#### 374 *5.2 Applying a capitals-based framework to qualitatively explore sport event volunteering*

375 The GBCS provides a useful framework by which to assign volunteers a social class  
376 according to the combinations and stocks of cultural, economic and social capital that they  
377 possess. Thus, the GBCS social classes are inextricably bound to Bourdieu’s principal  
378 capitals, yet, what such class categories cannot do is illustrate how capitals serve to affect  
379 volunteer engagement in practice. To do this, we now turn to the qualitative analysis of the  
380 resources conferred upon interviewees and, using the capitals model advocated by Freidman

381 et al. (2016) and Savage et al. (2013), investigate the mechanisms that serve to enable or  
382 inhibit certain social classes from event volunteering.

### 383 *5.2.1 Economic capital*

384 The economic resources required by hockey makers to enable them to volunteer were the  
385 most explicitly identifiable, and Carrie, a volunteer event manager, perspicuously described  
386 the substantial financial outlay that it costs her to volunteer for the duration of an event:

387 I've spent sixteen hundred quid attending here, plus I've obviously had to pay for two  
388 weeks holiday, so it's probably cost me four grand. I've got twenty-two days holiday,  
389 but I've got a flexible scheme so I can buy an extra fifteen days. So, I've bought an  
390 extra fifteen days, so that's come off my salary and then I'm taking the two weeks of  
391 my holiday right here.

392 That Carrie can also afford to buy herself out of work for a further fifteen days implies the  
393 volume of economic advantage at her disposal. As well as assessing hockey makers'  
394 economic capital in relation to participants' salaries, volunteers like Rose rely on separate  
395 economic assets in the form of property to fund her volunteering excursions to London:

396 It costs me six hundred pound [sterling] doing this for two weeks. I let my house out  
397 when I'm here. I got back six hundred. So, for me, it's a nil-cost experience. I think if  
398 I couldn't recoup the money, I probably wouldn't do it.

399 Bourdieu (1986) explained that property ownership presents an economic resource, and  
400 economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money – a notion exemplified  
401 by Rose's ability to subsidise her volunteering by renting out her home to holidaymakers. As  
402 Friedman, O'Brien and Laurison (2016) point out, due to material inequalities, those  
403 occupying the middle classes (and above) tend to possess or have access to greater economic  
404 resources than those from lower class backgrounds or occupations, and this affords  
405 volunteers such as Carrie and Rose the capacity to undertake periods of what is essentially

406 unpaid labour, often based at considerable distances away from their homes.

### 407 *5.2.2 Cultural capital*

408 Stempel (2005) drew on Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital as part of a framework to  
409 explain that sport participation is highly class exclusive regardless of one’s economic capital  
410 or natural sporting ability, iterating the importance of explicating how exclusionary processes  
411 in sport-based contexts operate through forms of non-economic capital possessed by the  
412 dominant classes. Within a culturally domineering system, exclusive access to “valued and  
413 valuable resources, positions, activities and institutions” hinges not only upon one’s  
414 possession of economic capital and bona fide credentials, but also on their often unconscious  
415 knowing, embodiment and mastery of such tacit behavioural and social codes (Friedman &  
416 Laurison, 2019; Stempel, 2005, p. 413). In this context, entry into and progression within  
417 formalised organisations are therefore based on a person’s possession of “legitimate” forms  
418 of cultural capital—cultural competencies, knowledge, and dispositions that are heavily and  
419 silently endowed via one’s home environments, personal networks and occupational milieu.  
420 Stempel (2005) further contends that according to cultural capital processes, people are  
421 evaluated by institutional gatekeepers as autonomous individuals whereby a person’s  
422 competencies, embodied dispositions and mental abilities are all too often perceived as  
423 personally achieved, while class-based differences are ignored, and inequalities and  
424 exclusions persist.

425 In this part of the discussion therefore, we demonstrate that access and inclusion in event  
426 volunteering is interdependent upon requisite compositions and volumes of cultural capital as  
427 possessed and performed by hockey makers. To do this, we first illustrate how the possession  
428 of technical cultural capital facilitates access to event volunteering opportunities, before  
429 demonstrating how institutionally valued experience and forms of cultural capital embodied  
430 as “dispositions of the mind and body” serve as critical yet often tacit “currency” for

431 prospective volunteers to “get in” and “get on” as hockey makers (Bourdieu, 1986, p.47).

432 *5.2.2.1 “Getting in”: the role of technical and institutional cultural capital*

433 As a prerequisite to their selection to serve as hockey makers, Julie highlights that volunteers  
434 must first demonstrate that they possess satisfactory levels of prior experience:

435 All of these events have got boxes that they’ve got to tick, so “have they done this?”  
436 and “have they done that?” Speaking to various people who are like “yeah, I’ve done  
437 this event and I’ve done that one”, you do tend to get people that once they’ve done it  
438 they’ll do other events.

439 Here, Julie offers a broad sense of the volume of cultural capital in the form of knowledge  
440 and skills that individuals need to possess to be considered for hockey maker selection, her  
441 comments indicating the portfolio of experience that volunteers must accumulate prior to  
442 taking up their positions at the events. Relatedly, existing hockey makers demonstrated their  
443 knowledge of this system by explaining the strategies that they have undertaken to accrue the  
444 requisite levels of cultural capital to guarantee their selection, and this involves building up  
445 their events-based experience by participating in preceding tournaments: “I kind of thought  
446 that I had to get into it a bit earlier, so I volunteered earlier this year at the national indoor  
447 fives. Thought that might give me more chance to get into this one.” (Cindy). In the same  
448 vein, Carrie, a senior events volunteer manager, outlines the instrumental role of the  
449 London 2012 in driving her continued participation as a hockey maker:

450 I started with the team liaison role in 2007 and my pure aim was to get experience on  
451 my CV to work at the Olympics. So, I did the 2007 Euro’s, 2008 Euro Indoors, and  
452 the Champion’s Trophy in 2011.”

453 Fairley et al. (2014) and Fairley et al. (2016) have demonstrated that the attainment of  
454 relevant experience can be a key motive for volunteers who either want to use a specific  
455 event as practise for a main event, or alternatively to facilitate access to another event of

456 special interest to them. Such a strategy appears an effective one in the context of hockey  
457 making, as England Hockey capitalise on a legacy effect of events past by demonstrating  
458 continuity in their deployment of volunteers already endowed with the requisite technical  
459 capital. Sanjeet’s transition into hockey making depicts this: “I was lucky enough to be  
460 chosen for accreditation, which is what I did in the Olympics, then went for the training  
461 before coming here for the actual event.” Whilst using previous major-event volunteering as a  
462 recommended facet of the screening process facilitates the recruitment of a “readymade”  
463 supply of trained personnel that serves to promote volunteer satisfaction and retention  
464 (Fairley et al., 2016), it may also run the risk of locking out “first-timers” or those who are  
465 inexperienced (Friedman et al., 2016).

