# Exploring the relationship between social class and sport event volunteering


## Abstract

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



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

## 1. Introduction

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

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

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

## 2. Literature Review

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*2.3 (Repeat) event volunteering*

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

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

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

## 3. Theoretical Framework

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *3.2 Application of Bourdieu's forms of capitals to sport*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] 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.

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

*Insert Table 1 here*

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

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

[2] 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).

[3] 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).

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

## 4. Methodology

### *4.1 Methods and interview guide*

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

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

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

*4.2 Data collection and sampling*

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

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

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

*4.3 Data analysis*

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Insert Table 2 here*

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

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

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

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

*5.2.1 Economic capital*

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

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

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

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

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

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

*5.2.2.1 "Getting in": the role of technical and institutional cultural capital*

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

> All of these events have got boxes that they've got to tick, so "have they done this?" and "have they done that?" Speaking to various people who are like "yeah, I've done this event and I've done that one", you do tend to get people that once they've done it they'll do other events.

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

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

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

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

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

institutional value[4] that is placed on applicants' previous event volunteering undertaken either "in-house", as London 2012 Games Makers, or with other NGBs, by selectors.

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

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

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

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

[4] Cultural signals that are both recognised and shared across organisations and are thus given high status by selectors (Stempel, 2005).

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

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

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

Greg, a former Games Maker and a manager during his career, was persuaded to take on a volunteer role of greater responsibility than he was looking for due to his prior level of experience. However, Greg outlined that he was "resistant" to do so because he would have 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:

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

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

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

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

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

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

*5.2.3 Social capital*

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

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

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

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

Here, Frank explains that sport events present "circuits" by which many volunteers, who are also hockey makers, itinerantly move between. As Randle et al. (2015) suggest, when social networks develop and operate in this way, they can advantageously reinforce people's will to volunteer due to a sense of camaraderie, yet in contrast, they can also serve to restrict entry to those who are absent of recognisable capitals. Further to this, such close networks can serve as gatekeepers of social capital (Friedman et al., 2016), and subsequently, entry to 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

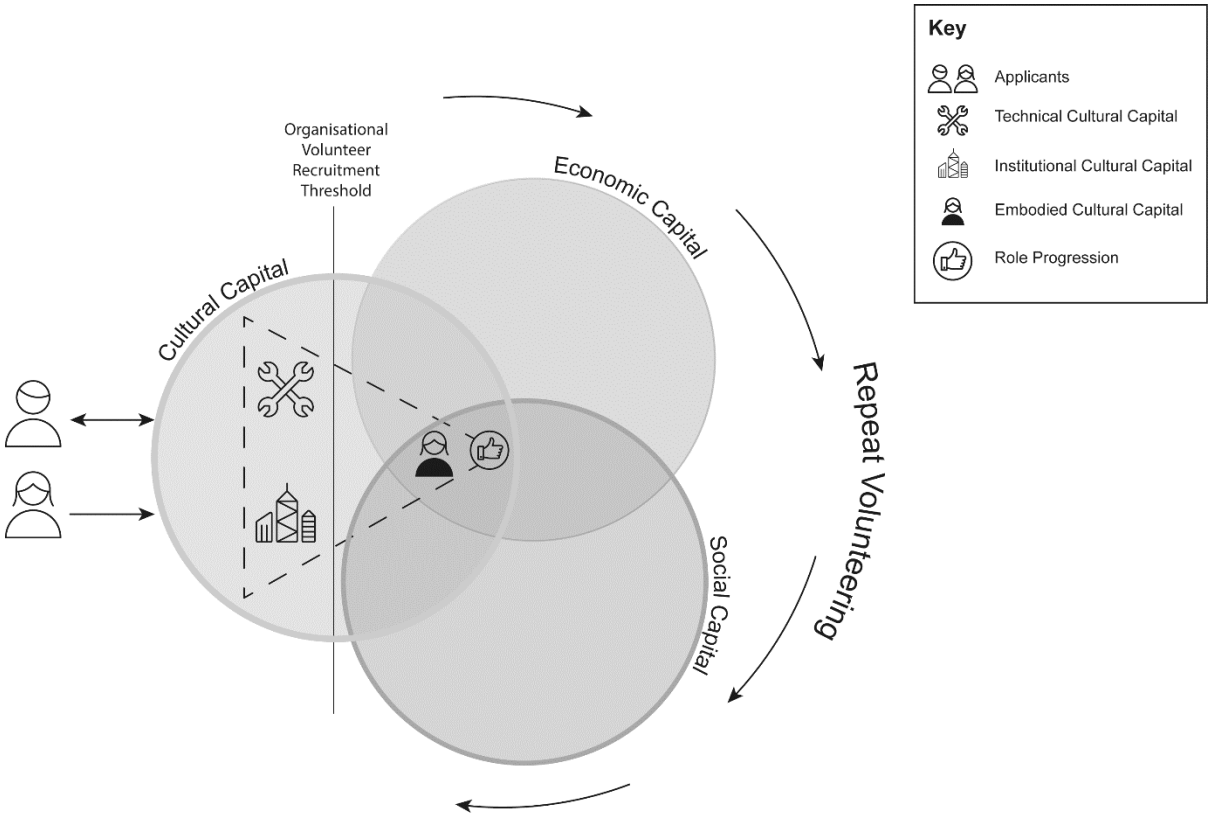


**Fig. 1.** Proposed model of event volunteer selection, progression, and repeat volunteering, as informed by the conceptual triad of cultural, economic, and social capital.

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

## 6 Conclusion

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

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

### *6.1 Implications for practice*

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

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

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

[5] 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

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

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

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

## References


Benenson, J., & Stagg, A. (2015). An Asset-Based Approach to Volunteering: Exploring Benefits for Low-Income Volunteers. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(IS), 131S-149S. doi.org/10.1177/0899764015604739

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction.* London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1985). The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups. *Theory and Society*, 14(6), 723-744.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bradford, S., Hills, L., & Johnston, C. (2016). Unintended volunteers: the volunteering pathways of working-class young people in community sport. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 8(2), 231-244. doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2016.1161654

Chinman, M. J., & Wandersman, A. (1999). The benefits and costs of volunteering in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/2006SummerontheIsland-EpisodicVolunteering__VoluntaryAction%20(1).pdf

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

http://www.cabi.org/bookshop/book/9781780642529

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

| GBCS Class | % of population | Description | Example occupations |
|---|---|---|---|
| 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 | |

Note: NS-SEC – National Statistics, Socio-Economic Classification; NSV – Non-Sport Volunteering; GSV – Grassroots Sport Volunteering; LGM – London 2012 Games Maker.

* denotes participants who have exclusively event volunteered as Hockey Makers

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