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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

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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 status¹ (Savage et al. 2015). Cultural capital was
232 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.

233 and media engagement: this was in order to understand the class patterning of cultural
234 activities engaged in according to *highbrow*² or *emerging*³ 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.

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).

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 value⁴ 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

⁴ 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.

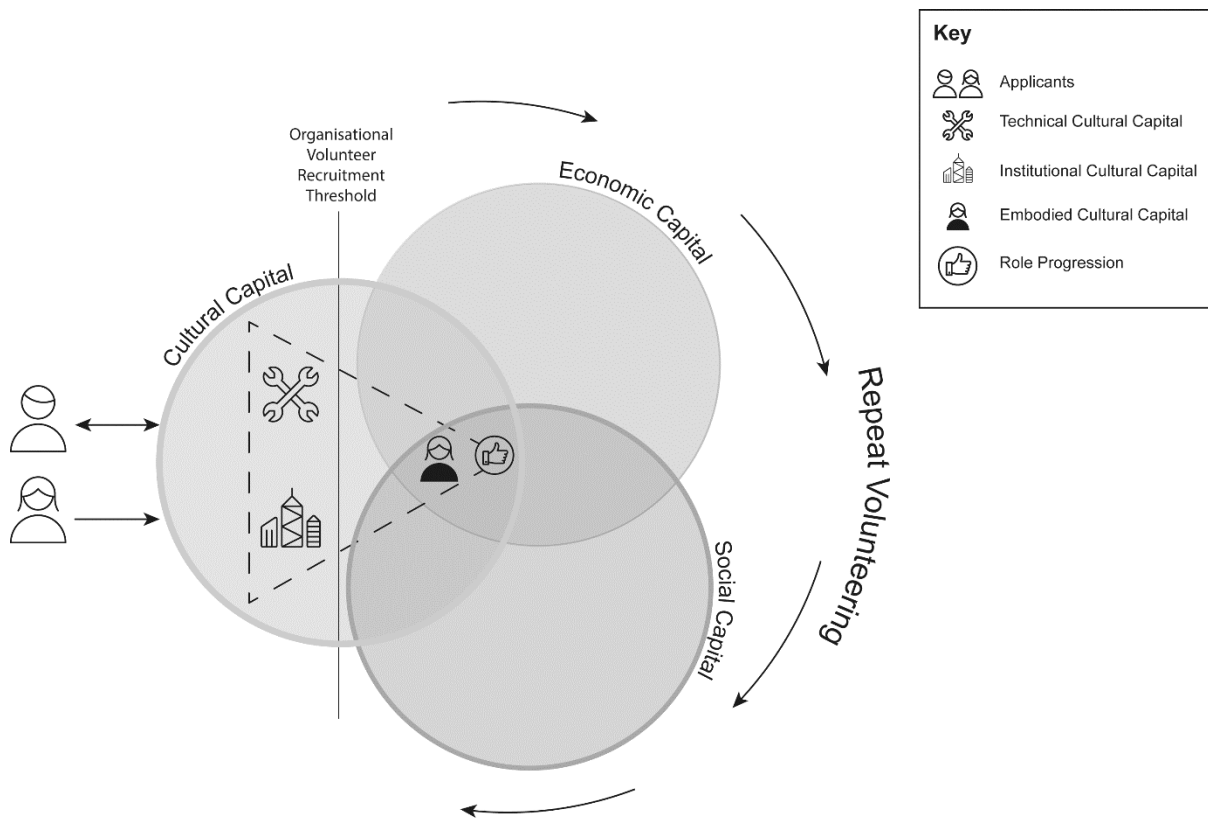
651 *5.3 Repeat volunteering*

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 Fund⁵ 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

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

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.

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

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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