466 Furthermore, and in congruence with Friedman and Laurison’s (2019) research, it  
467 became heavily apparent that access to and the allocation of roles in hockey event  
468 volunteering was contingent upon both the embodied and technical forms of cultural capital  
469 perceived of the volunteers by “gatekeepers”. As is common in event management, the  
470 tournament organisers screened hockey maker applicants to ensure that they possessed the  
471 knowledge, skills and experiences that fit the needs of the operation (Kim & Bang, 2012):  
472 “When you apply, they never tell you why you have been chosen. In this one, I guessed it’s  
473 because they’ve got a database showing what I did for the Paralympics, so didn’t feel the  
474 need to interview me and just offered me the role. But this was my fourth choice”  
475 (Lawrence). Lawrence, a former Games Maker, further explained that the series of major  
476 events following the London 2012 Games has enabled England Hockey to “build a core of  
477 maybe 60, 70% who’ve done it here before, so by the end of it you’ve got a very proficient  
478 and efficient team who know the ropes”—a pool of hockey makers who are ‘event tested’ and  
479 trained for future events. As well as indicating the significance of possessing field-specific  
480 technical capital in the volunteer selection process, Lawrence’s comments further imply the

481 institutional value<sup>4</sup> that is placed on applicants' previous event volunteering undertaken either  
482 "in-house", as London 2012 Games Makers, or with other NGBs, by selectors.

483 *5.2.2.2 "Getting on": when embodied cultural capital "comes into its own"*

484 By examining the allocation of positions of leadership and responsibility within event  
485 volunteering is when the influence of embodied cultural capital is perhaps most clearly  
486 evinced. In the following passage, a senior volunteer manager emphasises the need to audit  
487 and rate volunteers in order to deploy them accordingly:

488 I think you have to ask "Are we doing some sort of ranking of the volunteers?" A sort  
489 of scale, one out of ten, eight out of ten or whatever, so that we know for future so  
490 that we're actually getting the experience, we get people in the right jobs. I said to the  
491 manager today "Are we marking up the good ones?" But, I think the main thing is  
492 you've got to have strong team leaders who communicate all the time. (Carrie)

493 Transcending technical capital, Carrie emphasises the salience of team leaders who can  
494 display dominant behavioural codes—embodied capital characterised by a commanding and  
495 confident manner, and strong communication skills—traits often associated with upper-middle  
496 class backgrounds (Friedman & Laurison, 2019). Rose speaks of "marking up" volunteers,  
497 and like the screening process for new recruits, this further feeds into the notion that  
498 volunteers are both evaluated and deployed on the basis of individual assessments according  
499 to cultural criteria recognised as legitimate by hockey makers from dominant (and middle and  
500 elite) class groups (Friedman & Laurison, 2019; Stempel, 2005). Little mention is made of  
501 providing training and upskilling opportunities for volunteers who do not yet meet such  
502 standards. As a further example of how such cultural capital plays out in this context, Kathy,  
503 a volunteer team leader in the access control department, explains that "I apply for team

---

<sup>4</sup> Cultural signals that are both recognised and shared across organisations and are thus given high status by selectors (Stempel, 2005).

504 leader roles because I've been a higher manager. I've managed a team of fifty, sixty, seventy  
505 staff." Fiona tidily pulls this narrative together by highlighting the homogenous nature of the  
506 hockey makers, the experience that they possess and their self-perceived ability to lead  
507 others: "Everybody I know that volunteers are from similar backgrounds to me; either started  
508 at the Olympics or, we all know how to manage people." This accords with data revealed in  
509 Friedman and Laursion's (2019) study of class mobility within elite occupations that those  
510 from middle and upper class backgrounds are most assured, comfortable and at ease in  
511 adopting such leadership roles and performing them in a culturally 'legitimate' manner that is  
512 socially approved by team leaders and managers.

513 Whilst this approach to role allocation and event management is not surprising, it does  
514 indicate that young people and/or those in occupations below those affiliated to the middle-  
515 class social categories, for example, may be peripheralised from accessing a variety of  
516 volunteer positions and levels of responsibility, and as a consequence, opportunities to  
517 enhance their experience. It was also clear that the filling of management and leadership roles  
518 was automatically determined and directly allotted to those with comparable and prerequisite  
519 experience, regardless of whether the volunteers nominated for the position had actually  
520 opted for such duties:

521 I'm not looking to have lots of responsibility as a volunteer. One of the reasons for  
522 that is I volunteer for a break, but I've ended up as team leader. I had resisted being  
523 team leader because I thought there would be an opportunity for somebody younger  
524 who may gain experience by doing it, but I was talked into it. (Greg)

525 Greg, a former Games Maker and a manager during his career, was persuaded to take on a  
526 volunteer role of greater responsibility than he was looking for due to his prior level of  
527 experience. However, Greg outlined that he was "resistant" to do so because he would have  
528 rather used his experience to mentor a younger volunteer who might have benefitted from

529 the responsibility of the position. Greg’s comments demonstrate that those lacking the  
530 requisite experience are likely to be overlooked for selection in volunteer leadership and  
531 management positions, thus illustrating how volunteer selection is concentrated around stocks  
532 of desirable cultural capital, ultimately starving those “less qualified” from accumulating  
533 such resources. Greg’s example illustrates that opportunities for gaining responsibility and  
534 leadership experience are restricted by gatekeepers to such roles, to a limited number of  
535 volunteers who they deem eligible (Friedman & Laurison, 2019).

536 Offering an insight into such “eligibility”, the projection of dominant behavioural codes  
537 congruent with event volunteer cultural competency serves to veil the construction and  
538 imposition of power by chief organising groups (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Friedman &  
539 Laurison, 2019).

540 To gain a sense of this, Sanjeet, a seasoned event volunteer, provides a clear sense of what  
541 he perceives the role of event volunteer to entail:

542 I see a lot of volunteers together – they’re talking, they’re chatting, but you’re here to  
543 look after the customers: you’re here to do your job. Split yourselves up and start  
544 helping the customers, the spectators. Make sure that they’re having a good  
545 experience. You can talk with your friends during your break times, not out there  
546 when you should be working. It is a job. You do have a job to do, even though we’re  
547 volunteering and we could walk off whenever we like, we’re here, we’ve gone  
548 through the process. Lots of other people have applied and haven’t managed to get the  
549 role. So, you’ve been chosen to do the job – just do the job.

