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Looking on the SUNEE side:

An analysis of student volunteering on a university sports-based outreach project

John William Hayton

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Applied Social Sciences

Durham University

March 2013

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree in this or any other institution.

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ABSTRACT

Looking on the SUNEE side: An analysis of student volunteering on a university sports-based outreach project

This thesis provides an in-depth study into the development of student volunteers' motivation during their participation in a sports-based outreach project and how their experiences during the programme serve to influence their commitment and retention to it. The Sport Universities North East England (SUNEE) project represents an alliance between the region's five universities to tackle social exclusion, and promote and nurture social capital and civil responsibility through the vehicle of sport. This joined-up approach to sports development provides the region's student volunteers with vast opportunities to gain both experience and qualifications as sports coaches, mentors and leaders by working with a range of 'hard to reach' groups. This qualitative investigation utilises data generated from semi-structured interviews (*n=40)* and describes a sequence of social and psychological transitions undertaken by student volunteers over the course of their involvement in the project. This interdisciplinary investigation unravels the socio-cognitive processes underlying volunteer persistence and satisfaction, or conversely, those which serve to forestall motivation and potentially lead to participant drop out. The research makes a contribution to the established body of knowledge by using the example of the SUNEE project to demonstrate how motivations to volunteer change from 'extrinsic' (for example, instrumental reasons such as being perceived by students to enhance their employability profile) to 'intrinsic' (such as 'enjoying the experience') regulators of behaviour, the longer the person has taken part in the project. This contribution is new because it takes the theories of Deci and Ryan and uses them to understand issues of student volunteering in sports-based outreach projects, providing a novel application of their work. Thus, this research provides a framework that can be utilised to identify, interpret and facilitate students' motivation to volunteer.

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1

Introduction

1.1 Introducing the Thesis

This empirical investigation explores the social processes that act upon and are experienced by student volunteers during their participation in a university-led sports-based outreach project that currently operates in the North East of England. The SUNEE project, as it shall be referred to throughout this thesis, stands for Sport Universities North East England and is the term that this initiative is referred to across its partner institutions. In short, the SUNEE project aims to promote social inclusion for a range of 'hard to reach' groups by providing them with regular access to safe and structured sport and physical activity programmes which are largely ran by student volunteers. This study critically examines the development of student motivation over the course of their voluntary involvement with the initiative, and the features and mechanisms at play within the project which serve to either facilitate or forestall their commitment to and satisfaction from it. As such this thesis is a study which explores the phenomenon of non-paid volunteering in the context of grassroots sport.

1.2 The SUNEE Project

There is a long history of collaboration between the North East's Universities dating back to 1983 and the establishment of the Higher Education Support for Industry in the North (HESIN). The HESIN was made up of Durham University, Newcastle University, Northumbria University, the University of Sunderland, Teesside University and the Open University in the North, and was primarily concerned with facilitating collaborative industrial programmes within the Region (Universities for

the North East, 2012a). The HESIN provided a forerunner to the Universities for the North East association. Following calls for a stronger association between the universities in 1997, HESIN was transformed into the Universities for the North East (Unis4NE) in 1998 and launched soon after in 1999 to become one of nine Higher Education Regional Associations (Charles et al., 2001). Consisting of all the preceding five universities mentioned above, the Unis4NE recognise the local social and economic disparities as a significant proportion of the regional population are characterised as being 'hard to reach'[1], and acknowledge that they have a clear role to play in regional development (Warburton, 2006: cited in Duke et al., 2006; Unis4NE, 2007). To deliver this shared vision and commitment to strengthen local communities, promote civic renewal, offset the impacts of economic disparities and tackle social exclusion, the Unis4NE looked to the vehicle of sport as a key driver within this agenda.

In the early days of this joint and collaborative approach the five universities actively worked together to organise and coordinate multi-sport events between the universities' teams. As this partnership gradually grew stronger the Unis4NE began to consider how, together, they could make a greater contribution to wider community issues and proceeded to move ahead by undertaking an audit to assess the level of provision that they could potentially make to community sports development (Warburton, 2006: cited in Duke et al., 2006). This brought about a large-scale refocusing of the role and function that this sporting alliance was to perform as the five universities endeavoured to become more than just contributors, and instead creating, leading and promoting projects on behalf of the North East. As this partnership gained momentum, the Unis4NE gained growing

[1] According to research by Doherty, Stott and Kinder (2004) on behalf of the Home Office, 'hard to reach' groups can fall into three broad categories: minority groups; those that slip through the net; and the service resistant. First, minority groups are traditionally under-represented and marginalised groups at risk of social exclusion: such as asylum seekers and minority ethnic groups. Second, those that slip through the net are often seen as invisible populations that are unable to articulate their needs such as carers, those with mental health issues or those that fall just outside of statutory remit for welfare provision. Third, the service resistant are suspicious of and therefore unwilling to engage with service providers – distrust and hostility often connected with drug / alcohol abuse and/or criminal behaviour.

endorsement and support from a range of stakeholders and outside agencies to help fund these programmes as well as locate eligible clients for induction into them. In order to deliver their community sport programmes, the Unis4NE looked to the student population from which to draw their workforce. These were to be the embryonic stages that were to give rise to the Sport Universities North East England (SUNEE) organisation which was established in April 2006 and is a collaboration of the non-academic sports departments of the five universities. In-keeping with the broader policy agendas of the former government in addressing health, well-being, educational and skills development, the SUNEE federation addresses several foci of sporting provision. These foci are namely, to increase participation in the local community, to promote inclusion and social equity, to re-integrate and rehabilitate substance misusers and ex-offenders, and to develop performance potential within and outside the universities. The creation of SUNEE coincided with the UK's bid to host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games in London and this was to provide a substantial boost to this university alliance. The SUNEE concept has been backed by a raft of sponsors and funders including the Northern Rock Foundation, One North East, Sport England and the five North East Universities among others, but perhaps the most significant of all these to the current research was that provided by the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). In-line with the successful London 2012 bid, HEFCE has strived to strengthen the education sector's role and contribution to the Olympic and Paralympic Games and the opportunities it presents for those who are involved (Unis4NE, 2007; HEFCE, 2012). To achieve this, HEFCE created a strategic development fund and a coordination and communications unit (Podium) to support Higher Education and Further Education institutions and partnerships in their work relating to the London 2012 Games.

This is about where the research and I enter the picture. To build on the momentum already established by SUNEE to provide multiple single strand projects that ran across all five universities and catered for a range of 'hard to reach' groups, the Sport Universities prepared a bid to HEFCE's Strategic Development Fund to further coalesce the partnership and strengthen the individual programmes across

the universities via the enhancement of the infrastructure and provision for volunteers and coaches. Geared towards London 2012, this bid was presented as a pilot study to assess and understand how best to implement collaborative models for effectively mobilising the strengths of the universities to maximise the collective impact of their community engagement and outreach strategies (Unis4NE, 2007). The bid was put in place ahead of the academic term 2007-08 and funding was approved for three years commencing approximately in the May of 2008. This is the point where the SUNEE project was created.

The strategy underpinning the SUNEE project is titled 'Volunteering 2012: Tackling Social Inclusion Issues in North East England through Sport' and has at its heart three 'needs' or objectives. First, to enhance the employability of graduates by equipping them with a raft of skills, understandings and personal attributes that they can take into the jobs market, all the while embedding in students social responsibility and citizenship throughout their coaching and mentoring of the 'hard to reach' groups. Second, and by harnessing the prestige and publicity of the London 2012 brand, SUNEE was charged with increasing participation in sport and physical recreation in the local community, particularly of those young people and adults from disadvantaged areas and backgrounds. Third, through its university-led community engagement and outreach activities, SUNEE is tasked with tackling social exclusion and building social capital in deprived areas through the vehicle of sport and active recreation.

SUNEE is a partnership of the non-academic sport departments of the five North East Universities. The day to day running of the SUNEE project is managed and coordinated by a regional sports coordinator and five sport development officers (SDOs) who are distributed across the partner universities. The university leading the project is home to the senior SDO and all SDOs are ultimately accountable to the Director of Sport for their respective universities. To provide some background information about the client groups involved in the project, SUNEE programmes originally ran across four core strands: Homeless; Looked After Children (LAC);

Schools; and the Podium endorsed '2012 Volunteers'. The Homeless strand caters for those persons suffering homelessness across the region, those individuals receiving housing support or living in temporary accommodation. Many of these homeless clients have a history of alcohol and drug misuse problems. More specifically, some of the categories that these homeless clients fall into include: homeless families; young people between the ages of 16 and 24 that are seeking shelter; young single mothers aged between 14 and 18; overseas individuals/families and asylum seekers and young British Asians in need of accommodation.

The LAC stream includes children in foster care and children's homes, asylum seekers and those children belonging to families arriving from overseas. Asylum seekers eligible for the LAC stream are those children who are under the age of 16 years old and have entered the country without any parents. In addition, the LAC strand also offers opportunities for young people who are unable to access school, who have been expelled from school and/or have anti-social behaviour problems, and/or those 'at risk' of falling into crime or who are on a 'last chance' intensive supervision surveillance programme to keep them out of prison.

The Schools programme aims to widen access to after school activities for school children in deprived or disadvantaged areas. In 2007, when the strategic development plan for the creation of the SUNEE project was approved, the North East was ranked in the worst 20% in the country for deprivation (Communities and Local Government, 2008). According to the English Indices of Deprivation, 38.1% of the North East region was deemed as having the highest proportion of areas of deprivation of all regions in England in 2007 (Communities and Local Government, 2008). The Schools programme was set up to target these areas and focused on widening access to two hours a week of after school physical activity to school children.

The fourth constituent group supported by SUNEE was that of the '2012 Volunteers'. The remit for Podium 2012 – the further and higher education unit for

the London 2012 Games – was to provide young people with teaching and learning in modules such as events management and business and enterprise geared towards staging and delivering major sporting events. This stream was delivered across the North East by the SUNEE project and its student volunteers. The pupils that participated in the Podium 'Volunteers 2012' stream were drawn from schools in catchment areas of high deprivation. Four further strands were later added to these four original client groups. First, Street League (formerly Second Chance), which has crossover with the Homeless strand, provides predominantly football and education programmes to marginalized adults aged 18 and above who have suffered substance misuse and/or have been involved in crime. The goal of Street League is to help get these individuals (back) into work, training or further education. Second, the Vulnerable Women's group, which also links to the Homeless strand, consists of women from a variety of backgrounds, including: women who have fallen into sex work; young women aged between 16 and 19 years of age who have been abused; women who have left violent relationships and specialised agencies for women with mental health problems. The purpose of this arm of the project is to encourage these women to take part in gym and fitness activities in a non-threatening environment. As these are sensitive cases, only female student volunteers are permitted to work with this client group. Third, the Young Offenders stream links to the LAC strand and offers multi-sport activities to young people at risk of re-offending. Fourth, the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities programme. This programme includes the Asian Ladies Group and BME male groups made up of African and Asian men. The BME programmes are designed to break down barriers with the local community and have regular interaction and sports/physical activity participation with Homeless and Vulnerable Women's groups.

The client strands described above are those that feature within this research through the insights and experiences of the student volunteers that participated in this study. In terms of client throughput over the period spanning April 2008 to July 2011 across the four core strands ran by the SUNEE project, and to give an indication of the volume of participants that it supported across the region with the

help of student volunteers: a total of 2,637 clients frequented programmes provided for the homeless and StreetLeague strands; 1,941 young people took part in activities geared towards LAC groups; opportunities for regular participation in sport and physical activity-based sessions were enjoyed by 23,569 pupils from the region who were linked to the Schools programme and 625 young scholars got involved with the Podium project (Unis4NE, 2012b).

The roles and opportunities for students who volunteer on the project are wide-ranging and volunteer placements are available across all of the strands outlined above, however, only female students work on the vulnerable women's activities. The majority of opportunities for volunteers lie in coaching, leadership and mentoring of the 'hard to reach'[2] client groups across a variety of sports and recreational activities, yet the roles available to students are not solely confined to the delivery of these sport programmes. Indeed there are an increasing number of SUNEE scholarships available to those students who stand out and distinguish themselves from their counterparts through either an application and interview process or selection based on their past performance in a particular role. These scholarships are limited and offer roles in events management, photography and journalism, and also as head coaches, volunteer liaison officers and personal/career development pathway coordinators. All scholarships are integrated into the service and function of the SUNEE project. Opportunities to volunteer on the SUNEE project are open to all students and it is important to note that one of the five universities does not offer a recognised sports-based degree programme. In order to improve and develop the services offered to the 'hard to reach' clients and also to build student skill-sets and incentivise their involvement in the project, SUNEE subsidises volunteers to undertake National Governing Body (NGB) accredited coaching qualifications as well as a range of career professional development (CPD) courses in return for a set amount of hours of volunteering. The SUNEE project ran

[2] These 'hard to reach' groups, as identified by the SUNEE project's Strategic Business Development Plan, initially included looked after children, homeless young people and adults, school children from deprived or disadvantaged communities, before later incorporating disengaged and service resistant young people and adults, minority ethnic groups and vulnerable women (Unis4NE, 2007; 2012).

from April 2008 to July 2011, and during this period students across the five universities had contributed 12,521 hours of volunteering to the project, completing 606 level one and 29 level two NGB coaching qualifications as well as 160 CPD certificates in areas such child protection, equity, and first aid (Unis4NE, 2012b). In total, 1372 undergraduate students from across the five North East universities (cumulative total) volunteered in the SUNEE project from Spring 2008 until Summer 2011 (Unis4NE, 2012b). A breakdown summary of new volunteers entering each of the core SUNEE programme strands, over the period outlined above, is provided below in Table 1.1:

Table 1.1 Number of student volunteers and total hours volunteered on each of the core client strands over the entirety of the SUNEE project

Programme Strand	**Year**						Total	
	1st April 2008 – 30th April 2009		1st May 2009 – 30th April 2010		1st May 2010 – 30th April 2011			
	n	Hrs	*n*	Hrs	*n*	Hrs	*n*	Hrs
Homeless / StreetLeague	98	733	104	999	122	1632	324	3364
Looked After Children	82	285	70	416	32	409	184	1110
Schools	194	976	261	2692	303	3589	758	7257
2012 Volunteers	30	128	48	407	28	255	106	790
Total	404	2,122	483	4514	485	5885	1372	12521

n = number of new student volunteers; Hrs = total hours volunteered

To provide further background on the student volunteers, the participants provided details of their age, ethnicity and education (see Table 1.2 overleaf). The garnering of further demographic data of students, such as their social class or socio-economic background, was difficult to obtain as it would have presented a sensitive area ask participants about and senior project officials were loath to offer up such information as it was deemed a breach of volunteer confidentiality. Technically, as economically inactive undergraduate students, the volunteers can all be placed in the same social class. However, it is useful to gain an understanding of volunteer social class in order to ascertain who volunteers and whether any trends can be drawn from such volunteer profiles. To gain an accurate picture of the social class of volunteers, information regarding their family background, specifically students'

parental occupations would have provided the ideal proxy for determining their social class positions are most accurately derived from economic or employment social relations (Goldthorpe and McKnight, 2004)[3].

In the absence of precise details surrounding volunteers' parental occupations, students' ethnicity and type of secondary school education (Private or State) are given in Table 1.2 (below) as adequate proxies of students' social background.

[3] See Goldthorpe (1987) for a full elaboration of the Goldthorpe Class Schema.

Table 1.2 Student demographic data and length of time volunteered

No.	Pseudonym (University)	Length of Time Volunteering on Project	Age	Ethnicity	Secondary Education
1	**Philippa (B)**	6 weeks	20	White British	Private
2	**Scott (C)**	6 weeks	20	White British	State
3	**Aiden (D)**	7 weeks	20	White British	State
4	**Rory (D)**	8 weeks	19	White British	State
5	**Will (C)**	8 weeks	19	White British	State
6	**Alison (D)**	9 weeks	20	White British	State
7	**Jess (D)**	9 weeks	19	White British	State
8	**Dean (A)**	3 months	22	White British	State
9	**Vinny (B)**	4 months	20	White British	Private
10	**Joey (A)**	6 months	20	White British	State
11	**Aaron (C)**	1 year	20	White British	State
12	**Becki (B)**	1 year	21	White British	State
13	**Beth (B)**	1 year	19	White British	State
14	**Charlotte (C)**	1 year	20	White British	State
15	**Colin (E)**	1 year	20	White British	State
16	**Gareth (B)**	1 year	21	White British	Private
17	**Jack (B)**	1 year	19	White British	State
18	**Jamie(C)**	1 year	20	White British	State
19	**Janith (D)**	1 year	20	Indian	State
20	**Kim (E)**	1 year	19	White British	State
21	**Lisa (A)**	1 year	21	White British	State
22	**Nile (D)**	1 year	21	White British	State
23	**Paul (C)**	1 year	20	White British	State
24	**Rob (B)**	1 year	20	White British	State
25	**Tom (C)**	1 year	21	White British	State
26	**Leon (E)**	18 months	21	White British	State
27	**Simon (A)**	18 months	23	White British	Private
28	**Sheila (E)**	18 months	21	White British	State
29	**Vicki (E)**	18 months	21	White British	State
30	**Dominic (A)**	2 years	19	White British	State
31	**Gemma (B)**	2 years	19	White British	State
32	**Janey (E)**	2 years	20	White British	State
33	**Jasmin (E)**	2 years	20	White British	State
34	**Jonny (A)**	2 years	21	White British	State
35	**Mike (D)**	2 years	21	White British	State
36	**Rick (D)**	2 years	21	White British	State
37	**Stuart (C)**	2 years	21	White British	State
38	**Craig (E)**	3 years	23	White British	State
39	**Martin (A)**	3 years	20	White British	Private
40	**Ruth (A)**	3 years	21	White British	State

In addition, and illustrated below in Table 1.3, are statistics from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA, 2013) offering a breakdown of the percentages of undergraduate students from State schools (SS) and low participation neighbourhoods (LPN) that have enrolled at each of the five North East Universities over the period in which SUNEE has been active (2008-2011). Using these HESA

statistics, inferences can be drawn as to which social backgrounds each of the five universities attract and draw their student base from.

Table 1.3 ***Participation of under-represented groups in higher education: young first time degree entrants starting university between the academic calendar years of 2007 and 2011***

	YEAR							
	07-08		08-09		09-10		10-11	
	SS	LPN	SS	LPN	SS	LPN	SS	LPN
Uni. A	61.5	4.4	59.2	4.6	59.2	4.7	59.5	5.5
Uni. B	71.1	6.6	69.2	6.3	71.5	7.9	70.9	7.5
Uni. C	91.4	13.3	92.2	14.2	91.3	14.0	90.6	13.1
Uni. D	97.4	26.6	98.1	25.7	97.4	25.1	98.1	26.9
Uni. E	98.6	26.6	99.1	26.7	98.1	27.0	97.8	26.7

*All figures presented are percentages (%)
SS = State Schools
LPN = Low Participation Neighborhoods

In analysis, and as illustrated in Table 1.2, only five of all participants were privately educated and these students hailed from Universities A (2) and B (3); all other student volunteers attended State schools. These figures offer little surprise when compared with Table 1.3 which demonstrates that Universities A and B are more popular with non-state schooled and non LPN students. Notably, 39 out of 40 students regarded themselves of 'White British' ethnicity, and Janith from University D describing himself as of Indian origin.

Drawing on indications from the literature as to whom at university or of typical university age is likely to volunteer, Eley's (2001) research suggests that adult volunteers typically present a homogenous demographic profile (a description of this profile can be found later, in Chapter Three) and it would seem that younger volunteers (pre-university age) share similar backgrounds and influencers. The demographic make-up of Eley's (2001) sample of Millennium Volunteers aged 16 to 19 years proved consistent with findings by Raskoff and Sundeen (1994) in that teenagers who volunteer tended to come from households bracketed in higher socioeconomic groups. Indeed, the majority (81 per cent) of Eley's (2001) research participants were categorised as coming from households in the three highest

socioeconomic classifications – according to occupation of their parents – as derived from the Standard Occupational Classification (Office for National Statistics, 2000). Furthermore, 91 per cent of the volunteers sampled by Eley (2001) were of 'white' ethnicity. These class and ethnicity-based demographic characteristics of Eley's (2001) research participants are comparable with regular volunteer profiles (Pancer and Pratt, 1999; Smith, 1998). Moreover, and in terms of routes into volunteering for young people, research has shown that traditionally the family plays a key role in a young person's adoption of volunteering, and more recently school-based volunteer schemes have played an influential role in getting youngsters involved in helping and prosocial activities (Pancer and Pratt, 1999; Kirkpatrick et al., 1998; Hart and Fegley, 1995). These avenues into volunteering are further backed up by research compiled by Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth (2010) when observing the pathways into volunteering of undergraduate students across six UK universities. Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth (2010) discovered that of the 1,942 undergraduate students that they surveyed only 38.2 per cent took up volunteering for the first time through their university, with 58.5 per cent having volunteered previously either through friends/family or school/education[4]. Eley (2001) expounds that a family history of volunteering can have a conditioning effect on its younger members as parents transmit patterns of behaviour, moral values and goals. The effect of such parental modelling is likely to mean that children whose parents volunteer are more likely to volunteer.

1.3 The Importance of Volunteers

The importance of volunteers to the sporting infrastructure within the UK cannot be understated and underlines the social value of this thesis. More people volunteer in sport and recreation than in any other sector (Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). These volunteers perform a wide variety of formal and informal roles and

[4] This might signify the importance of early, pre-university exposure to helping activities in the promotion of volunteering in young people aged between 16 and 24.

positions to arrange, support and run sport, recreation and physical activity (ABS, 2002). To contribute to their sports clubs and organisations, volunteers fulfil a range of non-playing roles from coaching, officiating and refereeing on the field to administration, management and medical support. Many core volunteers often perform more than one role within their club (Ringuet et al., 2008). In many respects, the relationship between sport and volunteering is one of mutual dependence. As reported by LIRC (2003), sports clubs in the UK depend greatly on volunteers for their survival and this is especially so in the case of many of the more minor sports for which there is little presence in either the public or commercial sectors. Indeed, without the 2 million adults who contribute at least an hour a week to volunteering, the community sport system would grind to a halt (Sport England, 2012). What is more, a decline in volunteer rates would mean less people could participate in sport and recreation as sports clubs would have to downscale their provision (LIRC, 2003; Cuskelly, 2004). Therefore, the more volunteers there are, the more opportunities for people to get involved in and remain in sport. This relationship is elevated to even greater prominence within State policy for sport and a desire to expand participation in sport and physical activity for the sake of public health and elite sporting success amongst other agendas (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002; Ringuet et al., 2008). Moreover, volunteers play a major role at all levels in sport, namely grass-roots, elite sport and mega-events (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006; Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). Without the vast volunteer workforce, the staging of prestigious sporting events such as the London 2012 Games, which will utilise 70,000 volunteers, simply would not be able to go ahead (Chelladurai and Madella, 2006; Sport England, 2012). To this end, the contributions volunteers make to sport and recreation are of great importance and without them the reverberations would be felt in a myriad of related contexts and national cultures. The importance of voluntary action within society has been long acknowledged (Beveridge 1948; Harris, Rochester and Halfpenny, 2001). The origins of the term volunteer date back to biblical Hebrew in an age when the semantics attached to the word translated to ‘to willingly give’, or similarly as ‘a charitable donation’, the giving of one’s wealth was viewed as the highest form of altruism within society (Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994:336; Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996:366). The

word *voluntarism* however, derives from the Latin word 'Voluntas', meaning 'will' (Al-Amzin, Nazrul Islam, Ahmed, 2007:11). Modern European languages such as French and Italian bare strong Latin influence rendering the respective translations of volonté and volontà for 'will' (Inwood, 2000:44). Based on such lexical origins, the noun 'voluntarism', therefore refers to the offering of goods and services through one's own free will, or volition (Al-Amzin et al., 2007).

In recent times, voluntary groups and organisations have grown in size, vastly increased in variety, and via processes of codification and rationalisation, have developed formal rule structures, operating procedures and systems of management (Torkildsen, 1999; 2005). In current day, the role of the voluntary sector, and indeed the volunteer is as important as ever. To illustrate this point, Sport England and the Local Government Association (SELGA) contend that:

> Voluntary and community activity is fundamental to the development of a democratic, socially inclusive society. Voluntary and community groups …enable individuals to contribute to public life and the development of their communities … In so doing they engage the skills, interests, beliefs and values of individuals and groups.
>
> SELGA, 1999: 8

According to Coalter (2007), the key policy message communicated here is that sport offers much more than the intuitive health and fitness benefits gained from active participation as 'involvement in the organization and provision of opportunities for sport' supports the development of transferable skills which in turn enhances an individual's employability (Coalter, 2007: 56). Thus, volunteering in sport takes on additional value in boosting an individual's Curriculum Vitae (CV), capital and connections, therefore making its volunteers ready for the job market. Yorke extends this notion to volunteer placements and work-based learning that supplement an individual's Higher Education, such as those offered by SUNEE, by stating that such opportunities help to build a 'set of achievements – skills, understandings and personal attributes – that make graduates more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations' (2004:8). Duke et al.

(2006) concur, positing that getting students involved in community and outreach-based sports volunteering makes for a well-rounded and educated workforce.

On the other hand, sport volunteering has been targeted by governments as a significant means of simultaneously boosting civil society and reducing financial outlays for health and welfare to ultimately promote economic stability. For example, the Conservative governments of the 1980s and 1990s proceeded to roll back the welfare state and place a greater onus on the voluntary sector to support the provision of public services (Deakin, 1995). Additionally, the New Labour government of the late 1990s recognised the 'cross-cutting' capacity of the third sector, highlighting the potential contribution voluntary networks and organisations could make to social welfare in areas such as health, crime and education as well as to social and economic regeneration (Macmillan and Townsend, 2006; Coalter, 2007). This cross-cutting agenda was further advantageous as it reduced the perceived need for creating new programmes concerned with the amelioration of social disadvantage, social exclusion and a lack of connectedness in communities (Hoye and Nicholson, 2008). To this end, volunteering was a key tenet of the 'Third way' ideology, espoused by both Conservative and New Labour governments since the 1990s, to foment and utilise active citizenship and individual responsibility (Giddens, 1998). The idea being that individuals take responsibility for and within their community, contributing to that community through sport or other forms of social participation which facilitate social connectedness and the generation and development of social capital[5] which is so vital to the regeneration and sustainability of society. However, Hoye and Nicholson (2008) warn that this important link between sport, volunteering and social capital made by governments such as the UK, stands threatened by the seeming decline of volunteers in sport.

With the recent change of government in the UK in 2010, the role of volunteering has risen to even greater prominence in the current political agenda. In an era of

[5] Social capital can be viewed as a mechanism of harnessing and fostering mutual cooperation and existence between individuals and groups within and across heterogeneous social spaces (Coleman, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Field, 2003).

fiscal austerity due to the financial recession of 2008 (Gregg and Wadsworth, 2010), and in keeping with Tory tradition of public duty and social responsibility, the coalition government pressed ahead with their flagship policy agenda of the 'Big Society' (Cabinet Office, 2010). As highlighted by Hardill and Baines, the central themes of the Big Society philosophy which are endorsed under a banner of 'compassionate conservatism', revolve around the devolution of state responsibility and the empowerment of citizens (2011: 152). Once more emphasising the rolling back of the state and heavy public spending cuts, volunteering has been placed firmly at the heart of this Big Society strategy which encourages community social action and self-responsibility (One East Midlands, 2010; Hardill and Baines, 2011). The aim is to harness the capacity of the voluntary sector, charities and social enterprises to play a more prominent role in the running of public services (Hardill and Baines, 2011). In cultivating this new culture of voluntarism, philanthropy and social action, the Big Society calls on volunteering to empower communities and neighbourhoods to be the catalyst for the restoration and strengthening of the social and moral bonds that were once synonymous with a more organic and cohesive British social tapestry (Blond, 2010; Hardill and Baines, 2011). Despite its rhetoric however, Kisby (2010) comments that the Big Society policy idea does not break significantly with New Labour's previous vision for the voluntary sector. Nonetheless, the critical factor here, and as stressed by the current UK Prime Minister, is that:

> The success of the Big Society will depend on the daily decisions of millions of people – on giving their time, effort, even money, to causes around them.
>
> David Cameron (PM), 2010

In this context, for both the centre left and right mainstream British political parties, the role of the volunteer is as important as ever as policy makers, academics and statisticians alike recognise both the actual and potential contributions that volunteers make not only to the field of sport but also to civil society, social welfare and economic stability.

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

As outlined above, the importance and significance of the contributions that volunteers make to sport in the UK cannot be overstated. However, and as will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3, current volunteer trends paint a worrying picture as the number of people engaged in volunteering in the UK appear to be in decline. What is more, the potential of sports clubs and voluntary organisations to ameliorate this problem is constrained because a dearth of research has been conducted to investigate some of the key issues facing volunteers, the extent to which the structures and services within these organisations support and influence volunteer retention, and also what types of innovations these agencies could implement to address the needs of their volunteers (Ringuet et al., 2008).

Therefore, the encompassing aim of the thesis is to explore the social processes acting upon and experienced by students during their time spent volunteering on the SUNEE project. To understand these social processes the thesis aims to answer the following four research objectives:

1. To ascertain why do people take-up volunteering;
2. To explore some of the reasons why volunteers continue to take part in non-paid activities, and
3. To understand some of the challenges faced by student volunteers in their SUNEE activities.

These objectives are important when considering the forces and factors that stir individuals to volunteer and to construct an understanding of the social and psychological processes that govern the extent of commitment and retention to such endeavours. The first objective seeks to gauge and index the key initiators underlying student volunteering and in so doing provides a foundation for the three objectives that follow. The second objective captures the dynamic nature of motivation and tracks the changing drivers of volunteer participation or oppositely

the factors that undermine their commitment. Finally, the third objective explores the challenges and difficulties faced by students during their time on the project, to understand the root causes of these problems and highlights strategies to harness, manage and/or offset the effects of such experiences.

1.5 Argument of the Thesis

The case made within this thesis is that although students presented a variety of reasons for getting involved in the SUNEE project, the majority did so in the pursuit of an ultimate job aim. Most of the student volunteers interviewed for this research entered the project in order to enhance their CV and boost their employability within their intended field of occupation and implied a perceptible understanding of the competitiveness of the current jobs market. However, the motivations that underpinned student commitment and retention to the project were distinctly different to those that initiated students to volunteer in the first place. Students largely chose to volunteer due to perceived extrinsic instrumentalities, and yet remained out of a more integrated and intrinsically orientated sense of purpose and satisfaction. During this process of motivational development students faced challenges and ordeals which unsettled and even scared them, particularly in the early stages of their involvement, yet they persevered out of a desire to learn and overcome such tests. Although the students found such encounters daunting they also received a sense of excitement and a thrill from their gradual progression through the project. As well as looking to their fellow volunteers for solidarity to help them endure this uncertain time, students also, albeit gradually, gained recognition and support from the client groups. This eventual backing that the student volunteers came to gain from the 'hard to reach' groups was to blossom into a sense of relatedness, friendship and trust which served to further internalise their motivational status and reinforce their commitment to the project. The case made here is that the initial challenges confronting the students are not necessarily detrimental to them, and if they are optimised can provide a short term source of motivation which serves as a precursor to the socially unifying processes which govern longer term commitment and motivational satisfaction. The thesis contends

that the challenges faced by and the roles and responsibilities performed by the student volunteers need to be optimised if student volunteers are to flourish and persist on the project. If these challenges and tasks are perceived to be overly threatening, unattainable or monotonous and unstimulating with an absence of progression then student motivation may become undermined to the point that it undergoes increasing extrinsic regulation and potentially results in participant drop out. In seeking to understand the processes and mechanisms which drive student motivation to volunteer this thesis prescribes a series of recommendations for harnessing the specific features and conditions active within sports-based outreach programmes that might be drawn upon to assist project managers and leaders to develop and maintain a motivational climate.

1.6 Original Contribution of the Thesis

The principal contribution of this thesis is to use the SUNEE project as a prism with which to understand the social processes that students experience on the SUNEE project and how these experiences influence their motivation. In order to do this, Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self Determination Theory has been blended with Turner's (1969) concepts of liminality and communitas, and also Bourdieu's theory of field, to examine the socio-psychological conditions, mechanisms and forces which govern students' voluntary action. Thus, the main original contribution of this dissertation is the provision of a robust framework that can be utilised to identify, interpret and develop student motivation to volunteer. Second, this research has tested the rigour and compatibility of Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self-Determination Theory (SDT) – an instrument originally conceived and trialled in the psychological sciences – for application within the sociological investigation of student volunteers' motivational development during their participation throughout a sport-based outreach project. This thesis found that SDT holds sociological potential and offers a conceptual framework for application within social research. A further original contribution of the thesis is that it synthesises a series of recommendations

drawn from the experiences of student volunteers that might prove effective in facilitating motivational adaptation and potentially increase the satisfaction and well-being of volunteers operating in voluntary set-ups akin to that of SUNEE. This is important as it offers insight into the contexts and resources that underlie volunteer motivation, and which elements of the voluntary experience might be positively manipulated by project managers and supervisors to aid retention. The drawing of such trends and recommendations in order to facilitate volunteer satisfaction and persistence is therefore crucial in the case of students – this is because these individuals fall into a homogenous demographic category which is positively associated with volunteering beyond university life, and if acted upon, such knowledge might potentially help boost the ranks of an over-encumbered voluntary sector.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

To help answer the research objectives and produce an original contribution, the thesis is split into seven further chapters. Chapter Two offers part I of a two part literature review. Chapter Two provides a contextual review of the development, role and significance of the voluntary sector that is communicated through a potted history which helps map the contours of the voluntary sector across an ever-changing political landscape spanning three centuries. Prior to this, the chapter opens by defining volunteering before classifying the type of volunteer and the type of voluntary organisation that SUNEE represents. The chapter also documents a contemporary and concerning decline in volunteering rates.

Chapter Three, and part II of the literature review presents a conceptual review of motivation to volunteer before tapering down to discuss volunteering specific to the field of sport. This chapter begins by reviewing the reasons why people take up volunteering as well as the reasons why people either continue to volunteer or decide to stop and drop out. The second half of the chapter introduces and describes in depth a psychological framework, known as the self-determination

theory (SDT), constructed to identify an individual's motivational status at a given time, track its development, and derive the factors and processes owing to a specific motivational type and its subsequent adaptation.

Chapter Four details the methods employed in this research. The chapter begins by providing an explanation and justification for the overall research design before going on to describe in detail participant selection and issues of access. In order to analyse the behaviours, motivations and experiences of the student volunteers, Data was obtained using in-depth semi-structured interviews and the advantages and disadvantages of utilising this method is outlined in detail. The chapter concludes by describing the 'Straussian' approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) to grounded theory which was adopted to analyse the data, as well as explaining how and why the NVivo computer software package was selected to facilitate this process of analysing the data.

Chapter Five presents the first of three empirically grounded chapters. This chapter employs Deci and Ryan's (1985) psychological framework of self-determination theory (SDT) to identify, index and track student motivation to volunteer from their inception on SUNEE and throughout the course of their participation on the project. This chapter reveals the social and environmental conditions and features that actively unfold on the project that either facilitate or forestall student motivation to continue volunteering on the project in line with a core set of psychological needs. The trends that emerge within the chapter provide an understanding of the socio-psychological mechanisms and factors that underlie student motivation and how these elements can be managed to accentuate volunteer commitment or offset demotivating forces.

Chapter Six highlights the potential of sports-based outreach programmes such as the SUNEE project to foster the integration of socially disparate individuals, by engendering feelings of trust, reciprocity and friendship – features which appear to play a crucial role in the retention of student volunteers. The chapter does this by examining the social and psychological transitions (or liminal processes)

experienced by student volunteers as they adjust to the dynamics of the programme and gain membership among the 'hard to reach' groups (Turner, 1969). The chapter further illustrates the emergence of 'communitas' between volunteers and clients - a sense of camaraderie and togetherness which emanated from their shared experiences on the project (Turner, 1969). The chapter argues that both liminality and communitas play a vital role in the short-term and long-term retention of volunteers respectively.

Utilising Bourdieu's (1984; 1993) theory of field, Chapter Seven examines the convergence of student and client social subfields and how the struggles that ensued between these two objectively unconnected groups yield reciprocal benefits in terms of self-development and prosocial relations. The chapter contends that the distinct and disparate forms of capital possessed by students and the 'hard to reach' clients serve to draw these two diverse groups together, facilitating the integration of the 'hard to reach' clients and student volunteers. During this process, students and clients trade and convert different species and volumes of capital, in turn boosting their social, interpersonal and practical coaching/leadership skills. In connection, the chapter also makes the case that the coming together of these two groups in conjunction with the sustained participation of students on the project facilitates a deeper understanding of the 'hard to reach' groups which ultimately serves to destabilize the habitus and positively alter student attitudes towards and perceptions of the client groups.

The concluding chapter sums up the thesis by directly responding to the research aim and demonstrating how the objectives have been answered. In bringing the findings of this thesis together this chapter provides an overview of the arguments made in each of the empirically grounded chapters and discusses the implications that this research has for understanding volunteering, particularly in sport and student volunteering. This chapter also considers the limitations of the thesis and suggests constructive recommendations for future research projects and how my findings and the conceptual framework emerging from this investigation may be applied constructively to similar volunteer-based initiatives.

The next chapter begins part I of the literature review and helps to situate this research by identifying the role, contribution and development of the voluntary sector.

2

Volunteering in Sport in the UK I: Definitions, Contributions and a History of Voluntary Associations

2.1 Introduction

Volunteers – however defined – are often commended for their contributions by academics, government officials, politicians and sports ambassadors alike, and are frequently described as the 'backbone' and the 'lifeblood' of sport provision in the UK (House of Lords, 1973: xxvi; Torkildsen, 1999: 284). Indeed, volunteers in sport and recreation represent the largest contribution to volunteerism in the UK (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2011), accounting for over one quarter of total volunteers in England in recent figures (Sport England, 2003). This chapter will explore this important area by critically discussing the literature on volunteering and volunteering in sport. It will do so by: first, unpacking the various definitions of volunteering that exist and explaining how these may shape the extent to which data on voluntary action can be considered to be valid and then, second, illustrating the long history of the voluntary activities in British society.

2.2 Unpacking Definitions of Volunteering

The term 'volunteer' is widely contested (Handy, Cnaan, Brudney, Ascoli, Meijs and Ranade, 2000). Voluntary agents and voluntary organisations are active across a wide range of industries and take a variety of organisational forms (Kendall and Knapp, 1995). Academics highlight that volunteering is such a heavily disputed term due to the diverse and multifaceted nature of voluntary work and the range of structural formats that these organisations adopt (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006; Winniford, Carpenter and Grider, 1997). Despite the plenitude of research into the third sector, Handy et al. (2000) point out that there is a scarcity of studies that

have been undertaken to systematically define the term volunteer in a rigorous and precise manner.