550 In this example, Sanjeet projects his expectations for the conduct of event volunteers when on  
551 duty during an event. In doing this, Sanjeet admonishes various aspects of some volunteers’  
552 behaviour which do not conform to his own standards, ostensibly exalting his own conduct as  
553 the legitimate conduct. Graham adopts a similar mind-set to Sanjeet:

554           What sort of irks me and I know, speaking to other volunteers is similar, is that you  
555           give your time so you want the time to be used. The idea of an early start is anathema,  
556           really. If you wanted an early finish, you'd have just gone on holiday.

557 Both Graham and Sanjeet seemingly approach their volunteer roles as they would a paid job,  
558 and it frustrates them when some of their peers do not share the same philosophy. It can be  
559 posited here that Graham and Sanjeet's embodied conduct as volunteers mirrors the  
560 behavioural codes of their technical middle-class occupations, and which have subsequently  
561 become institutionalised norms as seasoned hockey makers (Bourdieu, 1984; Friedman &  
562 Laurison, 2019). We can liken Graham and Sanjeet's embodied volunteer dispositions to  
563 Friedman and Laurison's (2019) notion of "patient diligence", a work ethic that is  
564 characterised by a sustained commitment to a role or task, and who see it through to  
565 completion. Hillen (2006) corroborates that event volunteer recruiters are likely to view such  
566 characteristics as desirable, and the cultural display of such dominant behavioural codes is  
567 likely to yield symbolic capital from senior volunteers and volunteer managers when  
568 symbolic resources are perceptibly limited. Friedman and Laurison (2019) state that it is often  
569 those of middle and lower-senior management positions whom are most responsible for  
570 enacting and socialising dominant work cultures. As a parallel, in the current study it appears  
571 to be the case that it is seasoned event volunteers whom typically belong to either the elite,  
572 established, or the technical middle classes who ostensibly project a cultural discourse onto  
573 other volunteers.

574           The implications of the wielding of such symbolic capital by stalwart event volunteers, is  
575 that those prospective or new hockey makers may not have had any prior access to such  
576 professional standards, and this may deter or debar them from future volunteering. Such  
577 forms of symbolic capital may therefore be perpetrated upon some volunteers to control or  
578 chide their behaviour, as Arun alludes to when describing the social context of the volunteer

579 environment: “Is it inclusive? Is it? I’ve had a set to. They don’t own you; they can try and  
580 control you and you have to say “no!” Such ostensibly overbearing behaviour draws  
581 similarities with research on Australian pioneer volunteers, a “so-called ‘elite’ group” of  
582 experienced event volunteers engaged in self-policing behaviour, and who would ostracize  
583 those individuals who did not commit to the role the effort and time that was expected  
584 amongst this select group (Fairley et al., 2014, p. 241). As Arun went on to suggest, this  
585 process is likely to be perpetuated and solidified further with the advent of a senior  
586 management volunteer layer that is to be formally embedded within the England Hockey  
587 event volunteer delivery structure:

588         If I’m not mistaken, they will turn that into a more professional body. So, over the  
589         years they realise which people can actually do which roles to the max, and it will  
590         make it a lot more professional than it is. So, I think, in sections they might turn  
591         around and say we’re going to turn this into a professional body and when it comes to  
592         tournaments we know who we’re going to get, what their strengths are.

593 According to Arun, the events arm of the England Hockey organisation is moving to adopt a  
594 volunteer model akin to that of a paid organisation and that will be characterised by a formal  
595 division of defined roles that are to be delivered to professional standards and overseen by a  
596 senior volunteer management layer. A concern here may be that, where organisations already  
597 “know who we are going to get”, such a senior volunteer management layer may perpetuate  
598 tacit entry or role requirements and look to allocate key roles to those—like themselves—who  
599 are perceived to demonstrate, for example, a patient diligence in the acquitting of their duties.  
600 If this is the case, then those prospective volunteers who lack in the appropriate forms of  
601 cultural capital may be squeezed out of potentially transformative opportunities.

### 602 *5.2.3 Social capital*

603 For Bourdieu (1986) and Friedman and Laurison (2019), it follows that those of more

604 privileged class backgrounds are better positioned to utilise and accrue cultural capital in  
605 order to access opportunities such as event volunteering, cultural capital which, they explain,  
606 is convertible to social capital – and which represents an influential factor in hockey makers’  
607 repeat event volunteering. Chiming with previous sport event volunteer research (Doherty,  
608 2009; Fairley et al., 2014; & Fairley et al., 2016), the seasoned event volunteers amongst the  
609 hockey makers typically reported that a key reason as to why they continue to volunteer is the  
610 sense of belonging that they receive from regularly reconvening with fellow volunteers,  
611 people who they refer to as their friends: “Meeting up with all my chums again. I mean,  
612 people like Martha and Rose. People like Eddie, Dan and Alan. I’ve worked on loads of  
613 events with them. It’s just like a little club that you all meet up again” (Carrie).

614 Such systems of social capital were particularly established amongst volunteers who  
615 occupied key leadership and management positions. It became apparent that hockey makers  
616 regularly sought out a plurality of event-based volunteer opportunities from which they  
617 frequently crossed paths with each other, thus serving to strengthen these close networks:

618       I see people that I volunteer with here volunteering at the same events. There  
619       was a guy who was a friend of mine from Tournament X who was a hockey maker,  
620       and there were other hockey makers who I knew that were from the Olympics as  
621       well. So, events are kind of a circuit, an all-round thing that people do. (Frank)

622 Here, Frank explains that sport events present “circuits” by which many volunteers, who are  
623 also hockey makers, itinerantly move between. As Randle et al. (2015) suggest, when social  
624 networks develop and operate in this way, they can advantageously reinforce people’s will to  
625 volunteer due to a sense of camaraderie, yet in contrast, they can also serve to restrict entry to  
626 those who are absent of recognisable capitals. Further to this, such close networks can serve  
627 as gatekeepers of social capital (Friedman et al., 2016), and subsequently, entry to  
628 opportunities to volunteer at sport events like the hockey tournaments discussed in this