In order to measure and classify volunteering, a common definition is required, yet there lacks a universal consensus as to the meaning of the term (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). To illustrate this problem, Fischer, Mueller and Cooper (1991) point out that the definition of volunteering often shapes the rates of the activity. For instance, their study into older volunteers produced higher participation rates than national survey results as an outcome of their wider definition of the term (Fischer, Mueller and Cooper, 1991). Cnaan and Amrofell (1994) further explain that there are numerous volunteering definitions provided within the literature and argue that the vast majority are too broad and just as many are ambiguous as to whom can be classed as a volunteer and as to what actions constitute volunteering. This lack of consensus serves only to confuse survey respondents, raising uncertainty as to whether the contributions they make actually fall into the bracket of 'volunteering' (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). Cnaan and Amrofell (1994) add that all too often the act of 'volunteering' is assumed, and are therefore insistent that there is an urgent need for a clear and consistent definition to be developed. In concurrence, and to prevent the term from being used as a 'catch-all for a wide range of nonsalaried activities' Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, stress the need to 'delineate the boundaries of the term volunteer' (1996:365). During their attempts to do this, Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) scoured through hundreds of definitions, selecting eleven which spanned a range of 'broad' to 'pure' definitions of volunteering. Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) proceeded to identify four key dimensions commonly associated with volunteering:

- Free choice;
- Remuneration;
- Structure (context within which the volunteer activity is performed); and
- Intended beneficiaries

To further distinguish between broad and pure definitions, Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) proposed that each dimension be examined via an internal

continuum so to determine a hierarchy or rank order of categories. This continuum enabled the researchers to measure the level of agreement or accuracy of a statement or theory. In this study, Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) used this method to distinguish between 'pure' and 'broad' definitions of volunteers. It is important to clarify that within a scalogram items within a dimension have an order, to establish a hierarchy agreement must be determined when ranking the categories available (Stouffer, 2007). Therefore, in order to establish a hierarchy those participants who answered favourably to a higher level category would invariably answer unfavourably to a lower level category (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996; Stouffer, 2007). If significant accordance is struck then a continuum or scale can be accepted (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996). The continuum (Table 2.1), developed and tested for each dimension, offers a useful understanding of how the public at large defines volunteering.

Table 2.1 Dimensions of volunteer definitions

Dimension	*Categories*
Free Choice	1. Free Will (the ability to voluntarily choose) 2. Relatively uncoerced 3. Obligation to volunteer
Remuneration	1. None at all 2. None expected 3. Expenses reimbursed 4. Stipend/low pay
Structure	1. Formal 2. Informal
Intended beneficiaries	1. Benefit/help others/strangers 2. Benefit/help friends or relatives 3. Benefit oneself (as well)

Source: Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996:371)

To interpret Table 2.1, those individuals termed as 'pure' volunteers are narrowly defined as engaging in voluntary activity out of free choice, with no interest in reward or financial remuneration/gain, via an institutionalised organisation and with no prior connection to the individual or groups benefitting from the voluntary activity (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006).

Therefore, Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) argue that people are more likely to define as a volunteer those individuals' motivations and actions that correspond to the strict criteria at the top of each dimensional hierarchy. To contextualise these findings, two definitions illustrative of 'broad' and 'pure' volunteers are below, which have been gathered from a range of academic, government and voluntary sources:

First, a more broad and inclusive example, the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) – the government department (formerly) responsible for assessing levels of citizenship and trends in volunteering and charitable giving in the UK – provide the following definition of *formal* voluntary action:

> Unpaid help given as part of a group, club or organisation to benefit others or the environment.
>
> DCLG, 2010:10

This definition provided by the DCLG (2010) infers formal volunteering by stating participation through an organisation or club, yet there is also an air of ambiguity surrounding the formal nature of the voluntary setting as groups or clubs may not be institutionalised. Also, this definition does not stress that the voluntary action is performed out of free will. However, the definition does stipulate an absence of monetary reward and is suggestive of altruistic voluntary action in-keeping with the dimensions outlined by Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) when defining who is a volunteer.

Second, Jenner (1982) provides a contrasting definition which epitomises a volunteer that would be located at the 'purest' end of the volunteer continuum, describing such an individual as:

> A person who, out of free will and without wages, works for a not-for-profit organisation which is formally organised and has its purpose service to someone or something other than its membership.
>
> Jenner, 1982:30

Here, Jenner (1982) describes a largely altruistic individual within a particularly narrow definition of what constitutes pure voluntary action. Jenner (1982) emphasises the formal nature of the voluntary action by not only citing that an individual must operate within a not-for-profit organisation, but also that the environment is formally structured. An absent regard for self-interest and personal gain, as well as the volitional nature of involvement in the activity is further implied within this example. This absence of wages conveyed by Jenner (1982) also helps to distinguish between volunteers and paid employees.

When placed side by side the exclusive and inclusive nature of the respective 'broad' and 'pure' definitions above becomes evident. To this end, a shared understanding of what constitutes volunteering is important to both contextualise and categorise the types of individuals that give so freely of their time to help and contribute to society. However, the key point here is not necessarily the degree of difference in 'broad' and 'pure' definitions of volunteering, but rather a lack of consistency in the choice of definition implemented by researchers and policy makers. This raises questions as to the reliability of volunteer data recorded across numerous sources, causing significant difficulties in measuring, interpreting and comparing rates and trends in volunteering (Donnelly and Harvey, 2011).

For the purpose of the current research, this study subscribes to a more 'purist' or formal interpretation of what constitutes a 'volunteer'. That is, the individual participates of their own volition, through an organisation which is for the benefit of others, and in which they receive no payment. This does not preclude volunteers from benefitting from their involvement. To crystalize the voluntary action participated in by the SUNEE volunteer, Volunteering Australia (2005) provide the following definition befitting of the sport sector:

> An activity which takes places through not for profit organisations or projects and is undertaken: to be of benefit to the community and the volunteer; of the volunteer's own free will and without coercion; for no financial payment; and in designated volunteer positions only.
>
> Volunteering Australia, 2005: no page: cited in Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006

This definition demonstrates congruence with the four key dimensions of volunteerism as outlined by Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) and can be situated close to the narrow or 'purest' end of the spectrum.

The definitions provided above are applied by the DCLG (2010), Jenner (1982) and Volunteering Australia (2005) to represent formal volunteering. According to Cnaan and Amrofell (1994), types of formal volunteering can fall into three subcategories: volunteering with a non-profit organization, volunteering with for-profit organizations, and volunteering with the government. First, non-profit organisations include charities, community groups, voluntary clubs and organisations, and social enterprises in which volunteers may fulfil a variety of roles such as administrative work, leading groups, mentoring, coaching or training people, fund raising, serving as committee members, and helping at animal shelters (DCLG, 2010). Second, volunteering with government services may involve helping in libraries, public schools and hospitals, and also the fire service (Cnaan, 1990; Montjoy and Brudney, 1991; Wardell, Lishman and Whalley, 2000). Third, volunteers are also attracted to for-profit organizations which own and manage services more usually ran by non-profit organisations such as hospitals, nursing homes and schools (Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994).

However, helping a person or supporting a worthy cause can occur both within and outside of formal agencies, and as such informal volunteering is recognised by scholars and researchers. Informal volunteering refers to giving unpaid help to neighbours or others who are not relatives on an ad hoc basis (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1992; DCLG, 2010). The DCLG (2010) acknowledges the contribution of informal volunteering to community cohesion and social welfare, measuring its

frequency separately to that of formal volunteering within the annual (or at least up until 2011) Citizenship Survey on Volunteering and Charitable Giving. Informal volunteering can thus be categorised into two forms: first, assisting individuals in need or supporting local social networks by, for example, bringing shopping or prescription medicine to the elderly, or transporting children to school or sports events; and second, by helping informal voluntary collectives such as self-help groups (Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994; Adams and Deane, 2009).

Therefore, volunteers fulfil a broad and diverse range of vital roles within both the community and society more generally. To quantify and emphasise the contributions made by volunteers on an economic scale, Gaskin and Dobson (1997) and Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld (2006) cite that in 1995 the estimated economic value of volunteer work equated to £41billion[6]. Gaskin and Dobson (1997) add that this sum would represent the third largest component of Britain's gross domestic product (GDP). Notably, of this £41billion, formal volunteering alone yielded a value of £25million per year (Gaskin and Dobson, 1997). However, the 2007/08 period saw a drop in the estimated economic contributions of formal volunteers to £22.7billion (National Council for Voluntary Organisations [NCVO], 2009). This decline was attenuated in 2010 but still lower than the 1995 figures as formal voluntary contributions were calculated at £23billion (Hopkins, 2010).

When observing statistics reporting on formal voluntary trends since the early 1980s to the present day there is stark contrast and clear evidence that volunteering has significantly declined since the turn of the twenty-first century. The decline and subsequent stagnation observed in the estimated value of volunteers to the UK economy between 1995 and 2010, as outlined above, is reflected in these decreasing volunteer rates. In analysis, the proportion of the adult population engaged in formal volunteering in 1981 was forty-four per cent,

[6] This gross estimate was calculated by multiplying the number of volunteers by the average hours volunteered per week, then taking that figure and multiplying it by the average hour wage (Gaskin and Dobson, 1997) – which at the time was estimated at £7.83 per hour according to the New Earnings Survey of 1993.

this rose to fifty-one per cent in 1991 and then dipped to forty-eight per cent in 1997; this research informed the 1997 National Survey of Volunteer Activity and was conducted by BMRB International on behalf of the National Centre of Volunteering and subsequently collated and evaluated by Smith (1998). On average, the 22 million adult volunteers in the UK devoted four hours to formal volunteer per week in 1997 (Smith, 1998). Statistics from 2001 onwards were collated by the DCLG to inform the newly commissioned Citizenship Survey. In 2001, the proportion of the adult population engaged in formal volunteering was twenty-seven per cent, rising slightly to twenty-eight per cent in 2003 before peaking at twenty-nine per cent in 2005 (the Year of the Volunteer), figures then stuttered consecutively in 2008 and 2009, falling to twenty-seven per cent and twenty-six per cent respectively (DCLG, 2010:11). To bring these trends up to date, the Citizenship Survey for the year 2009-2010, the penultimate survey before the study was decommissioned, reported a single percentage point drop on the previous year, to twenty-five per cent.

The importance of sport to these figures on volunteering should not be understated. Indeed, based on the Active People Survey in 2002 it was reported that in excess of 5.8 million people volunteered in sport in England, a figure which accounted for over one quarter (26.5%) of total volunteers (22 million) (Sport England, 2003). The LIRC (2003) state that over 77 per cent of these sport volunteers volunteer solely within formal sports organizations. These volunteers help to sustain approximately 151,000 voluntary sports clubs throughout the UK (CCPR, 2003), a third of which are estimated to have been in existence for 50 years or more (Coalter, 2007). According to Cuskelly (2008), voluntary activity that involves upwards of five per cent of a country's population offers substantial capacity to deliver sport participation opportunities in community sport at a level which can significantly offset costs to the state in promoting and developing sports participation. In 2002, sport volunteers contributed over 1.2 billion hours to their voluntary organizations (Sport England, 2003). The value of this time given by

sports volunteers was estimated to be worth over £14 billion[7] (£14,139,832,000), equivalent to 720,000 additional full-time paid jobs in sport, which at the time sat at approximately 450,000 (LIRC, 2003; Sport England, 2003). On average each sports volunteer in England contributes just under 208 hours per year, yet when these figures are broken down further the statistics reveal that 43 per cent contribute less than 50 hours per annum whereas 13 per cent provide in excess of 500 hours annually to their voluntary organizations (LIRC, 2003). Coalter (2007) adds that 80 per cent of these hours volunteered were done through formal voluntary organizations.

The national population survey, devised and administered by the LIRC, and on which Sport England's (2003) 'Sports Volunteering in England in 2002' was based, does come with limitations, most of which are recognised by its authors. As its key strength, the national population survey is able to highlight a cross-section of volunteer activities that take place within England (LIRC, 2003). However, this survey is restricted by a relatively small-scale sample of 8,458 adults aged 16 years and above (Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). However, the main concern for the researchers is not a question of broad generalizability, but instead the ability of the survey to provide reliable results of volunteer participation, particularly in the less mainstream sports that tend to be supported by small-sized organizations (LIRC, 2003). Such limitations combined with the difficulties in finding comparative data, highlight the problematic nature of measuring sports volunteering (Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). However, for the purposes of gauging the scale and importance of the voluntary sector, the projections provided by the LIRC (2003) and Sport England (2003) are broadly generalizable and helpful in positioning this thesis.

Coinciding with general drops in volunteering rates has been what Kelly (2010) describes as an intern 'boom' in Britain which he traces back to 1997. Typically

[7] This value represents the hypothetical cost of replacing all sports volunteers with paid workers (LIRC, 2003). The valuation of total hours volunteered is based on the average hourly earnings across all industries, which in 2002 was £11.69 (Office for National Statistics, 2003). This method was used in previous research for Sport England (LIRC, 2003).

associated with 'white-collar'[8] careers, this culture of internships originated in the US in the 1930s and did not become embedded in British industry until 20-30 years ago (Kelly, 2010). Most internships are unpaid, some offer remuneration such as travel expenses and few pay their interns (Cumming, 2011). The exponential growth in applications for internships reflects the current state of the labour market with graduates more abundant than ever and yet graduate jobs proving scarce – a situation exacerbated due to the recent economic recession (Cumming, 2011). According to Vasager (2011), a third of graduate job vacancies will be filled by applicants who have already undertaken work experience within those companies. Employers advocate that prospective applicants and job-seekers pursue internships prior to applying for jobs with them so they are 'work-ready' and have the necessary understanding and skills to 'hit the ground running'. In fact managers and directors perceive such work placements as a kind of 'rite of passage' into that profession (Kelly, 2010). Polemically, Perlin (2011), amongst other critics, argues that internships provide a hidden economy, and in a climate of severe financial restrictions employers view internships as a means of cheap or even free labour lacking any real richness and structure of learning experiences (Perlin, 2011). Therefore it can be surmised that internships represent a growing proportion of the voluntary sector as individuals, particularly graduates, vie in a ferociously competitive market for places at 'prestigious' organisations in order to get 'a foot in the door'. Not only does this deprive legitimate voluntary clubs and organisations of potential volunteer recruits, it also detracts from the potential opportunities presented to young people to get involved with volunteering, opportunities which may inspire them to continue or return to volunteering in the future.

Significantly, declining volunteer numbers threatens to jeopardise a raft of social and welfare services, educational and recreational activities which serve to fashion and sustain the support networks, as well as promote the civic values and social connectedness that galvanises communities and undergirds their sustainability. In an age of competing leisure interests and the complex life circumstances of

[8] A clerical profession which is skilled, non-manual and salaried.

individuals the study of volunteers and their motivations has never been more pertinent.

2.3 Sport as a Site for Volunteering: Historical Perspectives

To examine the ever-changing landscape of the voluntary sector, the challenges it has faced, and the roles and functions it has been required to perform since its more formal and organized roots during the Victorian era, the chapter will now provide a potted history of the major volunteer movements both within and beyond sport that have transpired to shape the 'third sector'. As Donnelly and Harvey (2011) point out, organized volunteering has its origins in two sources in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; this binary involves the proliferation of voluntary associations and indeed sports clubs in the tradition of amateurism, and the second strand pertains to the emergence of charitable social welfare and liberal reformers. The review that follows contextualises these volunteer movements, outlines the plethora of functions performed by the voluntary sector, and demonstrates the role for volunteers in sport and recreation throughout each of these stages. The ebb and flow of the voluntary sector is therefore illustrated here, highlighting the periods in modern history when volunteers were in vogue and the sector thrived and in contrast, it details those times when voluntarism was in recession and the sector was forced to adapt to survive and perhaps irreversibly alter the expectations of, and accompanying pressures on, volunteers.

1780-1840 –The Rise of Industrialisation and Victorian Philanthropy

According to Hall (1989), prior to the late 1980s the voluntary sector had been revolutionised and shaped by five significant volunteer movements dating back to the turn of the nineteenth century and the rise of industrialisation. First, Hall (1989) refers to the culture of Victorian philanthropy. In the burgeoning stages of industrialisation, the government believed that state intervention into public

welfare would encumber the commercial market and hinder economic prosperity (Haywood et al., 1995). In order to further maximise production the state also sought to control modes of leisure and recreation that were synonymous with the working classes at that time during a period that also witnessed the rationalisation of work (Gratton, 1991; Holt, 1993; Torkildsen, 1999). To enforce work discipline and maximise profit, offsetting employee absenteeism, the worship of 'Saint Monday' (taking Monday off for extra leisure time) and drunkenness was key to a compliant and regularly available workforce – controlling recreation was seen as the solution to such problems (Gratton, 1991; Holt, 1993; Haywood et al., 1995). To impose such rhetoric animal blood-sports were banned (except those of the emergent industrial middle-classes and aristocracy such as fox-hunting), the suppression of drinking, street games and prize fighting was also enforced, and traditional fairs and wakes prohibited as these were seen as seedbeds of revelry and expressions of mass dissatisfaction (Gratton, 1991; Holt, 1993; Haywood et al., 1995). It was during this period, between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that the 'old playgrounds' disappeared as ancient forms of play declined (Holt, 1993; Torkildsen, 1999:285). This was in no small amount due to the established church discontinuing with voluntary duties and withdrawing its patronage of traditional sports such as football, wrestling and boxing, claiming that such activities were dangerous, inviting of violence, bloodshed and immoral behaviour which was incongruent with religious values (Holt, 1993). Run largely by the younger sons of the gentry, churches became reluctant to permit such sports on their property and strictly espoused sabbatarianism (Holt, 1993).

Instead, employers and Methodists attempted to impart the Puritan ethic upon the working classes to endorse an ethos of hard work and thrift for which they would be repaid in the afterlife (Gratton, 1991; Holt, 1993). Therefore, a persistent thesis presented of the time was that voluntary agencies offered a mechanism of social control. In order to impart and impose middle-class values and regimes upon the working classes, philanthropists created mechanics' institutes, institutions for moral reform, housing programmes, and the charity school movement to prepare the future workforce and dampen political radicalism (Smith, 1995). For example,

Thompson (1967) argues that the Sunday School Movement – which offered education to working-class children – was disciplining and preparing children for a life of factory labour. Schools and institutions such as these typically sprung up in the urban conurbations of industrial towns (Smith, 1995).

Rapid industrialisation and urbanisation had begun to foster overcrowding, poverty and squalor in inner city areas, and this increased social need served as a major catalyst for the growth of Victorian philanthropy. Middle and upper class philanthropists would join together to donate money, possessions and land to charitable trusts and voluntary agencies (Smith, 1995). Evangelists also played an important role in the spread of philanthropy and development of voluntary action at this time, operating city missions and visiting societies (Smith, 1995). Such offerings were indeed intended to alleviate the raft of social problems stemming from the deprivation, poverty and the cultural deviance rife within the inner city, yet these gestures rarely represented purely altruistic motives (Graham, 2001). As Graham (2004) posits, such contributions were often made as a means of attaining prestige and status. Additionally, and due to the squalor and insanitary conditions fostered by the close-quarter urban living conditions and impoverishment of the working classes at the time, airborne diseases such as cholera were rife and threatening both productivity as well as the health of the more civilised and upper classes – factors which promoted less selfless motives for philanthropy and voluntary action (Haywood et al., 1995). As a separate phenomenon, mutual aid and self-help collectives were a significant development of the time – these represented the voluntary action of the poor; proliferating at a pace, these groups were typically made up of working class artisans who banded together to tackle shared problems (Smith, 1995). These informal groups took the form of building societies, co-op stores and friendly societies (Smith, 1995).

1840-1900 – The Decline of Doctrinal Laissez Faire' and Early State Intervention

The second major volunteer movement acknowledged by Hall is the collapse of 'doctrinal laissez faire' (1989: 9). Due to the failure of private charity and philanthropy to offset and resolve the poverty, deprivation, disease and ill health, unemployment, profound social inequalities and general misery faced by the majority of the population, the state decided that it was time to intervene and that it needed to take a more paternalistic approach to governance (Cunningham, 1980; Hall, 1989; Haywood et al., 1995; Graham, 2004; Roberts, 2004). Poverty was now seen as a structural issue rather than a moral one with the state becoming more involved in supporting and regulating voluntary agencies and charitable organisations (Smith, 1995). The government took responsibility for certifying, inspecting and providing assistance grants to charitable institutions such as schools, reformatories and refuges that cater for poor children, and also forged partnerships with voluntary organisations and even private enterprises to provide affordable housing, support discharged prisoners and fund 'rehabilitative' institutions for 'troublesome' women (Smith, 1995: 20).

Increased state involvement in, and indeed scrutiny of charitable and voluntary agencies grew increasingly constraining on their autonomy ushering in an era in which the roles performed and activities provided by voluntary bodies were beginning to change and diversify. Social reformers and philanthropists of the nineteenth century now sought to promote 'rational recreation' across wider society, encouraging people to use their free time and money on more wholesome and edifying pastimes that would lead to self-improvement (Roberts, 2004). Indeed this period marked the dawn of leisure and recreation, as well as the founding of many of today's affiliated sports clubs which owe their roots to the volunteer movement of the mid-to-late nineteenth century. As the towns expanded rapidly as a result of industrial sprawl sports clubs and leisure organisations grew sharply, becoming salient features in the recreational and social life of communities (Torkildsen, 1999, 2005).

Industrialists also provided a catalyst for the formation of early sports teams and clubs, allowing sports days for workers in a bid to boost health and fitness, satisfaction and morale (Birley, 1993). Some factory owners provided organised leisure activities such as fêtes, trips, anniversaries and patriotic events for their workers in a bid to control their free time and ensure fitness and sobriety for the following working week (Haywood et al., 1995). In addition, The Church of England offered a significant vehicle of voluntary action and was responsible for founding some of the UKs very first football (soccer) clubs (Haywood et al., 1995). Moreover, certain members of the Church strived to promote and found Working Men's Clubs (WMCs), establishments intended to provide wholesome activities and alcohol-free social venues for the labouring classes to congregate and converse in a civilised and responsible fashion (Cunningham, 1980; Haywood et al., 1995, Torkildsen, 1999). To appeal to their intended audience, the philosophy behind the development of WMCs was to take them to the working classes, to build them within working communities so to provide a convenient location for people of similar occupations and social classes (Cunningham, 1980). Public houses, inns and breweries maintained their traditional social influence by continuing to promote and support voluntary and leisure pursuits with their sponsorship (Birley, 1993).

Furthermore, Graham (2001) traces back the origins of student volunteering in medical research; a form of voluntary action which did much to lay the foundations of medicine as a profession. Morris (2000) comments on the state of public health care in the mid-to-late 1800s, acknowledging the impact of the early voluntary sector in providing medical aid. Morris (2000) highlights two forms of medical and health care provision for lower middle and working classes – those who could not afford private care. Care was either afforded by collective provision or delivered via public charitable medical care as the 'Victorians considered health to be inextricably linked to social and economic health' (Morris, 2000:31). This healthcare was therefore provided to the poorest patients by either the poor law agencies that operated specific poor law infirmaries or via the services of an assigned poor law medical officer, alternatively charitable dispensaries or free outpatient departments in voluntary hospitals were utilised (Morris, 2000). In contrast, second

tier friendly societies were private and self-governing voluntary organisations where members combined to purchase medical services from doctors who would have previously negotiated a flat-fee or capped remuneration policy (Morris, 2000). Works clubs operated in a similar self-help fashion with Riley (1997:49) estimating that forty-five percent of adult working-class males were entitled to medical attendance by 1900 via their friendly society[9] membership. Green (1985:95) however, claims that those figures would have been much closer to seventy-five percent following the friendly society movement.

1900-1935 – Towards a Welfare State

The third significant volunteer movement that Hall (1989) describes is that which occurred under the great reforming governments of 1906 to 1914 and that helped lay the foundations of the Welfare State (Haywood et al., 1995; Smith, 1995). This marked a period of expansion in the social welfare provision of the state and the extension of citizenship to all members of society in terms of civil, economic, legal and political rights (Hedley and Smith, 1992). During this period, and informed by a number of social surveys of the time, the government passed the unemployed workman's Act of 1905 under which the state would offer grants to businesses and local councils to employ more workers and reduce unemployment, also doling out modest unemployment assistance (Haywood et al., 1995; Smith, 1995). Moreover, school meals were introduced in 1907 along with school medical care to contribute to the health and fitness of young people; and means tested old age pensions were created in 1908 to support those least able to meet all of own needs (Haywood et al., 1995). In 1911, the National Insurance Act was passed and implemented to support those who could not fully afford assistance on their own (Smith, 1995). The social legislation implemented by the reforming Liberal governments after 1905 did

[9] Friendly societies were small-scale, local mutual aid organisations which members would pay small sums to in order for themselves or family to receive future financial support in the event that they encounter significant hardship such as illness, injury or unemployment so to prevent financial ruin and maintain their respectability (Cordery, 2003).

much to erode the influence and role of voluntary agencies, although the work of the Women's Institute and charities such as the Red Cross during the Great War underlined the significance of the voluntary sector to British society (Smith, 1995).

Moving into the interwar years the recession of the voluntary sector was somewhat halted and reversed as voluntary bodies began to adopt an agency role in delivering services, namely in social services and later in community care, on behalf of the state (Smith, 1995). A culture of partnership was emerging and a mixed economy of provision was espoused between the private, public and voluntary sectors (Crawford and Rusbridge, 2008). This led to the establishment of the National Council of Social Service (now the National Council for Voluntary Organisations) in 1919, which aimed to develop close links with the government in order to tie down funding and also to coordinate voluntary action between the networks of councils responsible for social services (Smith, 1995). Later, in 1937 the government passed the Physical Training and Recreation Act which was backed with a fund of £2million to be spent on leisure and recreation initiatives – in relative terms this represented the largest amount ever commissioned by the state for such purposes (Haywood et al., 1995). The reasons behind this act were the growing fears of war and a general lack of fitness for it, as well as concerns over the effects of unemployment on those disaffected, disenfranchised and potentially deviant (Haywood et al., 1995).

Therefore, state intervention during this movement caused an initial sharp decline in voluntary action as government services took responsibility for many roles previously performed by voluntary agencies. However, these voluntary agencies survived, reshaping and specialising their roles and activities to supplement and fill gaps in state provision (Cole, 1945). For example, the voluntary sector began to play a major role in the provision of education and recreational activities as leisure organizations continued to grow and develop, and undertake government policy for physical recreation (Haywood et al., 1995; Kendall and Knapp, 1996; Crawford and Rusbridge, 2008). Indeed, youth nursery and play provision, primary, secondary and higher education were largely provided by the voluntary sector, as was schooling for young offenders with the aid of funding from the state (Kendall and Knapp,

1996). The voluntary sector was also developing a new role in adult education and training, and charity committees ran by women pursued child welfare in poverty stricken families (Thane, 1982; Kendall and Knapp, 1996). When the Second World War broke out the state had reached an agreement with the voluntary sector that it would receive funding to contribute to the war effort to run and support the auxiliary hospitals and played a major role in the evacuation of civilians – once again, women volunteers, particularly those who were members of The Women's Voluntary Service made invaluable contributions to the cause (Smith, 1995).

1945-1960 – The Creation of the Welfare State

The fourth revolutionary phase in the development of the voluntary sector was the institutionalisation of those principles advanced during the previous movement in the creation of the welfare state after 1945 by the newly elected Labour government (Hall, 1989; Haywood et al., 1995; Borsay, 2006). This signalled a series of fundamental social reforms in education, health, social security, and unemployment assistance (Haywood, et al., 1995; Borsay, 2006). The twenty-five-year period which was to follow, between 1950 and the mid-1970s, was dubbed as the 'golden age' of welfare policy (Houlihan and White, 2002; Jessop, 2002; Milligan and Conradson, 2006). Also, during this time the government began to take more of a role in the control and delivery of leisure in what Polley (2002: cited in Borsay, 2006:44) called 'the growth of the sport-state relationship'. Therefore, the founding of the welfare state towards the end of the 1940s caused many traditional volunteers to become side-lined due to the provision of professional statutory services (Sheard, 1992). The collectivist philosophy that underpinned the British labour movement at this time was largely opposed to volunteers, viewing them as a threat to jobs in times of economic stagnation (Smith, 1992; Deakin, 1995).

However, a moral panic of the 1950s was to reinvigorate government endorsement of traditional British voluntary organisations. Antithetically to the pre-war era, post-war Britain enjoyed a period of high employment and consequently the relative affluence of young people was becoming cause for concern due to the unsavoury

and dissolute nature of choice of recreational activities (Haywood et al., 1995). In search of a solution to this growing 'problem of youth', The Albemarle Committee was established in 1958 in order to review the role of the youth service (Haywood et al., 1995; Houlihan and White, 2002:16). Established in 1939, traditionally the youth service operated alongside the education sector and was responsible for supporting young people through their post-school years of adolescence (Houlihan and White, 2002). The youth service was made up of a number of youth organisations including the Boy's Brigade, the Boy Scouts Association, the Girl Guides Association, the National Association of Boys Clubs and various church-based youth organisations (Houlihan and White, 2002). Responsible for the direction of the youth service was the Board of Education, whose remit was to coordinate the work of the youth service with that of the local education authorities (Houlihan and White, 2002). However, the war years were to impact heavily on the youth service, dramatically reducing participant numbers by the early 1950s (Houlihan and White, 2002). The Albemarle Committee ruled that a revival of the youth service, combined with support from the state could provide young people with the social and physical training which would foster real relationships and responsibility, promote citizenship and cause current youth problems to abate (Haywood et al., 1995; Houlihan and White, 2002).

The Albemarle Committee threw up two problematic issues, political and logistical in nature, by recommending that voluntary sector organisations such as the youth service be supported by government grant aids, and that voluntary bodies should be supplemented with qualified professionals such as youth workers (Houlihan and White, 2002). These conclusions were met with mixed feelings across political spheres as although both of the major political parties endorsed welfare policies, divergence existed between the right and left in dispute over the exact role of the state, as the left viewed the state as the source of resources for the community and voluntary groups, the right contrastingly would seek to encourage the community/voluntary network to be the source of its own resources (Houlihan and White, 2002).

The debates about the role and necessity of the youth service on the back of the Albemarle Committee were to re-establish the potential of the voluntary sector as well as the perception of sport and physical endeavour as vehicles of both moral and social development by the 1960s (Houlihan and White, 2002).

The 1960s and 1970s – A volunteer boom

The fifth and final of Hall's (1989) revolutionary volunteer movements emerged throughout the 1960s and 1970s. This period marked a resurgence in community activism and democratic participatory activity, observing an 'upsurge in grass-roots, community based organisations' largely as a response to the failures of the welfare state (Hall, 1989; Hedley and Smith, 1995: 4). The growth of mutual aid and self-help groups, in which people came together to help themselves and others, became a significant trend and ushered in a 'new phase of social development' (Hall, 1989: 11; Hedley and Smith, 1995).

As the 1960s rolled around, state services were struggling to meet all of the nation's welfare needs, therefore reviving interest in the contributions that volunteers could make in supplementing statutory services, particularly in the area of community service (Deakin, 1995). Critics of public sector services claimed that they were too remote, too impersonal and too bureaucratic, implying instead that volunteers were in touch with local needs (Sheard, 1992). However, the 1960s were to usher in a new age of professionalism amongst voluntary services, a shift which was to receive a mixed response throughout the voluntary sector.

Additionally, emerging in the 1960s was the phenomenon of community development and self-help groups which developed amongst disadvantaged communities as either alternative or complementary (depending on political outlook) forms of welfare; these were welcomed by both Labour and Conservative Parties for disparate reasons (Houlihan and White, 2002). From a political left perspective, such community groups served to counter-balance the centralism

depicted by the civil service and allowed local communities to actively negotiate for resources and forge partnerships with professional workers on mutually beneficial grounds; on the other hand, right wing politicians saw a community movement as one of empowerment, galvanising those groups to become the major source of their own resources (Houlihan and White, 2002).

However, polarised attitudes towards young people across society continued to fester (Houlihan and White, 2002). As a carryover from the late 1950s a succession of youth sub-cultures continued to emerge, heightening the sense of the age gap in popular consciousness and the problems of anti-social behaviour arising from it. By the 1960s, the Teddy Boys and beatniks of the 1950s were to give way to the Mods, Rockers, Hippies, Hell's Angels and student revolutionaries of the 1960s as the media began to stir up folk panics across the nation causing the adult public to homogenise all the groups together as an imminent threat to the social fabric (Sheard, 1992).

In response to the concern sparked by substantial government and media exposure toward the deviant behaviour of youth subcultures, a 'volunteer boom' was to occur as volunteering was perceived to take on a new role as a safe and constructive outlet for the volatile and destructive energies of disaffected young people (Sheard, 1992:11). Founded in 1962, one of the first major voluntary organisations to come out of the young volunteer boom was the Community Service Volunteers (CSV), similarly to the YVFF (Young Volunteer Force Foundation) and the Task Force (which operated in the East End of London) its purpose was to find voluntary placements for young people who had been typically labelled as anti-social and otherwise written off by mainstream society (Sheard, 1995).

Houlihan and White (2002) highlight that although sports development was not recognised in the wider sport policy agenda at this time, the combination of three unfolding movements set against the backdrop of the tensions surrounding the welfare state were to strongly influence the emergence of the field sports development.

Firstly, and linked to the widespread concern of youth sub-cultures and anti-social behaviour, was the reinvigoration of the youth service highlighted in the 1960 Albermarle report published in follow-up to the 1958 Albermarle Committee, which stressed the necessity of the development of young people through sport (Houlihan & White, 2002).

The second of these precursors was to overhaul school sport and physical education (PE), to reform the PE syllabus and to enhance and develop links to local voluntary sports clubs to both develop talent and provide an avenue for school leavers to progress down which would help steer them away from juvenile crime, thus grounding sport discourse in social welfare and international prestige (Houlihan and White, 2002).

The third antecedent in the movement towards the creation of the field of sports development was the recommendations given in the Wolfenden report of 1960 which suggested that the government became more involved in the organisation, funding and provision of sport (Hylton, Bramham, Jackson and Nesti, 2001; Houlihan and White, 2002; Hylton and Bramham, 2008). At the time of publishing, these recommendations fell somewhat upon deaf ears within the Conservative government, yet received more attention from the newly elected Labour government in 1964 (Houlihan and White, 2002). In response the Labour government acted on the Wolfenden's recommendations and established the Advisory Sport Council (ASC) in 1965, on a political level this was seen as more of an instrument to expand the boundaries of the welfare state than it represented state desire to promote sport (Hylton et al., 2001; Houlihan and White, 2002). As a primary advocate of sport, CCPR[10] lobbying had played a significant role in persuading the government to address the suggestions of the Wolfenden Report and increase state involvement in the backing of sport provision (Hylton et al., 2001; Houlihan and White, 2002; Bergsgard, Houlihan, Mangset, Nodland and

[10] The CCPR is the umbrella organisation for 320 governing and representative bodies of sport and recreation in the UK (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2012). The CCPR is now known as the Sport and Recreation Alliance (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2012).

Rommetvedt, 2007; Hylton and Bramham, 2008; King, 2009). The CCPR was primarily concerned that youth sport receive adequate government provision, doing much to highlight the 'Wolfenden Gap' as described in the report and which emphasised that a major reason for low and/or falling sports participation levels was due to the distinct lack of links between school sport and local clubs, which particularly penalised school-leavers; the CCPR worked very closely with the ASC, developing recommendations for sport for statutory and voluntary bodies (Hylton et al., 2001; Houlihan and White, 2002; Hylton and Bramham, 2008).

Towards the end of the 1960s, questions were beginning to be raised about the efficacy of the voluntary sector; more particularly the credibility of community service provided by young people was waning. People were growing disenchanted in the welfare state, believing that it was failing to tackle deprivation and poverty effectively, suggesting that the voluntary sector was papering over the cracks of the welfare systems failings (Sheard, 1992).

There was call for the voluntary sector to mature and distance itself from potential stereotypes of a socialising and disciplining youth service, an important facet of this strategy was to make volunteering opportunities more attractive to a broader spectrum of people of heterogeneous ages and backgrounds (Sheard, 1992). In 1969, the Aves report was published, entitled *The Voluntary Worker in the Social Services*, this report once again called for the voluntary sector to receive appropriate professional recruitment, training and support procedures, as it was to provide a complementary role to professional, paid staff; the Aves report was to prove influential in laying the foundations of the volunteering movement as it may be regarded today (Sheard, 1992). Aves recommendations led to the establishment of The Volunteer Centre and the Voluntary Services Unit in the Home Office. These two services were instrumental in the development of a national set-up of volunteer organisations and agencies structured around professional volunteer organisers (Deakin, 1995). Once these structures were in place, various roles within the old voluntary sector were disentangled, dichotomised and their purpose clarified – the main clash referred to here is the tension which surrounded

volunteering and community work camps (Deakin, 1995). This fission signalled a stark increase of interest in the field of community development between the years 1968 to 1975, a period labelled by Baldock (1981) as a 'Community Work Boom'. Interestingly, two of the key young volunteer organisations of the 1960s, the Task Force and the YVFF were remodelled and relaunched as community development agencies (Sheard, 1992).

Moving on, the oil-crisis and economic problems of the early-70s onwards markedly curtailed the expansion of the welfare state and in turn signalling the next major impact upon volunteering (Sheard, 1992). With the country on the brink of a recession coupled with the cutbacks imposed by the government, the voluntary sector became a viable alternative to public sector welfare and provision towards the late 1970s.

State restricted welfare also filtered into the sporting domain as the ASC was soon replaced by the Sports Council in 1972 (Houlihan and White, 2002; King, 2009). The significance of providing a Sports Council with greater power and autonomy served to weaken the influence of the CCPR over both the ASC and NGBs (Bramham, 2008). The establishment of a Sports Council helped to remove emphasis from excessive state involvement in welfare via sport, instead placing greater responsibility on the voluntary sector (Houlihan and White, 2002).

Throughout the 1970s, the Sports Council plied its grant funding into the rapid expansion of sports facilities throughout the UK, supporting also a number of voluntary sector facilities and projects (Torkildsen, 1999; Houlihan and White, 2002). The Conservative government argued that a lack of provision of facilities was the key factor absent in social welfare via sport, volunteers were therefore hailed as the 'lifeblood of sports provision', as the government played up the further responsibility they needed to take in regards to recreation planning and development (House of Lords, 1973: xxvi; Houlihan and White, 2002).

Since the work of Hall in the 1980s and the key volunteer movements he presents, there have been at least four more significant developments in the role and structure of the voluntary sector that have transpired in recent times. These four movements allude to the welfare pluralism introduced in the 1980s, the endorsement of 'active citizenship' in the 1990s which also tracks into the Third Way and Community Turn focus of the New Labour era, before the transition into the current volunteer emphasis pushed within the Big Society. These movements will now be briefly outlined.

1980s – Welfare Pluralism and the Rolling Back of the State – 1980s

Moving into the 1980s the Conservatives capitalised on previous measures enforced by the Labour party to pad out public services with volunteers (Sheard, 1992). The Conservatives were staunch supporters of the 'volunteer movement', valuing highly the attributes of individual responsibility, independence and the concept of self-help groups which would provide local autonomy and did not impose a burden on public spending – such ideology was in direct opposition of Labour values towards welfare and socialism (Deakin, 1995).

Moreover, Britain was set to suffer mass unemployment in the first half of the 1980s (Sheard, 1992). In response to wide scale unemployment riots in the summer of 1981 in London, Bristol and Liverpool which forced the government's hand into bringing forward proposals to encourage unemployed people to do voluntary work (Sheard, 1992). The thinking behind this was to provide idle unemployed people with opportunities to perform some of the many jobs required within the community which society was not able to pay for, therefore, volunteers would essentially be earning their dole, maintaining and developing their skill sets and keeping out of trouble (Sheard, 1992). To this end, in 1982 the government sponsored two separate volunteering initiatives: firstly, the Opportunities for Volunteering (OFV) Programme which was run by the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS); and the Voluntary Projects Programme (VPP) which was run

by the Manpower Services Commission[11] (MSC) (Sheard, 1992). Where society had once felt threatened by the younger generation there was now the possibility that the unemployed were to offer a fresh folk panic, the government assumed that by ushering the unemployed into voluntary programmes such fears could be allayed as the schemes would provide a safety valve and therefore a new form of social control (Sheard, 1992).