629 article: “I’ve been volunteering consistently since London 2012. I’ve got a few friends who  
630 were hockey makers prior to me joining” (Sanjeet). This, of course, helps to grow an  
631 organisation’s volunteer pool of individuals endowed with “legitimate” cultural competence.  
632 On the other hand, however, it may lead to a saturation of a particular demographic, which on  
633 the evidence presented in this study, might appear as middle-class professionals. Returning to  
634 Lawrence’s comments, and the notion that an organisation can build up a core of returning  
635 volunteers, contributes to the perpetuation of a homogenous network of voluntary personnel,  
636 much akin to the mechanisms of social capital reported to operate by Whittaker et al. (2016)  
637 in grassroots sport clubs and whereby the recruitment of volunteers is actually quite  
638 exclusionary. This, of course, is a valuable and powerful legacy effect, but it does raise the  
639 question as to whether certain sections of the community are frozen out of such  
640 developmental volunteer opportunities, or if new volunteers of non-middle-class backgrounds  
641 feel a similar sense of belonging and inclusion. Ian’s comments below might suggest  
642 otherwise:

643       You get the same people coming back every time. So, at times I felt a little scared that  
644       I would be stood back and quite withdrawn because you might have these collectives  
645       of people who’ve known each other for a significant amount of time and coming in as  
646       a fresh face, them thinking “Who’s this plonker?” So, I felt, at times, that I might be  
647       sitting on my own and just getting on with it, really. (Ian)

648 Seemingly in opposition to the feelings of belonging experienced by certain hockey makers,  
649 and stemming from an absence of social capital, Ian felt more peripheral to the core of event  
650 volunteer stalwarts.

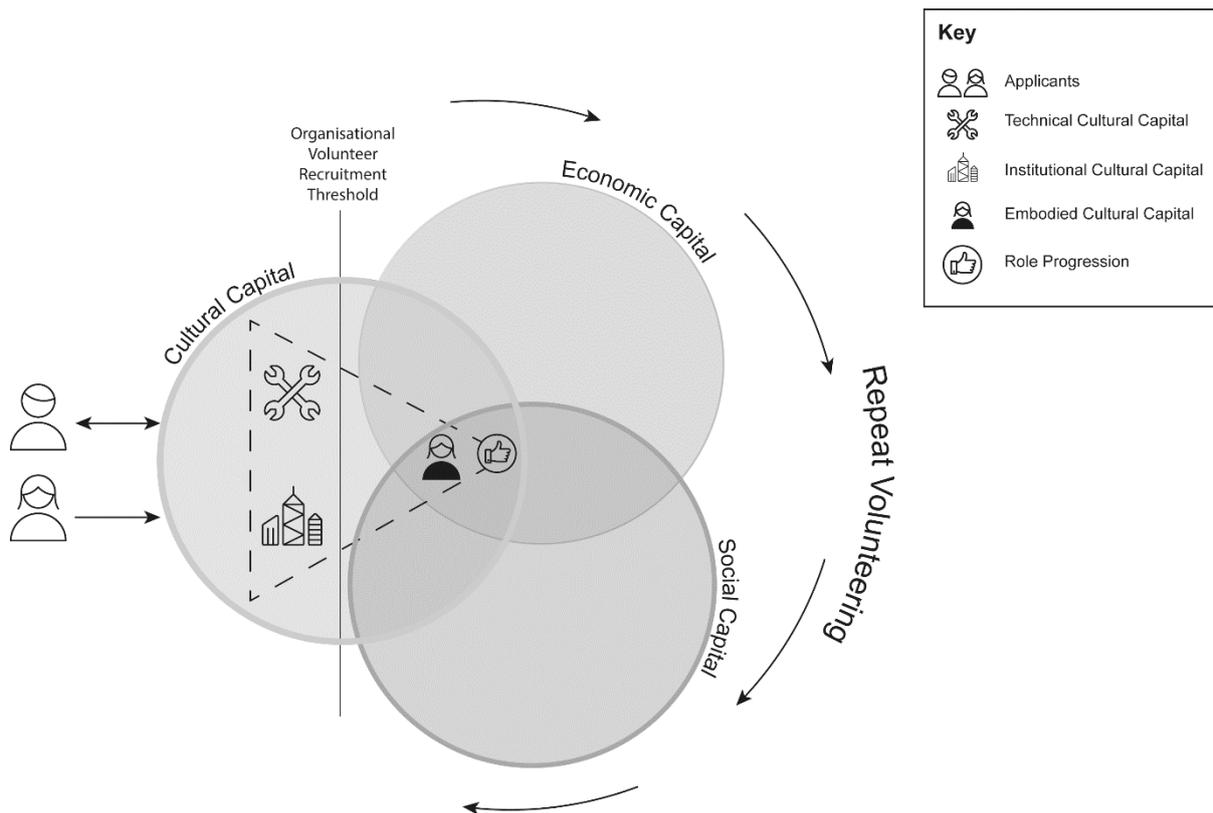
### 651 *5.3 Repeat volunteering*

652 To provide further insight into the composition of volunteering undertaken by participants,  
653 and when further consulting Table 2 (above), only 10 participants exclusively volunteer at

654 hockey events (denoted by \*). Indeed, what became clear when speaking to volunteers was  
655 the assortment of interests that shaped their volunteer habits—many of whom who did not  
656 identify as hockey ‘enthusiasts’—thus demonstrating that an appetite and willingness to  
657 volunteer in activities which are not necessarily confined to specific sporting interests has  
658 been stirred. To exemplify this, in total, 25 hockey makers from this sample are, or have  
659 been, involved in grassroots sport volunteering (GSV), and 15 hockey makers undertake non-  
660 sport-related volunteering (NSV). What is more, of the study sample, 16 participants  
661 volunteer at both multi-sport mega-events such as the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth  
662 Games, London 2012, the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, the Rio Olympic and  
663 Paralympic Games 2016, and major hockey events (indicated by \*\*). Notably, 30 participants  
664 volunteered at London 2012 (LGM), and England Hockey has seemingly been able to take  
665 advantage of and tap into this volunteer pool by providing “transition opportunities” for  
666 former Games Makers via its portfolio of consecutive events (Fairley et al., 2014). In utilising  
667 the GBCS to profile volunteers in this way, our data suggests that citizens of middle and elite  
668 class backgrounds demonstrate a particular proclivity towards volunteering at major events,  
669 such as London 2012. Lastly, a trend of repeat volunteering by hockey makers is also clearly  
670 indicative from Table 2.

#### 671 *5.4 Proposed model of sport event volunteering*

672 By way of summary, we have distilled our findings into a model—represented in Fig. 1—to  
673 illustrate the interplay of cultural, economic and social capital to drive first time and repeat  
674 volunteering. In the first instance—and as Fig. 1 depicts—our research suggests that technical  
675 cultural capital and institutionally valued experience are key to applicants’ success at the  
676 volunteer selection phase. Once in situ, the ability to financially subsidise oneself (economic  
677 capital) over the course of the event underpins sustained attendance, as does the relationships  
678 (social capital) that unfold and develop between the event volunteers. Embodied cultural



679

680 **Fig. 1.** Proposed model of event volunteer selection, progression, and repeat volunteering, as  
 681 informed by the conceptual triad of cultural, economic, and social capital.