However, in the rolling back of the welfare state, the emergence of sport development gained further momentum in no small part due to the work of the youth service in a number of Active Sport and Community Programme projects (Houlihan and White, 2002). Within these projects volunteer youth workers had teamed up with professional youth workers, sports leaders and sports motivators to bring sporting opportunities closer to local communities (Hylton and Bramham, 2008). The Active Sport projects were initiated shortly after the urban riots of 1981 in Brixton and Toxteth. Voluntary agencies received substantial public funding via the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) to support such projects; at this time the MSC was working in cooperation with the Sports Council with the full approval of the government (Houlihan and White, 2002). Despite Thatcher's dislike of quangos she sanctioned the partnership between the MSC and Sports Council due to its emphasis on fostering community self-help and the training and development of community sports leaders throughout the various projects it sustained (Houlihan and White, 2002).

Towards the late 1980s the Conservatives radically reshaped the welfare system, cogently undermining public confidence in state action and laying emphasis on the role of the family and the private and voluntary sectors in welfare provision as the Tories sought to overthrow a dependency culture and replace it with a largely self-reliant society (Houlihan and White, 2002). Furthermore, in a shift to guarantee value for money the government adopted private sector management practices in

[11] The role of the MSC, a tripartite quango consisting of government, union officials and employers, was provide and improve training and employment schemes (Sheard, 1992).

which companies were to compete with one another to provide public services, this policy was termed compulsory competitive tendering (CCT) and was applied to the leisure services in 1988 (Hylton and Bramham, 2008). In further cutbacks to public sector administration, the role of local government was drastically reduced as the Thatcherite state posited that local authorities could not match the value for money achieved by private entrepreneurs and were consequently reshaped from that of a primary provider towards a role of enabler and facilitator (Hylton et al, 2001; Hylton and Bramham, 2008). Welfare, and indeed sport provision, continued to rely on volunteers, and local authorities sought to forge partnerships with voluntary clubs and community groups (Hytlon et al., 2001).

In the period from the early 1980s to the early 1990s, voluntary organisations competed with the commercial leisure industry to become providers as the subject of sport lay at the margins of government agendas (Harris, Rochester and Halfpenny, 2001; Houlihan and White, 2002). The welfare pluralism advocated by the Conservatives, particularly in the early 1990s, resulted in the transference of traditional state service provision to private or voluntary sector delivery in conjunction with a number of arm's length public agencies where required (Houlihan and White, 2002).

In the late 1980s the then National Coaching Foundation (now Sport Coach UK), launched the Champion Coaching scheme to improve performance levels in children and develop a network of coaches; led by local authorities and early sport development workers, Sport Coach UK relied heavily on partnerships with the voluntary sector to undertake its various projects (Hylton et al., 2001). The Champion Coaching project also represented the first nation-wide initiative to recognise, reward and develop its volunteers by providing them with vouchers to acquire advanced coaching qualifications (Hylton and Bramham, 2008). The Champion Coaching initiative served to strengthen links between the NCF and the voluntary network as well as establish novel affiliations. However, Shibli et al. (1999) add that such a trend of rewarding and incentivising volunteering has led to the development of hourly paid casual 'voluntary' positions in certain voluntary

circles which not only serves to blur the boundaries of what constitutes voluntary action but also presents the potential to harm the third sector as the increasing commitments and financial restrictions imposed on the modern day volunteer may encourage them to demand further incentives or to alternatively reduce or discontinue their voluntary contributions.

1990-1997 – Active Citizenship

During the late 1980s and early 1990s a new missionary gambit was to take hold within political and voluntary spheres. The 'active citizenship' strategy represented an attempt by the Conservatives to reconcile the harsh materialism synonymous with the Thatcher regime (Kearns, 1991). Used to promote citizen responsibility, active citizenship reflected a strategy implemented to restructure the welfare state by increasing the involvement of the voluntary sector and aligning the functions of voluntary organisations with government policies (Kearns, 1991). Following the growing government endorsement of the contemporary active citizen, volunteering once again gained momentum as the state announced it would prioritise funding for organisations who promoted the recruitment and deployment of volunteers (Home Office, 1990). The number of people choosing to volunteer did grow throughout the early 1990s as did the cumulative number of hours volunteered by individuals (Deakin, 1995). Despite the growth in volunteering however, many organisations still suffered a shortage of volunteers as demand for services had dramatically increased (Sheard, 1995).

At a time when Britain was trying to deal with the impact of a recession, further adaptations in the relationship between the third sector and the state were taking place (Deakin, 1995). Appointed to prime minister in 1990, John Major continued to emphasise the necessity for effective 'management' within voluntary organisations, insisting that volunteers should be organised and managed in the same manner as paid workers (Hedley, 1992). A 'culture of management' emerged within the voluntary sector wherein volunteer management strategies were applied to

improve recruitment, selection and retention policy and process, and 'contracts' outlining codes of conduct were also drawn up to further enhance the operational efficiency and personal responsibility of volunteers (Batsleer, 1995:225; Hedley, 1992). This movement aimed to professionalize volunteer services and signalled the dawn of contracting which presented the Home Office with greater control over voluntary organisations as the adoption of a 'contract culture' as opposed to providing grant aids as it was seen to offer a greater security to funding as well as clearly defining roles (Deakin, 1995: 62; Sheard, 1995:116; Lewis, 1999; Harris, Rochester and Halfpenny, 2001). In the contracting out environment, voluntary organisations were expected to compete to provide community care and other welfare (Deakin, 1995; Harris, Rochester and Halfpenny, 2001). During this period volunteers were viewed as 'active corporate citizens', a 'third force' who provided a balance between government responsibility and that of the individual, and represented the element of the voluntary sector that was expected to take its place in the social market economy (Sheard, 1992:63; Deakin, 1995:63; Lewis, 1999: 262).

The active citizenship debate sparked a sequence of events which were to continue to influence the voluntary sector. In 1992, the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship made a plea to encourage citizenship through schools, this was followed by the launch of the Prince of Wales' 'Volunteers' scheme in 1990 (Oliver, 1991). The Commission called for citizenship to become a formal pillar of the education system, to provide it with its own place within the National Curriculum to edify children of their duties as citizens to their communities, further positing that schools should provide both theoretical and practical experiences for pupils, which in turn may innervate the growth of volunteering at national level (Oliver, 1991). This was followed by the creation of the Prince of Wales' 'Volunteers' scheme, sustained by the Prince's Trust and developed in collaboration with the Commission on Citizenship, it aims to recruit 100,000 young people per year to take up community service placements (Oliver, 1991; Sheard, 1992). Consequently, throughout the early 1990s the most effective methods of fostering citizenship and increasing volunteering in young populations was to incentivize aspects of the education system, for example: by acknowledging citizenship activities and

voluntary action in academic records of achievement, as well as in the criteria for selection to further and higher education, as well as a means of recognition from employers (Sheard, 1992). Furthermore, proposals were even mooted to write off student loans in accordance with the completion of a set amount of voluntary work (Sheard, 1992).

Within a sporting context, following the re-election of John Major as Prime Minister in 1992, the direction of sport policy, and indeed state emphasis on sport was to turn to that of excellence and elite sport development (Green, 2004; Hylton et al., 2001). Furthermore, the Major Government established the National Lottery in 1994 which provided a non-government source of funding for sport, primarily World Class Performance funds as the pursuit of sporting excellence gained salience within sport policy whereas the notion of 'sport for all' was of secondary concern (Houlihan and White, 2002; Green, 2004; Hylton and Bramham, 2008). Sport volunteers were to play their part in the development of extra-curricular sports activities and school-club links, and support the coaching of talented young athletes during this pursuit of sporting excellence (Houlihan and White, 2002; Collins, 2008). To widen the talent pool the sporting culture was to be extended across poorer and socially diverse areas via facility provision from Lottery funding and coaching support courtesy of voluntary networks (Collins, 2008).

1997-2011 – The Third Way and Active Citizenship

The movement to engage the voluntary sector as a key driver in welfare and public provision underpinned the development of a 'third way' under the New Labour government (Giddens, 1998). Under the ambit of the 'third way', the state and market are joined by community and voluntary organisations as legitimate providers of social welfare (Giddens, 1998). A central tenet of the 'third way' was to promote active citizenship by engaging citizens to contribute to the development of responsible communities (Etzioni, 2001). The government believed that a more pluralised welfare system would help to further democratize politics, and

strengthen civic responsibility and social capital by reinvigorating the public sphere (Brown, Kenny, Turner and Prince, 2000). Therefore, voluntary organisations were seen as having the potential to perform an important dual role by mediating between the state and market as well as serving as a catalyst for active citizenship (Levitas, 2000; Milligan and Conradson, 2006; Houlihan, 2008).

Within the UK at this time then, voluntary activity was heavily influenced by the two broad policy streams of civil renewal and social inclusion (Rochester, 2006). The civil renewal agenda was a response to concerns that community cohesion and civic society was eroding as a consequence of growing consumerism and individualism within Western societies (Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009). It was argued that such civic disengagement caused individuals to progressively lose their sense of common purpose and belonging', therefore weakening communities and threatening democracy (Jochum, Pratten and Wilding, 2005: 15).

Synonymous with New Labour welfare rhetoric, social exclusion formed a cornerstone of their political agenda (Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009). Social exclusion occurs when an individual suffers from a combination of factors that adversely affect their welfare, such as lack of education, low income or unemployment, and which subsequently serves to detach them from the social mainstream (Giddens, 1998; Social Exclusion Unit, 1998). Social inclusion was a core strategy approach and voluntary agencies were considered to be well-placed and possessing the 'soft'[12] skills required to engage with the 'hard to reach'. In keeping with the notion of active citizenship it was emphasised that policies to combat social exclusion and encourage civil renewal had to be relational in nature, with the government continuing to espouse social integration and participation (Coalter, 2007).

Therefore, social policy under New Labour had taken a 'community turn' as the government emphasised the role and responsibility of the voluntary and

[12] Soft skills often denote emotional and interpersonal qualities such as attitude, behaviour, communication and etiquette and an individual's capacity to adapt these skills to different people and circumstances (Klaus, 2007).

community sector in enhancing civil society, and boosting social capital and cohesion (Levitas, 2000; Macmillan and Townsend, 2006:15). To accomplish this, the voluntary and community sector found themselves engaged in the regeneration of deprived areas and undertaking projects to tackle various issues of social exclusion encountered across the UK (Imrie and Raco, 2003; Taylor, 2003). Demonstrative of the government-citizen relationship espoused at the time and a key pillar of the community turn was the notion of communitarianism (Levitas, 2000; Macmillan and Townsend, 2006). Communitarianism posits that as a citizen of a whole and inclusive community, one's rights are balanced by their responsibilities to reciprocally contribute to society (Driver and Martell, 1997; Levitas, 2000). It is therefore the state's role to both enforce these duties but also to raise awareness of a citizen's duty to such reciprocity where necessary (Driver and Martell, 1997). It was the belief of policy-makers that the socialisation and inclusion of individuals into a communitarian society would help to imbue them with a moral obligation and a sense of pride and belonging towards that community (Milligan and Conradson, 2006; Adams and Deane, 2000).

The role of the volunteer in community renewal was very much a core principle of New Labour's Third Way approach to governance, with the heartbeat of 'community turn' placed at local level (Macmillan and Townsend, 2006; Davies, 2009). In support of this, the November of 1998 saw the launch of the national compact which outlined an agreement between the government and the third sector to improve their relationship for both mutual advantage and community gain (Compact, 2009). The compact between government and the voluntary and community sector was not a legally binding document; instead it provided a framework with which to enhance the relationship between the state and the third sector (Lewis, 1999). The national compact was further supported by the creation of local Compacts in order to more closely understand and meet the needs of local people, particularly those at risk of or experiencing discrimination or poverty (Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009).

The ‘Third Way’ provided a fresh impetus into an otherwise flagging voluntary sector, it served to foster civic engagement and strengthen civil society through the processes of volunteering (Morris, 1999; Coalter, 2007). In both the recognition of the work and progress of those currently volunteering, and as a clarion call to promote the recruitment of new volunteers, the New Labour government designated 2005 as the ‘year of the volunteer’ in the UK – a £10-million one-year national campaign funded by the Home Office to raise awareness of volunteering, increase opportunities to volunteer, remove barriers to volunteering and encourage more individuals to volunteer (Torkildsen, 2005; Milligan and Conradson, 2006; Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009). Harnessing the momentum gained from the year of the volunteer campaign, the government launched two notable wide-scale programmes to further boost volunteering. The first of these schemes was established in 2005 and titled the GoldStar Exemplar Programme, its role was to inculcate good practice in voluntary organisations with regard to the recruitment, management and retention of ‘volunteers, mentors and befrienders from groups at risk of social exclusion’ (Cabinet Office, 2012a). The second of these initiatives was the Volunteering for All programme which launched in 2006 and aimed to promote equal opportunities in volunteering for groups who traditionally volunteer less, as well as those at risk of social exclusion (Cabinet Office, 2012b).

New Labour invested considerable effort into encouraging young people to volunteer (Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008). Engaging young people in voluntary action has been increasingly hailed as a magic bullet for solving a raft of social, cultural and educational issues such as youth crime and anti-social behaviour, increasing values of citizenship in disaffected young populations, developing skills and promoting social inclusion (Hill and Russell, 2009). In this context, increasing government involvement has led to significant developments within the youth volunteering policy climate (Hill and Russell, 2009). For example, the Millennium Volunteers (MV) Programme was established in 1999 by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), later changing hands with the Home Office, to promote sustained volunteering among young people aged 16-24 (Smith,

Ellis, Howlett, 2002). However, the Russell Commission, set up in 2004 by the then Home Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Blunkett and Gordon Brown respectively, yielded recommendations based on a nationwide consultation which were to strongly influence a national framework for youth action and engagement (Russell, 2005). In 2005, the recommendations emanating from the Russell Commission's report 'A National Framework for Youth Action and Engagement', were to 'deliver a step change in the diversity, quality and quantity of young people's volunteering' and provide a framework which would concentrate voluntary efforts on community needs with a particular emphasis placed on the inclusion and skills development of under-represented and 'hard to reach' groups (Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009; Hill and Russell, 2009). In 2006, this youth-led framework was put into action as management of the MV Programme was handed over to the independent charity **v** who rebranded it to the **v**involved (Hill and Russell, 2009). In addition, numerous pilot projects such as Active Citizens in Schools (ACiS) and the Young Volunteer Challenge (YVC) were launched to examine the difference in participatory trends when barriers to volunteering are removed, as well as those implemented to test the potential impact of voluntary schemes on a variety of youth populations (Hill and Russell, 2009).

Moreover, in recent years there has been a significant growth in student volunteering taking a range of forms, including student community action groups and students volunteering in extra-curricular programmes of their own volition (Ellis, 2002). In 2004, Student Volunteering England reported that 42,000 students participated in voluntary initiatives organised through their Higher Education Institution (HEI). In the period between 2002 and 2004, the Higher Education Active Community Fund contributed £27million of funding to support the growing trend in student volunteering (Hill and Russell, 2009). In support of the benefits to students who volunteer, both the 2006 White Paper *Further Education: Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances* and the 2008 report titled *Assessing the impact of volunteering on the FE sector* concurred that voluntary opportunities undertaken by students have the potential to promote active citizenship, develop new skills via

novel life experiences and hone the 'soft' skills desired by employers (Hill and Russell, 2009).

Although these core policy streams and the gamut of initiatives that they influenced were not sport-specific, they did take place within sporting contexts as sport and recreation was seen as a key driver in achieving the government's cross-cutting approach to social welfare. In addition, the significance of volunteers within New Labour's strategic agenda for sport was set out in 'Game Plan' (DCMS/Strategy Unit, 2002) and later reinforced within the National Framework for Sport (Sport England, 2004a), both conveying a desire to promote voluntary action by raising the profile of and reducing the barriers to volunteering (Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009). In conjunction with these two policy documents and following the successful bid to host the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, a number of sports-based volunteering projects have emerged. Examples of these initiatives include the 'Step into Sport' volunteer programme which is sponsored by a range of stakeholders including the Youth Sport Trust (YST) and supports and encourages sports leadership in 14-19year olds in full-time education (Youth Sport Trust, 2012); the 'London 2012 Games Maker Volunteer Programme' and the 'Trailblazers' which are both organised by the London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) and tasked with recruiting volunteers for the 2012 London Games (Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009; Haigh and West, 2011; Podium, 2012).

Moreover, voluntary sports organisations were incorporated into New Labour policy strategies in the same manner as public, private and other voluntary partners. For example, in the year 2000 the government published *A Sporting Future For All: The Government's Plan for Sport*, outlining a commitment to school, community and elite sport, the document represented a modernising agenda for sporting organisations (DCMS, 2000). The major focus of *A Sporting Future For All* was in the implementation of such policy to which the government had identified a series of implementation groups to undertake these roles; two of the identified strands operated within the areas of coaching and volunteering, and community provision (Houlihan and White, 2002). In line with this, and to support voluntary

clubs and coaches Sport England created the Running Sport Programme, a free service primarily aimed at the voluntary sector which provides training and education initiatives to improve the quality of sports development in clubs and the management strategies of NGBs (Hylton et al., 2001). The aim of such a programme was to support and sustain a closer knit sports development infrastructure across national, regional and local levels, and enhance the quality of sport provision in England (Jackson and Nesti, 2001; Jackson and Bramham, 2008). Those who had previously criticised former governments for creating sports policy only to neglect it soon afterwards were impressed by the prescriptive nature of the government's action plans and prescriptive targets outlined in *A Sporting Future For All: The Government's Plan for Sport* which spanned the entire spectrum of the sports development network, such as Sports Councils, NGBs and the clubs themselves (Houlihan and White, 2002; King, 2009). As a result, sport development geared around mass participation received a significant boost via the government's decision to redirect National Lottery funding (Houlihan and White, 2002).

The NCVO (2005:6) has described the period spanning Labour's election as the 'most favourable the [voluntary] sector has experienced'. The boost given to the voluntary sector is not only based on a more collaborative relationship fashioned between itself and the state, but also the foundations laid within Labour's public sector reform programme (HM government, 2009). As Davies (2009) points out, New Labour's enthusiasm for the voluntary sector went beyond its capability to become a key market driver. The sector snugly fitted in with some of the new governmental policies and provided a more flexible and dynamic solution to some of the rigidities of the public sector (Kelly, 2007).

The final shift experienced by the voluntary sector and that which returns this treatise to the current day, is that of the Big Society. An introduction to the Conservative Party-led coalition government's idea of the Big Society and its role for the voluntary sector was given in the Introduction to the thesis, and will not be repeated here. In the context of sport, the workings of the 'Big Society' ideas were critically discussed in *Political Studies Association* papers which looked at a range of

issues such as the future implications of an over-reliance on under-resourced voluntary organisations to perform public services (Houlihan, 2011). Also discussed was the impact of the 'Big Society' agenda on social connectedness and sport volunteering with Adams (2011) arguing warning of a recourse to organic forms of collectivism provoke the 'dark-side' of social capital and promote exclusionary practices within sport. Additionally, Farooq (2011) calls for qualitative research into the motivations and impacts of and motivations for young people's volunteering in community sports-based projects to see if they are driven by instrumentalities such as the pursuit of employment or because of a desire to contribute to community need.

2.4 Conclusion

Volunteering both within and beyond the context of sport has a long history in the UK, and has often become taken for granted in local and national authority provisions. It is clear that volunteers have long fulfilled a diverse range of vital roles in the UK and have a high estimated economic value in their work. Despite some sources suggesting that volunteering rates are diminishing, it seems likely that non-salaried activities will continue to be important to British society. The value of volunteers in sport and recreation should not be understated in either the historical or contemporary contexts as their sectors are established as representing the largest contribution to volunteerism in the UK (Sport and Recreation Alliance, 2011). This underlines the importance of this study in looking at volunteers taking part on the SUNEE project.