682

683 capital plays an important role in the relationships that develop due to the recognition of  
 684 behavioural codes, tastes and dispositions amongst volunteers of similar backgrounds. In this  
 685 very vein, the possession of embodied traits by certain hockey makers which are tacitly  
 686 evaluated as cultural competence by event volunteer managers, and in combination with their  
 687 technical and institutional cultural capital, can serve to facilitate their role progression and  
 688 access to volunteer leadership positions. Subsequently, the cultural capital to “get in”, “get  
 689 by” and “get on” in event volunteering, together with the money to do so, as well as the sense  
 690 of relatedness and the social resources to be tapped into, combine to promote repeat  
 691 volunteering at future events, hockey-related or not.

692 **6 Conclusion**

693 Within this article we have utilised the Bourdieusian-informed GBCS framework–

694 supplemented by the NS-SEC—to broadly gauge the social composition of a cohort of sport  
695 event volunteers. Skewed towards the middle-class social class bandings, the demographic  
696 make-up of the volunteers in the current sample is consistent with the profile of regular  
697 grassroots sport volunteers (Morgan, 2013; Taylor, Panagouleas, & Nichols, 2012), and  
698 therefore demonstrates limited participation by individuals from low socio-economic  
699 backgrounds. By adapting the capitals-based conceptual framework previously utilised by  
700 Friedman and Laurison (2019) and Friedman et al. (2016), the article then went on to  
701 demonstrate how the role of cultural, economic and social capital facilitated hockey makers’  
702 access to and the continuation of their volunteering. Not only did the application of this  
703 framework allow us to examine the individual resources possessed by volunteers that enabled  
704 and encouraged them to contribute to England Hockey’s event volunteer pool, by contrast, it  
705 inversely demonstrates how an absence of such means may serve to “freeze out” others from  
706 such opportunities.

### 707 *6.1 Implications for practice*

708 A solution to rebalancing issues of access and inclusion is likely to be highly complex and  
709 sits outside of the aims of this article. However, and as Friedman and Laurison (2019)  
710 outline, Bourdieu’s framework provides clues as to the potential for NGBs such as England  
711 Hockey to leverage social outcomes for prospective volunteers from classes outside of the  
712 elite and middle-class tranches. Bourdieu conceives social mobility or social inertia to be  
713 shaped both by an individual’s volume of capital as well as its composition. In addition,  
714 Bourdieu also considered an important third dimension, which is the change in these two  
715 properties over time (Friedman & Laurison, 2019), and thus repeat volunteering across a suite  
716 of events can provide a vehicle by which to reshape an individual’s overall stock of capital  
717 for the better. To bring about such an objective, one suggestion maybe to reconsider the role  
718 for PVPs connected to “sub-mega” events, so to attract more volunteers from less affluent

719 backgrounds. Nichols and Ralston (2011) have shown that PVPs do possess potential to  
720 convert some major event episodic volunteers to committed long-term volunteers. In their  
721 research from the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games, Nichols and Ralston (2011)  
722 highlight the influential role that the chained implementation of a PVP, in-event volunteering  
723 experience, and then engagement with a post-games volunteer programme, played in  
724 enhancing the skills, social contacts and employability of participants from disadvantaged  
725 backgrounds. This strategy, coupled with the euphoria and personal development that can be  
726 experienced at sport events can deepen and broaden motivation to continue to volunteer  
727 (Downward & Ralston, 2006; Nichols et al., 2016).

728 PVPs have traditionally been set-up in association with multi-sport mega-events such as  
729 the Olympic and Paralympic Games, yet this is not usually the case within large single-sport  
730 international events. However, as England and the UK more widely continue to regularly host  
731 international major events, and as current sport and physical activity strategies stipulate a  
732 desire for “the demographics of volunteers in sport to become more representative of society  
733 as a whole” (Sport England 2016a, p. 23; 2016b), large-scale sporting events present an  
734 important opportunity by which to promote voluntary action. Of course, the imperative for  
735 host NGBs is to ensure that sport events are run successfully and, as such, organisers may  
736 favour those middle-class “professionals” whom ostensibly possess the immediate skills and  
737 attributes necessary to “hit the ground running”. However, funding could be streamed from  
738 Sport England’s (2017) recently established Major Event Engagement Fund<sup>5</sup> to support  
739 NGBs to create their own PVP models to recruit, train and remunerate potential event  
740 volunteers, guaranteeing the inclusion and integration of a pre-set quota of participants from  
741 lower socio-economic backgrounds. As a starting point, for example, NGBs could look to

---

<sup>5</sup> This fund can invest up to £2m in organisations seeking to develop programmes that engage communities and individuals local to the major event (Sport England, 2018)

742 partner with UK-based sport-for-employment charities that typically operate in socially  
743 deprived communities (Street League, 2020), and some of which neighbour both former and  
744 current major event sites. Once recruited, experienced and senior event volunteers could be  
745 “buddied-up” with new volunteer ‘interns’ to train and be “shadowed” by them (McGillivray,  
746 McPherson, & Mackay, 2013). As Downward and Ralston (2006) have demonstrated,  
747 volunteering at a mega-event coupled with an enhanced sense of personal development can  
748 increase an individual’s inclination to volunteer again in future, and this effect is said to be  
749 more pronounced in younger persons. In this way, such partnerships would contribute to the  
750 employability discourse enacted by such sport-for-employment charities, whilst theoretically  
751 enhancing participants’ future intentions to volunteer and their awareness of opportunities to  
752 do so.