Despite the paramount importance of volunteering to British and, potentially, global societies, Handy et. al (2000) are correct to point out that there is a scarcity of studies that have been undertaken to systematically unpack the term 'volunteer' in a rigorous and precise manner. Indeed, as discussed in this chapter, Fischer, Mueller and Cooper (1991) point out that the definition of volunteering often shapes the rates of the activity. Rather, a broad range of activities can reasonably

be classed as ‘volunteering’ including coaching, internships and generally ‘helping out’. These activities can both ‘formally’ and ‘informally’ take place in non-profit organizations, for-profit organizations, and the government (Cnaan and Amrofell 1994). In accordance with Kendall and Knapp’s (1995) structural-operational conditions for third sector organisations the SUNEE project can be classified as being: formal in structure; independent of government; not-profit distributing and for public benefit. Therefore, in this context I view volunteers as operating within a formal institutionalised setting, participating of their own free will without remuneration, and for the benefit of others outside of their immediate family or friendship groups.

Having considered these histories of volunteering and discussed definitional issues connected to the terminology, I will move on to look at various motivational and de-motivational forces that shape current trends in volunteering, both within and beyond the context of sport, in the next chapter.

3

Volunteering in Sport in the UK II: Motivations, De-Motivation and Self-Determination Theory

3.1 Introduction

> Sport is managed, in large measure, by local voluntary sporting clubs and associations, which are the backbone of sport in the United Kingdom.
>
> Torkildsen, 1999: 284

As Nichols, Taylor, James, King and Holmes (2005) highlight, organised sport in the UK initially developed in the nineteenth century through the proliferation of voluntary sports clubs and the establishment of national governing bodies (NGBs). Historically, the provision of sport and physical recreation was not seen as a salient policy priority and as such was largely left by the state to the responsibility of unpaid, yet enthusiastic and dedicated amateurs (Roberts, 2004). Beyond what was offered in schools, sport in the community programmes tended to be led by a small number of professional clubs ran by a disparate group of individuals who shared both a common passion for sport in general as well as their own specific sporting interest (Nichols et al., 2005). As Jackson and Bramham emphasise, sporting provision dating back to the late eighteenth century was 'owned, shaped and developed' by individuals, local communities and small business enterprises at almost no cost to the state and with little outside support (2008: 195).

This chapter will build upon the previous chapter by explore the literature on volunteering and volunteering in sport but does so by looking at issues of motivation and de-motivation to volunteer. As Noonan (1998:124) posits, 'there is little that is typical about these people who give so freely of their time', yet this chapter will draw the common dimensions shared by these individuals. In doing so,

the chapter will outline Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self-Determination Theory (SDT) as an important social-psychological framework for analysing, indexing and enhancing motivation in volunteers.

3.2 Motivation to Volunteer

As discussed in the previous chapter, Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) hypothesised that the public would perceive an individual who incurs a high net cost through their voluntary contributions, as more of a volunteer, or as a 'purer' volunteer, than someone with a perceived low net cost. Indeed, their findings illustrate that there was a strong correlation between a high net cost and the purity of the voluntary action and equally to the converse (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996). Importantly, the authors stress that the perception of a high net cost is relative to the perceived social status and financial status of the volunteers, amongst other factors. The volunteer is perceived as the giver, and perceived costs to them are factors such as income forgone, time offered volunteering, effort and social pleasures forgone also; conversely, benefits include financial gain, skill acquisition, certification or accreditation in a given field or discipline, enhanced social status, work experience, business contacts accrued and future employability opportunities (Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth, 1996).

It is also interesting to note Rehberg's (2005:109) observation that volunteerism is undergoing a structural change, from that of 'traditional' volunteering towards 'modern' modes of volunteering. Whereas old forms of volunteering were collectively orientated within a tight-knit communal setting, new volunteers tend to harbour an expectancy of personal gain[13] (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003). Rehberg (2005) elaborates by stating that altruistic motives frequently stem from the

[13] In this context personal gain may refer to the pursuit of career and status enhancement in a given community or setting through voluntary work, to achieve professional development, 'test-drive' a profession and attain clarification on the requirements of a specific job role, and to make new social contacts or friends.

reinforcement of traditional group norms, as well as the convergence of ideologies or meaning systems. With this in mind, Beck (1997: cited in Rehberg, 2005) points to a pluralisation of motives synonymous with reflexive volunteers; individuals who possess a capacity for compassion which is counterbalanced by a desire to pursue self-directed goals. Rehberg (2005) would argue that this type of volunteer is a product of modern times, a process which has served to disperse and fragment traditional community settings and the norms fostered within them, hence fuelling the debate as to whether true altruism genuinely exists within formal volunteering.

Against this backdrop it is clear that volunteer motivations are complex and multifaceted (Winniford, et al., 1997). What follows is a brief review of the typical motivations and reasons which initiate voluntary action, as well as those factors which serve to either cause discontinuation or promote commitment to volunteer.

Why People Volunteer

The core source of voluntary action is related to the extent of an individual's social networks, ties and obligations (Brady, Schlozman and Verba, 1999; Cuskelly, 2008). Midlarsky and Kahana concur, stating that 'face-to-face invitations' are much more effective in recruiting volunteering than via more impersonal mediums offered through the mass media (1994: 219). Figures from the 2007 Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (CSGVP, 2009) corroborate the previous statement, highlighting that 48 per cent of Canadians who participate in voluntary action were asked by someone to volunteer, whereas 45 per cent of respondents approached voluntary organizations having learned about such opportunities via advertising campaigns and/or the news media. In a sporting context, Cuskelly (2008) reports that in cross-national comparisons of volunteer data, individuals are predominantly attracted to sport volunteering through existing social networks. In this regard, family and friendship networks are of particular importance in encouraging the take up of volunteering due to the diffusion of knowledge of and positive experiences with volunteering, subsequently propagating prosocial norms

of voluntarism (Janoski, Musick and Wilson, 1998; Wilson, 2000; Rehberg, 2005). In the same vein, Dekker and Halman comment that 'being asked' or 'drawn in' by family members, friends or neighbours typically sways people to volunteer (2003:5). These authors add that it is the involvement in active social networks such as church groups and/or voluntary associations that are key instigators of voluntary action, creating obligations between the individual and the organization/volunteer which are difficult to break from (Dekker and Halman, 2003). This helps to explain why church-goers volunteer more than non-religious people, as attending church frequently reinforces and perpetuates those active social networks (National Association of Secretaries of State, 1999; Wilson and Janoski, 1995).

To this effect, having broad social networks and strong social ties increases a person's chances of being asked to volunteer (Brady, Shlozman and Verba, 1999). Social ties foment trust and trust makes it easier for people to donate their time (Brady, Schlozman and Verba, 1999; Wood, 1997). Doherty and Misener (2008) report that in the field of sport, the demographic profile of volunteers is quite narrow and this observation may transcend into various fields of voluntarism. A typical sports volunteer in the UK has been described as being male, between 35-49 years of age, in full-time employment and a university or college graduate (DCLG, 2010:14; Doherty and Misener, 2008:126). The homogenous nature of this volunteer type is potentially self-reproducing and self-perpetuating as volunteers who are very similar to each other have been purported to exhibit exclusionary practices in which social networks are closed off due to the limiting of trust and reciprocity to within the group and to people like themselves – this behaviour typically constrains the ability of certain organisations to grow their volunteer base and develop their services (Doherty and Misener, 2008). In support of this, educated people and those who occupy managerial and professional jobs are more likely to be asked to volunteer (Brady, Schlozman and Verba, 1999; Wilson, 2000). In explanation of this, individuals with high levels of human capital[14] are likely to

[14] Human capital refers the accumulation of education and experience (labour market) and indicates the level of an individual's productivity (Kendall, 2012)

have more extensive social networks and more social ties thus increasing their exposure to information about volunteering opportunities and make them more prone to requests to volunteer (Freeman, 1997; Rehberg, 2005). Anderson and Moore (1978) also found that individuals with a high degree of educational attainment were more likely to pursue voluntarism to satiate a greater desire for personal development and self-fulfilment. Conversely, rates of volunteering amongst unemployed people and homemakers are consistently low (Stubbings and Humble, 1984). This indicates that the work environment is a form of social integration, offering extensive social networks and memberships through which to spread information and encourage volunteering (Wilson, 2000).

Moreover, Sport England (2003) reported that parents chose to volunteer in sport in order to have more involvement with, or to support sporting opportunities for their children. Doherty (2005) found that this trend is one that is relatively unique to the field of sports volunteering. Cuskelly, citing figures from Australian and Canadian surveys, backs this up by reporting large differences in motivation between sports volunteers and other volunteers, with 40% compared to 12% citing involvement through children[15] respectively, and 43% versus 27% due to personal/family factors[16] (2008: 197). Similarly, having children encourages adult voluntarism in community-orientated groups but decreases the likelihood of parents volunteering in professional organisations (Janoski and Wilson, 1995). Within this theme, parents appear more likely to volunteer if their children live at home and are of school-age, with married parents shown to be markedly more voluntary active than single parents (Sundeen, 1990; Schlozman, Burns and Verba, 1994; Damico, Damico and Conway, 1998; Wuthnow, 1998). In addition, unemployed mothers of school-age children are more likely to be drawn into volunteering as they often use their children as a means of social integration (Gallagher, 1994).

[15] Australian Bureau of Statistics (2003)

[16] National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP: Statistics Canada, 2000)

In the UK, over the 12 month period spanning April 2009 to March 2010, 23 per cent of 16-25 formally volunteered once a month, a rate which represented a 1 per cent decrease from the preceding year (DCLG, 2011:80). According to socio-economic group, full-time students ranked second highest (30 per cent) in participating in regular formal volunteering in the UK during this period, placing second only to those categorised as 'higher/lower managerial and professions' (33 per cent) (DCLG, 2011:81). In explanation of this particular trend, full-time students typically view volunteering as a means of acquiring skills and asserting their competence (Serow, Ciechalski and Daye, 1990; Doherty, 2005). Meier and Stutzer (2008) add that many young people who volunteer do so to invest in and expand their social network, improve their social standing and establish key business contacts in the hope of securing employment. Many volunteer, for example on internships with public or private companies, as a prerequisite for employment in a particular job (Meier and Stutzer, 2008).

To further illustrate this trend, the popularity of volunteering amongst 'youths' in Canada rose significantly over the decade spanning 1987 and 1997 (Jones, 2000). A surge of 15 per cent was observed in 15-24 year olds between these years (Jones, 2000). Breaking this figure down, volunteer rates of teens aged 15-19 years increased by 17 to 37 per cent whilst those aged 20-24 years old grew from 13 to 29 per cent - this meant that the youth share of volunteer jobs also grew (Jones, 2000). According to Sunter and Bowlby (1998) this growth in youth volunteering coincided with a deterioration in the labour market between 1987 and 1997, a period which saw youth unemployment rise by 3.1 per cent compared with only 0.2 per cent of the labour force aged 25 years and above. To this end, Jones found that young people looked to the voluntary sector to gain work experience and job contacts so to provide them with a vital 'link to the job market', with full-time students in particular pursuing volunteer opportunities (59 per cent) (2000:36). To back this up with more recent data, the NSGVP (2000) found that a quarter of all respondents and 55 per cent of 15-24 year olds cited future career improvement and advancement as their dominant motivations for volunteering. Additionally, in 2009

the CSGVP reported that 23 per cent of respondents volunteered in order to improve their job prospects.

Of course, it is not only those in full-time education who volunteer with a view to securing a job, unemployed people seek voluntary roles in order to access structured training, using their voluntary experiences as 'a stepping stone to paid work' (Wardell, Lishman and Whalley, 2000:230). Similarly, those who have been unable to work due to illness, redundancy or childbearing/childcare may see opportunities to volunteer as an investment in human capital or re-entry strategies to the labour market, in order to rebuild or maintain their skills and resumé (Meier and Stutzer, 2008).

At the other end of the age scale, older individuals have been found to volunteer for the social benefits offered by such opportunities so to prevent social isolation and/or as a means of accessing more meaningful leisure experiences (Wardell, Lishman and Whalley, 2000). Indeed, Doherty (2005) argues that voluntarism is a leisure activity and in this capacity holds such traits. Remaining on the theme of volunteering as leisure, Herzog and Morgan report that over the course of their careers, those who hold managerial and professional roles often develop an intrinsic satisfaction from their work, almost an 'attachment' to their work and work-based activities, and this tracks into voluntarism (1993: 140).

In consideration of the mediation of volunteers' motivations, Nichols, Taylor, James, Holmes, King and Garrett (2005) identify three types of volunteer which all possess a mixed motivational profile, based on an amalgamation of research from two projects undertaken to analyse pressure on volunteers in sport in the UK. The first type of volunteer Nichols et al. (2005) recognise are *key volunteers;* individuals who make up the core of an organisation and are driven by a shared enthusiasm, a desire for the club to do well and the social benefits offered. The characterisation of a key volunteer overarches with all three of Pearce's (1993) dominant categories of reasons to volunteer, which include the belief in an organisation's goals and the

personal meanings attached to them, the provision of a generalised service and the attractiveness of the opportunities to enhance social connections. The typology of a key volunteer dulls the impression of the egoistic and self-centred volunteer and shifts it towards a more prosocial outlook toward voluntary action. Stebbins (1996) would draw firm parallels between a key volunteer and a serious leisure careerist who immerses themselves in volunteering. For Stebbins (1996) however, the assiduous contributions of a volunteer careerist are driven primarily by the hedonistic pleasures that that individual receives in return.

Secondly, Nichols et al. (2005) identifies *shorter term volunteers*, these individuals are motivated by the creation of opportunities for themselves or their children. Shorter term volunteers have a tendency to perceive voluntary organisations as a service provider and as a means of developing social connections (Pearce, 1993). The presence of shorter term volunteers can clash with traditional volunteers who resent the threats to organisational structure imposed by the demand for professionalized services (Nichols, et al. 2005).

The third classification of volunteer acknowledged by Nichols et al. (2005) is that of *young people*. According to Nichols et al. (2005) young people who choose to volunteer are orientated around a mixed set of motivations, such as altruism, an interest in a particular field or club, to enhance their curriculum vitae and to increase their employability.

The three types of volunteer identified by Nichols et al. (2005) fit within Rehberg's (2005) conceptualisation of a 'reflexive' volunteer, one who is characterised by a pluralisation of motives. To elaborate, reflexive volunteers 'combine self-directed or instrumental motives with a sense of compassion or duty' (Rehberg, 2005:110). Rehberg's (2005) theory is congruent with the supposition that voluntary action can be guided by a multiplicity of motives which reconcile egoistic and prosocial dimensions. Similarly, Beck (1997: cited in Rehberg, 2005) would interpret such mixed motivational voluntary action as a form of 'altruistic individualsim', which is

an individual's understanding that they have to make a contribution to society in order receive a benefit from it.

Therefore, Stebbins (1996) brackets volunteering as a freely chosen leisure activity and views leisure volunteering as a satisfying or rewarding experience. Stebbins' (1996) contention reinforces voluntary behaviour as an overridingly egoistic and self-interested pursuit. On the surface, such a debate presents somewhat of a cynical outlook on voluntary motivation, yet it is key to remember that voluntary action results in significant contributions to both community and society regardless of the benefits it is perceived to offer volunteers.

Why People Stop Volunteering

Barkan, Cohn and Whitaker (1995) suggest that the reasons for dropping out of volunteering are often synonymous with those that individuals cite for not volunteering in the first place. Donnelly and Harvey (2011) add that these reasons are generally the same for both sport volunteers and other volunteers. Of the 22 million volunteers in England, approximately one quarter of these volunteer in sport and recreation making this the largest volunteer sector in society (Sport England, 2003; Cuskelly, 2008; Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). However, Taylor et al. (2003) estimated that for every two current sports volunteers there was one lapsed volunteer. The NSNVO (2005) found similarly concerning trends in Canada, reporting that the area of sport and recreation ranked third in the volunteer 'drop-out' tables, behind the law, advocacy and politics, and health fields.

It is well documented that time pressures owing to long working hours and family commitments place strain on both current and potential volunteers, as well as competition for time from alternative leisure opportunities (Sport England, 2003; Nichols, 2004; Nichols et al., 2005). To support this, the DCLG (2010) reported that fifty-nine per cent of respondents cited that work commitments presented the

most common barrier to formal volunteering, followed by alternative free-time activities (31 per cent) and looking after the children or home (29%). Nichols (2004) explains that in the contemporary era people may be working longer hours to illustrate their worth due to concerns over job security, as well as to earn more money and as a result reduce or discontinue their participation in volunteering. As a consequence of the conflicting demands of family and paid work, Donnelly and Harvey (2011) add that many volunteers come to feel that they can no longer make a long-term commitment to their voluntary organisations/clubs or they simply feel that they have already contributed enough.

The discontinuation of volunteers has severe implications for the retention of those who remain. This means that the available resources are stretched further due to greater loading onto the existing volunteers, thus increasing the likelihood of volunteer burnout (Wilson, 2000; Taylor et al, 2003). The effect of this is often manifested in greater drop-out due volunteer stress, attrition and general dissatisfaction (Donnely and Harvey, 2011). This problem is also likely to heighten the discord on the issue of why non-paid volunteers should contribute for nothing if they operate in an organization where others receive pay or incentives (Auld and Godbey, 1998; Auld, 1997a; Abrams et al., 1996).

Moreover, Nichols et al. (2005) state that the mounting pressure for current volunteers to 'professionalize' in order to offer comparable services to those available within the public and private sectors has served to create a great strain on the voluntary sector. More and more voluntary organisations are seeking to professionalise senior positions within their workforce (Auld, 2004; Nichols, 2004). By professionalising management, administrative and coaching positions; these organisations better place themselves to successfully apply for, and receive funding and/or grants from national governing bodies (NGBs).

This has presented multiple challenges to the voluntary sector, challenges linked to the professionalization of voluntary services. In the context of sport for example, government legislation has increased pressure on volunteers and voluntary

organisations to gain specific skills and qualifications in order to avoid putting themselves at risk of being accused of, or charged with negligence (Nichols et al., 2005; Torkildsen, 2005). For example, from April 2001, NGBs were required to demonstrate that active child protection policies were in place in order to be eligible for grant aid from Sport England (Brackenridge, 2002). However, the introduction of new legislation such as child protection and Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) procedures proved extremely off-putting for volunteers, particularly the more casual helpers, and in turn served to constrain the development of voluntary organisations and the sporting opportunities that they could provide (Taylor et al., 2003; Sport England, 2004b). Such increased bureaucracy generates additional paperwork and often requires the creation of new voluntary positions with which to complete it further downloading more work onto existing volunteers (Taylor et al., 2003; Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). Prior to this, Sport England put in place a similar criterion pertaining to gender and race equality, both provisos were subsequently made a compulsory component of funding from the DCMS (Nichols, 2004). Therefore, risk aversion and fear of litigation is particularly relevant for those individuals and organisations working with youth groups (Nichols, 2004; Nichols et al., 2005). This scenario makes it very difficult for casual volunteers or voluntary groups with little funding available, as police checks are necessary to work with young groups and so the cost of these may be off-putting (Sport England, 2003; Nichols, 2004). Voluntary organisations, schools that often require the support of volunteers for sports days, and volunteers themselves find such measures tedious and off-putting as it removes the convenience, speed and cheapness of utilising these people as helpers, therefore discouraging volunteers and deterring schools and local clubs from asking for help from the public (Sport England, 2003). Additionally, in sports and activities where there is a high perceived risk of litigation, such as in outdoor pursuits, individuals are likely to be less willing to volunteer their support (Nichols, et al., 2005). The cost of training volunteers in such an area, coupled with a public willingness to take legal action in the event of an accident or injury are two additional factors which may deter volunteers (Nichols, 2004). To this end, Nichols (2004) explains that Sport England funding initiatives are a double edged sword as on one side the voluntary body gains from

grant aid, but as a condition of funding additional measures of administration are required.