753 Issues of class notwithstanding, the portfolio of major events supported by England  
754 Hockey has provided a consistent platform from which to support and promote repeat  
755 volunteering in order to deliver a series of international events, and this is a positive  
756 testament to the organisation. By hosting consecutive major events, England Hockey has  
757 been able to provide a series of transition opportunities for those with previous major event  
758 experience to volunteer again, whilst utilising the skills that such individuals bring in return:  
759 such opportunities proving particularly popular with former London 2012 Games Makers.  
760 The hockey makers in this sample largely present a combination of long-term committed  
761 volunteers and genuine episodic volunteers (Handy et al., 2006), and the serial nature of their  
762 event volunteering forms an important part of this analysis. By integrating a Bourdieusian  
763 approach to the class analysis of hockey makers’ volunteerism, it can be posited that event  
764 volunteering in itself may represent an activity that is valorised as an emerging mode of  
765 cultural capital. To elaborate, the GBCS classes reveal that particularly the traditional  
766 working class and precariat classes score low in their interest for emerging capital, and as

767 Savage (2015) points out, cultural divisions map onto social divisions. If event volunteering  
768 represents a form of emerging cultural tastes, then it may add to the complexity of attempting  
769 to diversify the volunteer workforce via the implementation of practices such as those  
770 proffered above. To expound, as a reflection of the expressions of capital embodied in and  
771 valued by one's class-based habitus, lower class groups may simply be disengaged from such  
772 formal cultural events, preferring instead informal leisure activities. Added to this, classes,  
773 such as the traditional working class, emergent service workers, and precariat—who possess  
774 limited social contacts and/or contacts that do not rank highly in occupational status—are less  
775 likely to receive invitations to volunteer from members of classes or occupational groups that  
776 do volunteer (Savage et al., 2013).

777 Furthermore, and whilst Doherty (2009) states that although first-time or “one-off” event  
778 volunteering can both upskill participants, enhance their stocks and compositions of capital,  
779 and lead to continued volunteering, the social “promise” of event volunteering is not without  
780 caveats. Not only might it be difficult to draw members of non-elite and non-middle class  
781 groups into event volunteering programmes, it may also prove challenging to retain them. As  
782 the current research illustrates, even if individuals from outside of the elite and middle classes  
783 do volunteer at a major sport event, dominant behavioural codes manifest by serial  
784 volunteers—who potentially might hail from middle and elite classes—may discourage them  
785 from continuing. As Friedman and Laurison (2019) expound, organisational strategies to  
786 remedy such symbolic practises should go beyond supporting individuals from under-  
787 represented backgrounds to orientate to existing event volunteer cultures and behavioural  
788 norms, and instead interrogate and actively seek to re-orientate the prevailing culture to  
789 promote the self-actualisation of volunteers from diverse backgrounds. To facilitate a more  
790 equitable culture, Friedman and Laurison (2019) suggest that organisations should  
791 objectively classify merit so that personnel are not advantaged or disadvantaged according to

792 subjectively judged behavioural codes and routine decisions about competence. Additionally,  
793 the raising of awareness of such subjective and often unconscious processes, and the informal  
794 practices that they can foment, should be driven forward by senior personnel and in  
795 conjunction with the introduction or enforcement of institutional guidelines that articulate  
796 formal procedures through which recruitment, role allocation and progression must occur  
797 (Freidman & Laurison, 2019). As Friedman and Laurison (2019) state, it is senior personnel,  
798 of middle and elite class profiles that are often “most responsible for enacting and  
799 ‘socialising’ dominant work cultures” (p.235), and it is therefore these individuals who are  
800 best placed to champion the needs and dispositions of volunteers entering from under-  
801 represented backgrounds, and who are critical to projecting an inclusive event volunteer  
802 culture. Thus, systems such as PVPs and volunteer mentoring present important mechanisms  
803 through which to integrate individuals from underrepresented backgrounds and support their  
804 progression to volunteer at events proper.

805 In any case, NGBs should pay more attention to who is and who is not volunteering at  
806 the major international tournaments that they host, and we would encourage them to adopt a  
807 measure of social class when doing so, whether that takes the form of the GBCS or the single  
808 measure NS-SEC official schema. To encourage them to do this, sport councils might  
809 consider incentivising more inclusive recruitment, training and retention practices by  
810 rewarding those NGBs that are able to appreciably increase diversity amongst their event  
811 volunteer ranks, with added investment. Sport England for example, are currently set up to  
812 reward sports governing bodies who are successful in raising levels of physical activity and  
813 sports participation within their club structures with additional investment via “accelerator  
814 funding” mechanisms (Sport England, 2016a), and volunteering could be included more  
815 explicitly within such a reward-investment system.

816 *6.2 Limitations and future research*

817 A limitation of this article is that it does not draw upon the insights of paid event staff and  
818 managers as a means of understanding working practices or to corroborate data provided by  
819 the volunteers. A further drawback is that the focus of this research was limited to only  
820 volunteers affiliated with one sporting organisation and the authors do not claim that the  
821 findings are generalizable across the gamut of volunteer-requiring NGBs and organisations  
822 that span the sport sector. With that said, future research should look to extend such  
823 Bourdieusian-guided applications across a more extensive array of sport events as well as  
824 grassroots sports club contexts to better understand how the interplay between social class  
825 and capital shapes both the volunteer workforce and the organisational practices that govern  
826 them.

## 827 **References**

- 828 Benenson, J., & Stagg, A. (2015). An Asset-Based Approach to Volunteering: Exploring  
829 Benefits for Low-Income Volunteers. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*,  
830 45(1S), 131S-149S. doi.org/10.1177/0899764015604739
- 831 Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. London: Routledge.
- 832 Bourdieu, P. (1985). The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups. *Theory and Society*, 14(6),  
833 723-744.
- 834 Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory*  
835 *and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.
- 836 Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The  
837 University of Chicago Press.
- 838 Bradford, S., Hills, L., & Johnston, C. (2016). Unintended volunteers: the volunteering  
839 pathways of working-class young people in community sport. *International Journal of*  
840 *Sport Policy and Politics*, 8(2), 231-244. doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2016.1161654
- 841 Chinman, M. J., & Wandersman, A. (1999). The benefits and costs of volunteering in

842 community organisations: review and practical implications. *Nonprofit and Voluntary*  
843 *Sector Quarterly*, 28(1), 46-64. doi.org/10.1177/0899764099281004

844 Devine, F., & Snee, H. (2015). Doing the Great British Class Survey. *The Sociological*  
845 *Review*, 63(2), 240-258. doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12282

846 Doherty, A. (2009). The volunteer legacy of a major sport event. *Journal of Policy Research*  
847 *in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 1(3), 185-207. doi.org/10.1080/19407960903204356

848 Downward, P. M., & Ralston, R. (2006). The Sports Development Potential of Sports Event  
849 Volunteering: Insights from the XVII Manchester Commonwealth Games. *European*  
850 *Sport Management Quarterly*, 6(4), 333-351. doi.org/10.1080/16184740601154474

851 Fairley, S., Gardiner, S., & Filo, K. (2016). The Spirit Live On: The Legacy of Volunteering  
852 at the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. *Event Management*, 20, 201-215.  
853 doi.org/10.3727/152599516X14610017108747