The professionalization of voluntary organizations places additional strain on existing volunteers for a variety of reasons. In the field of sport for example, volunteers can become disenchanted by increasing administrative tasks detracting from their time spent performing roles such as coaching - a primary reason for volunteering in the first place; this is a problem that resonates with volunteers generally as such tasks, as well as the actual goals and vision of many voluntary organizations present a dualism with their original volunteer goals (Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). Many individuals who discontinue volunteering report that they joined because they were attracted to the informal and social nature of the organisation, but decide to leave because they began to feel alienated due to increasing requirements for efficiency and effectiveness, and also the introduction of formal supervision (Wardell, Lishman and Whalley, 2000). Similarly, Nichols et al. (1998a and 1998b) argued that the move to professionalize voluntary organizations and increasing bureaucratization served to create a more formal and unfriendly culture, ultimately hindering volunteer retention. Hager and Brudney highlight that these environments all too closely mimic the workplace and 'the grind of the daily routine' (2004:9). Rhyne (1995) adds that discontinuing volunteers often dislike the way their voluntary organization is run, they do not feel that their contributions are recognised, and they do not enjoy working with paid staff. Taylor et al. (2003) and Doherty (2005) report similar issues, advocating the need for more appropriate and better informed volunteer management plans. Taylor et al. (2003) and Doherty's (2005) recommendations rings true with Hager and Brudney's (2004) findings that 20 per cent of volunteers for the UPS[17] (United Postal Service) Foundation in the US had stopped, citing poor volunteer management as the cause.

[17] The UPS Foundation is the charitable arm of the United Parcel Service. UPS is a large organisation which has been in operation for over a century and launched a global philanthropy programme in 2004 with a remit if facilitating community involvement and spreading corporate citizenship (UPS Foundation, 2012).

Furthermore, Sport England (2003) have highlighted that many of their interviewees and survey respondents report issues of information technology (IT) and communications as burdensome to their workload. Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld (2006) explain that performing tasks such as maintaining websites and email addresses, responding to correspondences and exploring virtual marketing methods places extra time pressures on volunteers. Nichols et al. (2005) support these claims by suggesting that many volunteers, particularly senior or older members are often hard pressed to keep up with technological advancements and often require constant retraining, for example when using emails for correspondence and updating websites to provide current information. Such issues can serve to deter both current and potential volunteers, particularly older individuals whose skills are felt to be outdated, therefore adding to the pressures already faced by voluntary organisations and clubs (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). In further regards to older volunteers, elderly individuals may dropout because of old age or infirmity, or because they think that the demands of the voluntary tasks require younger and more physically capable individuals (Glass et al., 1995). On the other hand, Wardell, Lishman and Whalley (2000) warn that the promotion of widespread initiatives to promote youth volunteering, such as Millennium Volunteers may serve to inhibit volunteering opportunities for older individuals, subsequently marginalising them. This would present an alarming concern considering that the UK has an ageing population which presents a valuable volunteer pool.

Torkildsen (2005) adds that women display a greater tendency to volunteer than men, yet with more and more women entering full or part-time work, in addition to looking after their families and homes, there is evidence to suggest that levels of volunteer commitment are eroding. For example, there has been a decline in women's memberships to certain types of voluntary groups, particularly in women's organisations (Summerfield and Babb, 2003). Moreover, Tiehen (2000) reports a US trend which may offer parallels within the UK. Tiehen's (2000) research has witnessed a decrease in weekly volunteer participation in working-age married women, from 16.4 per cent in 1965 to 9.3 per cent in 1993. Two of the salient

factors responsible for this decline were the increase in women's employment rate and changes in parental status (Tiehen, 2000). In the same vein, Nichols (2004) adds that a change in the labour force in recent times has led to the proliferation of dual-income households in the UK which consequently minimises time available to volunteer, time reduced further with the addition of dependents.

Additionally, academics consistently highlight the pressures facing the voluntary sector from an increasingly competitive leisure market (Sport England, 2003; Nichols, 2004; Nichols et al., 2005). The voluntary sector must vie against increasing competition from both the private and public sectors for the interests of the individual. In an age of consumerism, the public and private sectors offer an extensive and constantly evolving array of activities and entertainments to attract leisure seekers, diverting attention and enthusiasm away from volunteering (Nichols, 2004). Not only does an increase in consumer choice lure individuals away from volunteering, it also motivates people to pursue longer hours in paid work in order to afford contemporary leisure opportunities, inflicting a 'double whammy' on the voluntary sector (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006).

Lastly, due to the largely homogenous demographic profile of volunteers and the concomitant social reproduction of such social networks and ties, the culture within voluntary organisations can be rather exclusionary and therefore serve to marginalize individuals from diverse backgrounds – this represents the 'dark side'[18] of bonding social capital (Shibli et al., 1999; Putnam, 2000: 355; Harvey, Levesque and Donnelly, 2007:210; Doherty and Misener, 2008). In accordance with such narrow demographic profiles, volunteers who are unemployed or less educated may either feel that they lack the necessary skills and experience to effectively

[18] According to Putnam there may exist a 'dark side' to bonding social capital where the insular attitudes and strong in-group identification can exhibit exclusionary practices towards diverse groups or individuals deterring these 'outsiders' inhibiting and/or deterring outsiders from engaging with these established and closed off groupings; if this dark side presents itself then it precludes those involved from accessing forms of bridging capital (Putnam, 2000:355; Coalter, 2007; Brown, 2008; Crossley, 2008). Bridging capital on the other hand describes weaker social ties across diverse networks which support the acquisition of information, resources and connections (Coalter, 2007). Palmer and Thompson (2007:189) suggest that bridging capital implies "getting ahead" by enhancing ones assets.

serve a particular organisation, lack the social capital to 'break –in' to established groups or succumb to the exclusionary practices elicited by core voluntary members and their enclosed social networks – subsequently resulting in their discontinuation (Cuskelly, 2008). Nichols (2004) goes further by highlighting that potential volunteers are often deterred as they do not know anyone else who volunteers. This is also relevant for existing volunteers who permanently move to another city or region and find that a lack of familiarity with a new area inhibits their ability to break into established social networks formed around a voluntary organisation, consequently leading to their discontinuation (Nichols, 2004). Alternatively, other volunteers discontinue simply because they decide to move away, for work opportunities, to go to college/university, or just to return home (Wardell, Lishman and Whalley, 2000; Donnelly and Harvey, 2011).

Why People Continue to Volunteer

Connecting back to Stebbins' (1996) notion of volunteering, many individuals continue to volunteer because they receive a myriad of personal rewards from performing voluntary work, such as self-actualization and self-gratification. Stebbins (1996) classifies long serving volunteers as serious leisure careerists and suggests that these individuals see volunteering as a hobby or leisure activity which they largely differentiate from work. For these ends, personal interest and satisfaction drive this type of volunteers' retention. What is more, and using the field of sport as a case in point, coaches in sport, particularly in youth sport, report feeling great satisfaction in seeing learners develop and improve (Donnelly and Harvey, 2011). In support of this, Winniford, Carpenter and Grider (1997) state that helping others to develop in a particular context, or providing assistance or welfare support, elicits strong feelings of pride in one's accomplishments or in the role they perform. Pearce adds that, depending on the personality type of the volunteer, people can derive pleasure from doing something that is needed by others, as being 'needed' flatters their ego (1993:98). Such positive internal feedback has been shown to reinforce volunteer commitment.

According to Dekker and Halman, (2003), many people continue to volunteer because they feel a sense of duty or obligation to honour agreements made with friends, family, neighbours or other members of their various social networks. Considering that social ties are one of the most powerful mechanisms of drumming up volunteerism, such social bonds should not be understated (Doherty and Misener, 2008). Furthermore, Snyder and Omoto (1992) state that highly educated people are more likely to sustain voluntary action as they seek to maintain momentum in their personal development in order to acquire new business contacts, enhance prestige and skills sets to bolster aspirations of job promotion or alternative employment. This aspect feeds through this narrow volunteer profile and the strength of the support networks between individuals who are very similar to one another and which facilitates the development of bonding[19] social capital, consequently stimulating and perpetuating volunteer satisfaction and motivation (Doherty and Misener, 2005).

Lastly, Gillette (1999) reports that there are increasing numbers of professionals who are choosing to offer their services as volunteers. Wardell, Lishman and Whalley (2000) explain that people that volunteer in the UK during their working lives are more likely to stay involved in volunteering afterwards as it supports their transition into retirement. Similarly, Chambré (1987) implies that because volunteering is a work-like activity it provides retirees with both a sense of purpose and self-worth from which they derive an intrinsic satisfaction.

Student Volunteering

The dual need[20] to arrest declining levels of volunteer activity while imbuing a sense of citizenship in young people has led to widespread effort to increase interest in

[19] Built on trust and reciprocity, bonding social capital is the social glue that holds dense and homogenous groups together and enables them to 'get by' (Putnam, 2000:23; Coalter, 2007).

[20] These are the needs of both the government on a macro level and local communities and organisations at a micro level to boost volunteering in order to nourish community cohesion and civic responsibility, and to sustain and grow voluntary sector service provision.

volunteer activity and widen the volunteer base throughout the British Isles in recent years (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011; Eley, 2001; Smith, 1998). As such, legislation was introduced to make 'citizenship education' part of the school curriculum and post-compulsory education in the UK (Eley, 2001). In 1998, the Department for Education and Skills (DFES) introduced the 'Millennium Volunteers' (MV) programme to 'promote and recognise a sustained commitment by young people aged 16-24 to voluntary activity which benefits the community' (Maton and Smyth, 1999: 1). The programme was designed to raise awareness of the three core strands of citizenship – social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy – and in doing so, encourage pupils to play a helpful role in their schools and the communities in which they reside (Eley, 2001).

In conjunction with the state of the current sociocultural and financial climate, the continuing decline in formal volunteering within the UK emphasises that the need to promote volunteering, particularly amongst young people, remains as salient as it was when New Labour was elected into government in 1997. Pro-volunteering strategies target youngsters for a raft of reasons and academics argue that early exposure to helping activities are not only crucial in generating and embedding a sense of community and social responsibility, but also offer an array of developmental benefits for these young people as well (Eley, 2001; Kirkpatrick et al., 1998; Pancer and Pratt, 1999; Schroeder et al., 1995). As Hamilton and Fenzel (1988) report, adolescents that take part in community service programmes experience personal development in the forms of social, psychological and intellectual growth as they move beyond their familiar social circles and perform non-mandatory giving/helping activities for the benefit of others. Hamilton and Fenzel (1998) add that engaging children in helping activities and volunteering from an early age is the best way to engender in them a sense of community and social responsibility as young people are likely to learn prosocial behaviour more quickly and demonstrate it for longer than their adult counterparts. Indeed, it is not only the individual that benefits from youth volunteering but also the community and society as a whole (Eley, 2001). This nexus of reciprocal benefit enables young

people to form a sense of identity that is rooted within their community, to encounter and resolve the challenges of building and maintaining relationships with adults and peers, and to realise a commitment to group ideals (Hamilton and Fenzel, 1988). In addition, through volunteering young people have the opportunity to increase their social competence, gain self-confidence and acquire and develop key skills which may enhance their employability (Eley, 2001).

From a community perspective, in providing services in care, youth leadership and skill transfer for example, volunteering performed by young people facilitates social cohesion, involves and connects relatives, neighbours and local citizens, and offers support networks to commonly isolated and sequestered groups. Moreover, volunteering by children and adolescents can do much to dispel the negative stereotypes that surround young people – labels such as aggressive, anti-social and criminally deviant – and reduce the feelings of fear and mistrust that may be evoked in older generations (Messias et al., 2008). Similarly, and with regards to undergraduate student volunteering, the contributions that these individuals make to the locality within which their universities are based may help to attenuate and pacify anti-student feeling of local residents who are concerned about the negative impact upon their neighbourhoods of high concentrations of students (Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth, 2010). On a broader scale, society as a whole stands to benefit from youth and student volunteering by boosting social regeneration, building an experienced and skilled workforce of the future, and potentially reducing youth crime rates by offering worthwhile opportunities within the community as an attractive alternative to a paucity of constructive leisure activities outside of school and at home (House of Commons, 2009; Kay and Bradbury, 2009; Coalter, 2007; Macmillan and Townsend, 2006; Eley, 2001; Smith, 1999; Crime and Disorder Act 1998; Home Office, 1998).

Eley (2001) found a strong correlation between those participants who had a history of volunteering prior to getting involved with the MV programme and whose parents also had a track record of volunteering. However, when asking the entire sample of 306 MV volunteers whose parents currently volunteer or had

previously volunteered, Eley (2001) was surprised to find that only 18 per cent of mothers and 15 per cent of fathers had been reported by their children as having volunteered at some point. Somewhat at odds with typical volunteer trends this finding was therefore unexpected; Eley (2001) suggests that such a discrepancy may stem from differing interpretations of what constitutes volunteering or from MV volunteers' incomplete knowledge of their parents life history. In conjunction with the MV programme, Eley (2001) emphasises that schools provide a major source of influence in youth volunteering by serving two vital functions in providing young people with the opportunities to gain their first voluntary experiences as well as the support mechanisms to sustain their participation. From the literature reviewed thus far, there is a cogent argument that early exposure to volunteering, either through the family, school or both, is likely to track into higher education.

A growing global phenomenon, volunteering has been widely incorporated by universities in recent times (Simha, Topuzova and Albert, 2011; Gray, 2010; Rochester, 2006). As Molas-Gallart et al. comment, Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are said to act as "dynamos of growth" capable of training minds and transmitting culture beyond an academic environment (2002:5). To this end, HEIs have enormous potential to not only nurture students' interpersonal development, empower them as socially responsible citizens and enhance their employability, but to also provide the contexts and resources with which to contribute to the development of a democratic and socially inclusive society (Hylton & Bramham, 2008; Coalter, 2007; Collins & Kay, 2003).

Students have been reported to engage in volunteering activities for a multitude of complex and interrelated motives (Handy et al., 2010). This myriad of motivational orientations to volunteer, as presented throughout the literature, include drivers such as: altruism; upholding religious values; a belief in social justice; for the social value and a desire to increase networks of relationships; egoism, and utilitarian or instrumental motives for which volunteering is seen as an opportunity to enhance one's human capital and employability (Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth, 2010;

Hustinx et al., 2010; Grönlund et al., 2008; Bussell and Forbes, 2002; Eley, 2001; Clary and Snyder, 1999; Trudeau and Devlin, 1996).

Hustinx et al. (2010) add that values and drivers underpinning voluntary action are often culturally constructed and that although volunteering is a personal decision which is ultimately influenced and made on an individual level, it is likely shaped to some degree by macro-level societal factors. Grönlund et al. (2008) support this perspective, commenting that societal needs and requirements for individual participation in community service and civic engagement are informed by different welfare models that prevail in contemporary societies[21].

Hustinx et al's. (2010) interpretation and application of the social origins theory of motivations to volunteer posits that those students living in a western democracy, one which is committed to universal welfare and high rates of government social spending, are less likely to volunteer for value-driven and altruistically guided reasons, but instead for more expressive (personal interests and pastimes) or self-serving purposes (to gain experience or boost employment prospects). Hustinx et al. (2010) found that student volunteers belonging to liberal or liberal/corporatist regimes (i.e. the United States) also demonstrated a propensity towards self-interested motivations in a context where individualism is encouraged and people are free to maximise their own self-interests in an open and competitive market environment. Grönlund et al. (2008) lends further support to this interpretation of volunteering, stating that it is typically characterised by an individualistic focus upon the value of outcomes which will likely benefit the individual volunteer. In contrast, within national regimes which are characterised by low government

[21] To examine this notion further, Hustinx et al. (2010) draw on Salamon and Anheiers's (1998) social origins theory to measure initial student motivations to volunteer and explore how they may vary cross-nationally. Based on cultural and political contexts, social origins theory offers a 'macro-explanation of the role of government in influencing the structure of the non-profit sector' in a given country, and therefore, the amount and type of volunteering that is engendered within that regime (Hustinx et al., 2010: 351; Salamon and Sokolowski, 2001; 2003). The social origins theory is based on four prototypes of non-profit regimes that exist on a spectrum ranging between *liberal* and *corporatist* regimes of low public spending and sizeable non-profit sectors; and situated at the opposite end are *statist* and *social-democratic* models committed to relatively high government spending on social welfare services which therefore limit the role for the non-profit sector (Hustinx et al., 2010).

spending on social welfare and as having a relatively small paid workforce, motivations to volunteer tend to be more value-driven and altruistic as individuals more commonly embrace their role as citizens and uphold a personal responsibility to help the poor and disadvantaged. Tuan (2005) further questions the validity of such an individualistic model of volunteering within collectivist and non-Western societies such as China.

Exploring student volunteering further, there is a substantial body of literature that both theoretically and empirically indicates that individuals often volunteer in order to enhance their employment prospects post college/university and build a career. Recurring themes within this literature suggest that students often view volunteering as an 'investment' in their human capital, helping them to acquire and build skills which may be desirable in and transferable to potential workplaces (Handy et al., 2010: 503; Segal and Weisbrod, 2002; Day and Devlin, 1998; Menchik and Weisbrod, 1987). Wuthnow (1998) adds that volunteering offers an opportunist approach to expanding students' social contacts and forging links with 'gate-keepers' which they may be able to capitalise on in future to access jobs or internships. Furthermore, and what has become a persuasive theory in the study of volunteer motivation is that students undertake such 'helping and giving' activities as a positive signal[22] to employers (Handy et al 2010; Hustinx et al., 2010; Ziemek, 2006; Ellingsen and Johannesson, 2003).

Katz and Rosenborg (2005) found that in a highly competitive jobs market, volunteering serves as a signalling device through which an individual can indicate to a potential employer that they possess the desirable qualities and skills that helps to present them as the candidate of choice. Handy et al. (2010) highlight that there is a widespread understanding that employers use a student's volunteering experience as a proxy that helps them screen applicants for desirable personality

[22] Signalling theory, as first coined and introduced by Spence (1973), expounds the value of signals, in the context of educational and labour markets, to applicants as a means of tacitly or indirectly portraying desirable personality characteristics in an attempt to convincingly signal to admissions departments / employers that they are a standout candidate.

characteristics which are unobservable and difficult to gauge from an application form alone. Such invisible traits might include: incurring net costs for the benefit of the public good; displaying good organisational citizenship; leadership abilities and markers of productivity (Handy et al., 2010).

Where students perceive employees and educational institutions to use volunteerism as a proxy for desirable personality characteristics, they will be more likely to engage in volunteering activities to enhance their résumés (Hustinx et al., 2010). In line with this trending perception that participation in civic and voluntary activity is necessary for gaining access to the next educational or career stage, Friedlund and Morimoto (2005) argue that a culture of 'résumé padding' has become de rigueur, particularly in Western societies. In terms of how such motivations manifest themselves in patterns of volunteering, the study by Handy et al. (2010) agrees with Marks and Jones' (2004) findings that those who volunteer out of self-interest, instrumentality and résumé building, volunteer less and display episodic involvement in volunteer activities – activities seen to be less demanding in terms of time, responsibility and emotional commitment. Such motivations to volunteer lie in stark contrast to those who freely give their time as an expression of their personal values (Handy et al., 2010; Marks and Jones, 2004). In response to such trends, Handy et al. (2010) are quick to point out that not all volunteering is undertaken for solely instrumental purposes and that students are often engaged in volunteering for multiple and complex reasons in which a desire to build one's curriculum vitae or résumé coexists with prosocial values. However, Crosby (1999) notes that due to the increasing pressure and competition faced by young people in today's labour markets, the payoff of volunteering as a facilitator on the route into the workplace may be a powerful drive that can dominate other motives in the decision to volunteer.