854 Fairley, S., Green, C., O'Brien, D., & Chalip, L. (2014). Pioneer volunteers: the role identity  
855 of continuous volunteers at sport events. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 19, 233-255.  
856 doi: 10.1080/14775085.2015.1111774

857 Friedman, S. & Laurison, D. (2019). *The Class Ceiling: Why it pays to be privileged*. Bristol:  
858 Policy Press.

859 Friedman, S., O'Brien, D., & Laurison, D. (2016). 'Like Skydiving without a Parachute':  
860 How Class Origin Shapes Occupational Trajectories in British Acting. *Sociology*,  
861 52(5), 992-1010. doi.org/10.1177/0038038516629917

862 Gemar, A. (2018). Sport as culture: Social class, styles of cultural consumption and sports  
863 participation in Canada. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*.  
864 doi.org/10.1177/1012690218793855

865 Handy, F., Brodeur, N., Cnaan, R. A. (2006). Summer on the island: Episodic volunteering.  
866 *Voluntary Action*, 7(3), 31-46. Retrieved from

867 <file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/2006SummerontheIsland->  
868 [EpisodicVolunteering\\_VoluntaryAction%20\(1\).pdf](#)

869 Handy, F. & Mook, L. (2011). Volunteering and volunteers: benefit-cost analyses. *Research*  
870 *on Social Work Practice*, 21(4), 412-420. doi.org/10.1177/1049731510386625

871 Harvey, J., Lévesque, M., & Donnelly (2007). Sport Volunteerism and Social Capital.  
872 *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24, 206-223. doi.org/10.1123/ssj.24.2.206

873 Hiller, H. (2006). Post-event outcomes and the post-modern turn. *European Sport*  
874 *Management Quarterly*, 6, 317-332. doi.org/10.1080/16184740601154458

875 Hoye, R., Cuskelly, Auld, C., Kappelides, P., & Misener, K. (2020). *Sport Volunteering*.  
876 London: Routledge.

877 Kim, E. & Cuskelly, G. (2017). A Systematic Quantitative Review of Volunteer Management  
878 in Events. *Event Management*, 21, 83-100.

879 Kim, M., & Bang, H. (2012). Volunteer Management in Sport. In L. Robinson, L.  
880 Chelladurai, P. Bodet., & Downward, P. (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Sport*  
881 *Management* (pp. 159-177). London: Routledge.

882 Kitchin, P. J., & Howe, D. (2013). How can the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu assist sport  
883 management research? *Sport Management Review*, 16(2), 123-134.  
884 doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2012.09.003

885 Koutrou, N., & Downward, P. (2016). Event and club volunteer potential: The case of  
886 women's rugby in England. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Sport Politics*,  
887 8(2), 207-230. doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2015.1102756

888 Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

889 McGillivray, D. (Ed.), McPherson, G. (Ed.), & Mackay, C. (2013). Events and volunteerism.  
890 In R. Finkel, D. McGillivray, G. McPherson, & P. Robinson (Eds.), *Research Themes for*  
891 *Events* Centre for Agriculture and Biosciences International.

892 <http://www.cabi.org/bookshop/book/9781780642529>

893 Morgan, H. (2013). Sport volunteering, active citizenship and social capital enhancement:  
894 what role in the 'Big Society'? *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 5(3),  
895 5(3), 381-395, doi: 10.1080/19406940.2013.764542

896 National Council for Voluntary Organisations (2017). *Getting Involved: How people make a*  
897 *difference*. London: Author.

898 Nichols, G., Knight, C., Boukouris, H. Uri, C., Hogg, E., & Storr, R. (2016). *Motivations of*  
899 *Sport Volunteers in England; A review for Sport England*. London: Sport England.

900 Nichols, G., & Ralston R. (2011). Social inclusion through volunteering: the legacy potential  
901 of the 2012 Olympic Games. *Sociology*, 45(5), 900–914. doi:10.1177/0038038511413413

902 Office for National Statistics (2010). *Standard Occupational Classification 2010*.  
903 Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

904 Payne, G. (2013). Models of Contemporary Social Class: The Great British Class Survey.  
905 *Methodological Innovation Online*, 8(1), 3-17. doi:10.4256/mio.2013.001

906 Randle, K., Forson, C., & Calveley, M. (2015). Towards a Bourdieusian analysis of the social  
907 composition of the UK film and television workforce. *Work, Employment and Society*,  
908 29(4), 590–606. doi.org/10.1177/0950017014542498

909 Savage, M., Cunningham, N., & Devine, F. (2015). *Social Class in the 21st Century*. London:  
910 Pelican.

911 Savage M., Devine F., & Cunningham N. (2013). A new model of social class: Findings from  
912 the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology*, 47(2), 219–250.  
913 doi.org/10.1177/0038038513481128

914 Savage, M., Hanquinet, L., Cunningham, N., & Hjellbrekke, J. (2018). Emerging cultural  
915 capital in the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*.  
916 doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12531

917 Skirstad, B., & Hanstad, D. V. (2013). Gender matters in sport event volunteering. *Managing*  
918 *Leisure*, 18(1), 17-27. doi.org/10.1080/13606719.2013.809188

919 Smith, B. & McGannon, K. R. (2017). Developing rigor in qualitative research: problems and  
920 opportunities within sport and exercise psychology. *International Review of Sport and*  
921 *Exercise Psychology*, OnlineFirst. doi:10.1080/1750984X.2017.1317357

922 Sport England (2016a). *Towards an active nation*. London: Sport England.  
923

924 Sport England (2016b). *Volunteering in an Active Nation: Strategy 2017-2021*. London:  
925 Sport England.

926 Sport England (2017). *Major Events Engagement Fund*. Retrieved from  
927 <https://www.sportengland.org/funding/major-events-engagement-fund/>

928 Sport England (2018) *Active Lives Adult Survey 17/18 report*. London: Sport England.

929 Stempel, C. (2005). Adult participation sports as cultural capital. *International Review for the*  
930 *Sociology of Sport*, 40(4), 411-432. doi.org/10.1177/1012690206066170

931 Street League (2020). *About us*. Retrieved from <https://www.streetleague.co.uk/about-us>

932 Taylor, P. D., Panagouleas, T., & Nichols, G. (2012). Determinants of sports volunteering  
933 and sports volunteer time in England. *International Journal of Sport Policy and*  
934 *Politics*, 4, 201-220. doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2012.656679

935 Wicker, P. (2017). Volunteerism and volunteer management in sport. *Sport Management*  
936 *Review*, 20, 325-337. doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2017.01.001

937 Wilson, T.C. (2002). The paradox of social class and sports involvement: The roles of  
938 cultural and economic capital. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 37(1), 5-  
939 16. doi.org/10.1177/1012690202037001001

940 White, P., & Wilson, B. (1999). Distinctions in the Stands: An Investigation of Bourdieu's  
941 "Habitus", Socioeconomic Status and Sport Spectatorship in Canada. *International Review*  
942 *for the Sociology of Sport*, 34(3), 254-64. doi.org/10.1177/101269099034003002

943 Whittaker, C.G., & Holland-Smith, D. (2016). Exposing the dark side, an exploration of the  
944 influence social capital has upon parental sports volunteers. *Sport, Education and Society*,  
945 21(3), 356-373. doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2014.923832

946

947

948

949

950

951

952

953

954

955

956

957

958

959

960

961

962

963

964

965

966

967

968 **Table 1**  
 969 Summary of GBCS Social Classes  
 970

<b>GBCS Class</b>	<b>% of population</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Example occupations</b>
Elite	6	Possess the most (very high) economic capital (in the form of income, savings and property value). High number of social contacts and of high status. Very high highbrow capital. Moderately high levels of emerging capital. Contains the highest proportion of graduates (main earners frequently in senior management/professional occupations).	Chief executives; managing directors; barristers and judges, financial managers.
Established middle class	25	High economic capital (majority working in managerial/professional occupations). Most social contacts of any other class (score highly on the status of these connections). High proportion of graduates. High levels of highbrow and emerging capital (Cultural omnivores).	Electrical engineers; midwives, police officers, quality assurance and regulatory professionals
Technical middle class	6	High economic capital (less so than above) (good earnings and high savings and property values). Fewest social contacts (though high status). Relatively low highbrow and emerging capital.	Medical radiographers, pharmacists, higher education teachers, natural/social scientists
New Affluent workers	15	Moderate levels of economic capital. High numbers of social contacts (of moderate status). High emerging capital but low highbrow tastes.	Electricians, postal workers, plumbers, retail/sales assistants, quality assurance technicians
Traditional working class	14	Moderately poor economic capital (household income and savings). Few social contacts (of moderate status). Low highbrow and emerging capital.	Medical/legal secretaries, care workers, electrical technicians, van drivers, residential/day care
Emergent service workers	19	Moderately poor economic capital (likely to rent though with reasonable income). High emerging (but low highbrow) cultural capital. High numbers of social contacts (of moderate status).	Bar staff, chefs, nursing auxiliaries/assistants, assemblers and routine operatives, customer service roles
Precariat	15	Poor economic capital (low household income with negligible savings and likely to rent). Lowest scores on every other criterion.	Cleaners, care workers, van drivers, carpenters/joiners, caretakers, leisure attendants, retail cashiers

971 Adapted from Savage *et al.* (2013, pp. 230-243)

972

973

974

975

976

977 **Table 2.**

978 Participant demographic information, including self-calculated GBCS social class.

979

Name	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	GBCS social class	NS-SEC	NSV	GSV	LGM
Austin	M	35-44	White British	Elite	II			X
Carrie**	F	55-64	White British	Elite	I		X	X
Laura**	F	55-64	White British	Elite	I		X	X
Ben*	M	18-25	White British	Established Middle Class	II		X	
Clive	M	65+	White British	Established Middle Class	II		X	X
Cassandra**	F	55-64	White British	Established Middle Class	II	X		X
Christie**	F	35-44	White British	Established Middle Class	III		X	X
Cindy**	F	18-25	White British	Established Middle Class	IV		X	X
Derek*	M	55-64	White British	Established Middle Class	II		X	
Frank**	M	65+	White British	Established Middle Class	I	X		X
George	M	65+	White British	Established Middle Class	II		X	X
Jason	M	55-64	White British	Established Middle Class	II	X		X
Julie	F	35-44	White Scottish	Established Middle Class	I		X	
Kathy	F	45-54	White British	Established Middle Class	III	X		X
Kevin**	M	35-44	White British	Established Middle Class	I	X		X
Libby	F	45-54	White British	Established Middle Class	II			X
Martha**	F	55-64	White British	Established Middle Class	I		X	X
Meera	F	45-54	Indian	Established Middle Class	III	X		X
Rocco*	M	26-34	White Other	Established Middle Class	II		X	
Sue*	F	55-64	White British	Established Middle Class	VI		X	
Tanya**	F	45-54	White British	Established Middle Class	II		X	X
Eric	M	55-64	White British	Technical Middle Class	I	X	X	X
Graham**	M	65+	White British	Technical Middle Class	I	X		X
Greg**	M	65+	White British	Technical Middle Class	I	X	X	X
Harrison*	M	25-34	White British	Technical Middle Class	II		X	
Joe	M	26-34	White British	Technical Middle Class	II			
Sanjeet	M	45-54	British Asian	Technical Middle Class	II	X	X	X
Arun**	M	55-65	British Indian	New Affluent Worker	II			X
Dawn**	F	55-64	White British	New Affluent Worker	III	X	X	X
Drew*	M	35-44	White British	New Affluent Worker	VII			
Fiona	F	45-54	White British	New Affluent Worker	III			X
Lawrence	M	65+	Mixed Indian (Indian/Welsh)	New Affluent Worker	III	X	X	X
Bianca*	F	18-25	White British	Traditional Working Class	VI			
Carol	F	55-64	White British	Traditional Working Class	V			X
Amanda	F	55-64	White British	Traditional Working Class	II	X		X
Chloe*	F	26-34	White British	Emergent Service Worker	II		X	
Ian	M	18-25	White British	Emergent Service Worker	II		X	
Sean	M	45-54	White British	Emergent Service Worker	III	X	X	X
Molly*	F	18-25	White British	Student	Proxy: II		X	
Tamzin	F	18-25	Black British	Student	Proxy: I			

Vikram	M	26-34	Indian	Student	Proxy: I		X
Daisy*	F	18-25	White British	Did Not Respond	Proxy: II	X	
Lewis**	M	35-44	White British	Did Not Respond	II		X
Rose**	F	55-64	White British	Did Not Respond	II		X
Sebastian**	M	18-25	White British	Did Not Respond	II		X
Yasir	M	35-44	Pakistani	Did Not Respond	II		X

980 Note: NS-SEC – National Statistics, Socio-Economic Classification; NSV – Non-Sport Volunteering; GSV –

981 Grassroots Sport Volunteering; LGM – London 2012 Games Maker.

982 \* denotes participants who have exclusively event volunteered as Hockey Makers

983 \*\* denotes participants who have volunteered at both multi-sport mega-events and major hockey events

984