In light of this discussion, work by Simha, Topuzova and Albert connect this phenomenon of student volunteering with the notion of 'exchange' (2011:109). Exchange / social exchange or rational choice theory as it might be also referred to as, views self-interest as the fundamental human action in which the individual, and

in this case the volunteer, weighs up all action and decisions based on a costs versus benefits comparison against the performing of a particular activity (Simha, Topuzova and Albert, 2011; Scott and Marshall, 2005; Unger, 1991; 1987; Coleman, 1990; Olson, 1965; Blau, 1964). In this context, volunteering might present a trade-off between certain costs such as time and travel expenses, and rewards such as experience, enhanced employability and a general feel-good factor; however, and according to this theory, too high costs are to be avoided and the activity will only be seen as worthwhile if there are no alternatives which appear more profitable. Here, it would appear that exchange theory undermines the notion of absolute altruism, and Batson's (1991) work raises further doubts as to whether it actually exists within student volunteering. Batson suggested that individual's volunteer to achieve an 'ultimate goal' or an end-state goal, arguing that this ultimate goal indicates whether the action is initiated out of altruism or egoism (1991: 64). An important caveat raised by Batson (1991) was that any and all unintended personal or prosocial achievement brought about by volunteering should not be used to differentiate between altruistically and egoistically motivated helping. Indeed, regardless of whether the volunteer satisfies all the criteria pertaining to Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth's (1996) definition of a 'pure' volunteer – to willingly volunteer solely for the benefit of others through a group or organisation, without remuneration – Smith (1993), Schram (1985) and Henderson (1981) trenchantly contend that volunteers that offer 'altruistic' reasons for volunteering typically receive an inherent level of personal satisfaction for helping, thus discrediting the role of absolute altruism as the instigating motive.

However, Eley (2001), with a primary focus on young people, comments that people volunteer for a mixture of altruistic and egoistic motives. Seemingly antinomic in principle, Eley (2001) suggests a confluence of two dichotomous motivational orientations which by definition undermines the nature of altruism. This statement is further undermined by Eley's own findings which reported that 90 per cent of the 306 young people aged 16 to 19 years that she sampled stated that they were attracted to the Millennium Volunteers project for motives that could be categorised under self-interestedness, such as 'to increase leadership skills',

because they were 'sport based' and to 'enhance their CV' – receiving 48 per cent, 29 per cent and 13 per cent respectively (2001: 10). A similar problem befalls research conducted by Brewis, Russell, and Holdsworth, who report that 95.4 per cent of 1,942 students surveyed about their motivations to volunteer, were deemed to volunteer out of altruistically guided reasons in selecting that 'improving things/helping people' was 'very' or 'quite' important in their decision to volunteer (2010: 4). However, 88 per cent and 83.2 per cent of the very same sample (1,942) also selected the respective options of 'Developing skills' and 'Gaining work experience / enhancing my CV' as being 'very' or 'quite' important factors in their initial decisions to volunteer whilst at university (Brewis, Russel and Holdsworth, 2010: 4). This notion of altruism is potentially undermined on two counts in Brewis, Russel and Holdsworth's (2010) survey findings. First, it may have invited social desirability bias: as Smith (1981) warns, when volunteers are surveyed about their reasons for and experiences of volunteering they are likely to succumb to a social-desirability bias and provide responses which show them in a positive light. Second, the term 'improving things' may prove ambiguous or provide flexibility for the respondent to interpret the statement as improving their own personal situation. Here, critics take umbrage not with the notion that people volunteer for a variety of interrelated motives, but with the term 'absolute altruism' (Simha et al., 2011; Rehberg, 2005; Robinson, 1999; Stebbins, 1996; Winniford, Carpenter and Grider, 1997; Smith, 1993; Serow, 1991; Schram, 1985; Henderson, 1981; Rushton and Sorrentino, 1981; Knowles, 1972). Discerning between a volunteers' or potential volunteers' primary motivation from their other motivations to partake in the activity is imperative in the recruitment drives and retention procedures identified and developed by researchers and project managers.

Brewis, Russell, and Holdsworth (2010) produced a report that was commissioned by the National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement (NCCPE) that was based on case studies of six English HEIs to investigate the volunteer experiences of students whilst attending these universities. This research was performed on behalf of **v**, the National Young Volunteers Service, to assess, inter alia, how universities are managing volunteering (Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth, 2010). Brewis, Russell

and Holdsworth (2010) found that almost a quarter (23%) of students surveyed across the six English universities, that had volunteered since coming to university, had decided to stop volunteering whilst still undertaking their undergraduate studies. Additionally, and to iterate findings by Handy et al. (2010), those students who volunteer in order to enhance their CVs are likely to volunteer episodically and less regularly than students with more meaningful and internalised motives. This information raises important questions about the motivation and management of student volunteers.

In exploring some of the documented reasons for students to drop out of volunteering at university, Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth (2010) highlight that students commonly report that they do not feel part of the community or they do not have any friends that are involved in the programme. The Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR) recognise such an issue, stating that young volunteers are looking to operate in an informal and relaxing, yet fun environment in which co-workers are open and supportive to volunteers old and new (IVR, 2002). The IVR (2002) also suggest that an initial lack of belonging or low motivation might be offset by the university volunteering service better emphasising the legitimacy of the opportunity and the significance of such work to both the beneficiary organisation and the volunteer. What is more, the IVR (2002) and Gaskin (1998; 2004) cite that the awareness of or introduction of tangible incentives such as qualifications, references and experience is likely to sustain a student volunteers participation in a particular voluntary endeavour. These strategies are also pertinent when considering a separate reason cited for dropping out of volunteering – a lack of time due to the demands of the undergraduate course and 'university lifestyle' (Simha, Topuzova and Albert, 2011; Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth, 2010). In addition, further solutions to overcome a perceived lack of time may be to make volunteering more easily accessible without a protracted application and preparation process, to improve the flexibility of such opportunities that fit more conveniently with student schedules, and to make voluntary placements a compulsory part of coursework to both incentivise and validate voluntary endeavour (IVR, 2002; Gaskin, 1998; 2004). Counter to this however,

Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth (2010) revealed that some students who volunteered as a requirement of their course were likely to be less satisfied with their experience of volunteering as they felt that their autonomy had been constrained, thus making the apparently voluntary seem mandatory. To remedy this, Simha, Topuzova and Albert (2011) contend that colleges and universities need to do more to help students find the most appropriate volunteer opportunity for them and provide appropriate support throughout. In fact, 'poor organisation' of host university volunteer services is another area that Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth (2010) cite as causing volunteer drop-out for reasons such as a lack of support and supervision, and a plateau in learning. Simha, Topuzova and Albert (2011) concur, and add that a lack of training presents a major challenge to undergraduate volunteers as they are not likely to feel equipped to deal with particular tasks that they are set. However, as well as raising the issue of drop-out, Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth's (2010) findings highlight that 77 per cent of the students that they sampled in their study did continue to volunteer. This is of equal pertinence to this research and indicates that the clues to the motivational mechanisms and processes underlying volunteer retention and the development of successful strategies to combat attrition lie in the experiences of those students who continue to give their time freely. Moreover, volunteer support is not the only aspect of professional volunteer management in universities that Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth (2010) pull aside for critique, they also raise issue with what they understand as a low profile of volunteer services within HEIs and this drastically hinders the promotion and recruitment of student volunteers. A major barrier to student volunteer recruitment according to Brewis, Russell and Holdsworth (2010) is that the promotion of volunteering and university-endorsed volunteer opportunities are not propagated through academic departments or academic staff – mediums whom volunteer coordinators look on as 'gatekeepers' to student volunteers. IVR (2002) argue that encouraging undergraduates to step into volunteering is a challenge in itself as many students do not know many people, are not familiar with a university city or are tied up with their introductions to university life, and so it is important that volunteer involving services are as well publicised, as far reaching and as accessible as possible. To this effect, the literature

highlights a distinct need for the development of consistent strategies with which to promote and support student volunteers whilst at university.

3.3 Volunteering at Sports-Mega Events: Different to Grassroots Sport Volunteering?

So far, this chapter has alluded to the development and role of a form of volunteering that takes place within the field of sport, that is, the type of volunteering that occurs within grass-roots/community sport and elite sport; however, Donnelly and Harvey (2011) also identify a separate type which can be referred to as volunteering in mega- or major-events such as the Olympic, Paralympic and Commonwealth Games. According to Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray (2008), the recruitment or participant interest in volunteering in mega-events is a relatively recent phenomenon that typically attracts a different type of volunteer to those found in grass-roots or development sports volunteering. To position these individuals within the context of volunteering and draw distinction between them and their community/elite sport based counterparts, mega-event volunteers will be briefly reviewed here.

For Adams and Deane, mega-event volunteers fall into an 'individual formal' category of volunteer wherein they expect to receive training, support and guidance but operate externally from institutionalised voluntary structures (2009: 129). Adams and Deane (2009) suggest that it is the formal requirements that these roles present that attract this type of volunteer to the activity. By comparison, Adams and Deane would refer to volunteers involved in grass-roots voluntary organisations and elite performance development, and indeed SUNEE volunteers, as 'institutional formal' volunteers (2009: 129). These individuals expect to receive training and guidance from the outset and are receptive to the structural mechanisms and support networks operational within institutionalised contexts (Adams and Deane, 2009).

According to the DCMS/Strategy Unit (2002), major sporting events can be placed into one of the three following categories: calendar events, such as the Wimbledon tennis Championships, which take place annually at traditional venues and attract substantial commercial revenue; one-off events, like the football and rugby Union World Cups, that attract vast commercial interest and which nations compete to host; and lastly, showcase events are those which are organised to boost the development and image of a particular sport, such as the World Disability Athletics Championships. The roles that volunteers can perform during these events can range from volunteer management and training to crowd control and performer registration (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006).

Sport event volunteers are therefore motivated by different reasons than their 'institutional formal' counterparts (Andrew, 1996). Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray found that the common motivations of participants volunteering at the Athens 2004 Olympics revolved around fulfilling the 'behind the scene' experience which reflected a desire to associate with the Olympic movement and to also meet the competing athletes (2008: 198). The authors add that such motivations were closely connected to egoistic factors governed by a need for social interaction as well as the building of interpersonal relationships and networks (Giannoulakis, Wang and Gray, 2008). In a separate study, Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998) found that major event volunteers were more commonly motivated by a desire to contribute to society (purposive factors) and the need for networking and the forming of social relationships (solidary factors), and less so by extrinsic rewards and coercion from others. Farrell, Johnston and Twynam (1998) add that many volunteers that they studied conveyed a desire to make the event a success. This sentiment finds accord with Ralston, Downward and Lumsdon (2004) who investigated volunteering at the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games, reporting that there was a general commitment by volunteers, as local citizens, to support an event that was to showcase their region. Further prominent themes emanating from Ralston, Downward and Lumsdon's (2004) work suggest that volunteers are motivated by a desire to uphold the spirit of an event, to experience the uniqueness of an event,

and to feel an affinity with a sport that holds significant meaning to them. This brief review demonstrates the diverse range of motivations that stir individuals to volunteer in major events.

The economic benefits of recruiting and deploying these episodic and short-term volunteers to support the management of these 'hallmark' events are obvious, yet governments, local authorities and sport development agencies have come to view these occasions as two-way streets in recent times, championing schemes like the pre-volunteer programme (PVP) as powerful vehicles of social renewal in disadvantaged communities (Baum and Lockstone, 2007: 31; Jones and Stokes, 2003; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). To elaborate, In 2002 Manchester planned to use its very own mega-event, the Commonwealth Games, as a catalyst for regenerating the deprived area of East Manchester (Manchester City Council, 2001). An important strand within this plan was the creation of the PVP. Launched in 2000, the PVP's rationale was to offer some of the most disadvantaged individuals in the North West the opportunity to gain accreditation and experience of sport volunteering at the 2002 Manchester Commonwealth Games (Warrior, 2007). The objectives of PVP were to educate, develop job-related skills and increase employability, and to provide leisure opportunities to its target populations, but above all its core focus was to tackle social exclusion (Jones and Stokes, 2003; Warrior, 2007). The populations targeted by the PVP were young people aged 16-24 years; the unemployed; individuals with disabilities; and people from various ethnic backgrounds (Warrior, 2007). The intended impact on the lives of these volunteers was the development of skills, employability and social cohesiveness (Jones and Stokes, 2003). The Manchester PVP has since provided a model for a host of international mega-event organisers to base their volunteer recruitment and development strategies, including the PVP and 'Games Makers' volunteer programmes initiated by the London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) (DCMS, 2010; Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2007; Fitzgerald and Lang, 2009; Haigh and West, 2011; Podium, 2012).

3.4. Using Self-Determination Theory (SDT) to Understand Psychological Motivations to Volunteer

The number of people engaged in volunteering in the UK appears to be in decline. This trend is firmly felt within the sports sector and not only pertains to falling recruitment rates but also to the dropping out of current volunteers. The significance of volunteers and their contributions to public services, social welfare and indeed within the sport sector has been well documented, yet there is substantial empirical evidence to suggest that individuals abandon volunteering because they feel undervalued and taken for granted, and are generally poorly treated or ill managed (Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). What is more, the mechanisms underpinning volunteering are complex and research undertaken in this area has typically reported participation rates, or simply listed motives to volunteer or provided categories of motives based on psychological goals driving the take-up of such activities (Clary and Snyder, 1991; Davies, 1998; Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld, 2006). To illustrate this point and in iteration of the findings of a previously mentioned study, Hager and Brudney (2004) reported that twenty per cent of volunteers assisting at the UPS foundation in the US dropped out because they experienced poor management. Therefore, Cuskelly, Hoye and Auld (2006) stress the importance of implementing volunteer management practices, and implementing well planned and research driven management practices. Hager and Brudney (2004) advise that at the most basic level, volunteers are more likely to maintain their commitment if they are given clearly defined tasks matched to their interests and expectations of the role, as well as receive opportunities for relevant training and development aligned to these expectations and personal preferences in order to further their progression. It is equally important that volunteers frequently encounter meaningful experiences with which to fulfil a sense of satisfaction in their voluntary roles (Phillips, Little and Goodine, 2002).

Against this backdrop, an interesting lacuna opens up for investigation within this thesis. To date, there is little, if any, in depth research that examines the factors and conditions underlying the maintenance and development of volunteer

motivation, not least in the context of sport or indeed student volunteering within sport. To this end, this thesis will employ a psychological framework called the Self-Determination Theory (SDT) to not only index the type of motivations that compel students to volunteer on the SUNEE project, but also track motivational adaptation and reveal the features occurring within the project which serve to either influence participant retention or conversely demotivate and cause drop out (Deci and Ryan, 1985). The SDT has been used to assess and enhance motivation within professional and formal work organisations, educational settings, and in elite performance sport environments to name but a few of its previous contextual applications (see: Flink, Boggiano and Barrett, 1990; Miserandino, 1996; Treasure, Lemyre, Kuczka and Standage, 2007); however, its rigour and utility has not yet been tested within the context of volunteering in sport.

According to Matthews, Deary and Whiteman, Deci and Ryan's SDT is part of a large psychological movement towards 'positive psychology' (2009: 144) which demonstrates a greater dedication to research and possesses a humanistic tendency. Positive psychology emerged as a response to a perceived over emphasis upon the negative aspects of clinical psychology and a heavy focus on damage repair (Matthews, Deary and Whiteman, 2009). Ostensibly more preventative in nature, positive psychological theory such as SDT seeks to 'promote personal and societal growth, and the fulfilment of human potential' (Matthews, Deary and Whiteman, 2009: 146; Seligman and Csikzentmihalyi, 2000).

To elaborate, Deci and Ryan (1985) posit that motivation exists along a continuum of increasing internalisation, and the more internal and intrinsic an individual's motivation, the more satisfied, healthy and effective they are in whatever task or job they are performing in a given scenario. Therefore, the goal for psychologists, volunteer managers or anyone responsible for the performance and well-being of others in a formal setting, is to facilitate internalisation, integration and intrinsic motivation as opposed to varying degrees of extrinsic motivation, external regulation and the perilous state of amotivation (Ryan and Deci 2000a; 2000b). SDT provides an instrument by which to index volunteers' motivation type at a given

point in time. Crucially, SDT offers a mechanism with which to not only track, interpret and categorise student volunteers' motivational status over the course of their participation in the SUNEE project, it also provides a means of establishing and understanding the particular structural features and social conditions which serve to either 'facilitate or forestall' an individual's motivation (Ryan and Deci, 2000a: 68). By revealing the factors which either enhance motivation as well as those which lead to desistence, such sports-based set-ups can be better informed of how best to manage and deploy their volunteers in a manner suited to the motivational needs of those individuals.

Broadly put, SDT distinguishes between different types of motivation; types of motivation which are determined by different goals and reasons, and which can be plotted along a continuum of increasing internalisation ranging between extrinsic (nonself-determined) and intrinsic (self-determined) motivation (Ryan and Deci, 2000a; Gagné and Deci, 2005; Millette and Gagné, 2008). To elaborate, according to SDT, behaviour that is not intrinsically motivated is influenced by varying degrees of extrinsic motivation from the externally coerced/controlled to the more internal, autonomous and self-endorsed (Ryan and Deci, 2007; Markland and Vansteenkiste, 2007). As Ryan and Deci explicate, this spectrum of motivations 'reflect differing degrees to which the value and regulation' of an activity, action or behaviour has been 'internalised and integrated' by the individual (2000a: 71).

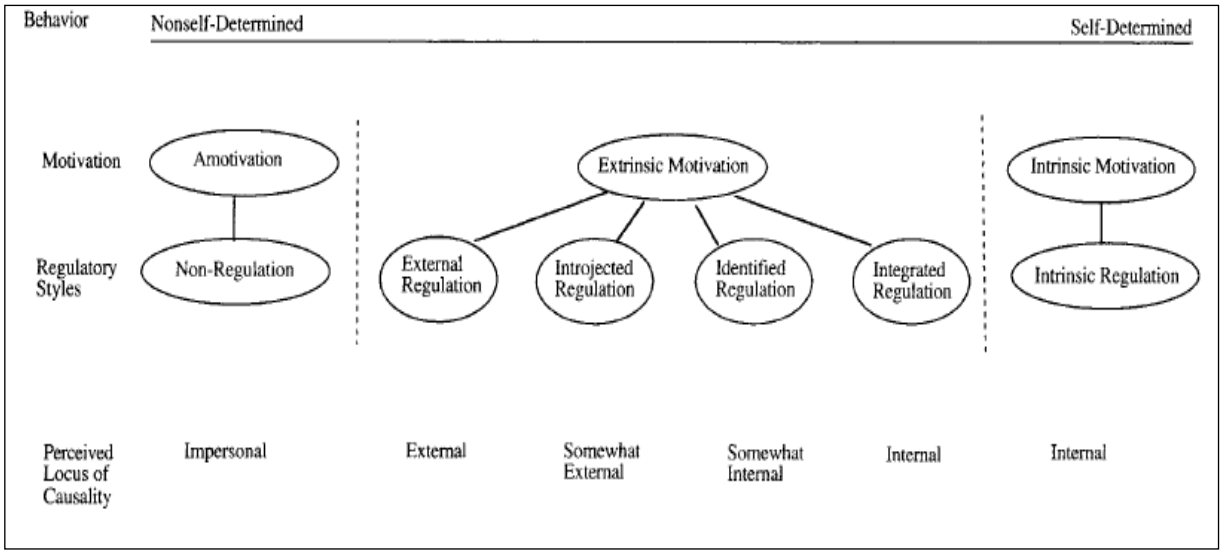

Figure 3.1 The Self-Determination Continuum

Figure reproduced from Ryan and Deci (2000a)

Ryan and Deci (2000a) suggest that if specific conditions and needs are met within an activity or event then the internalisation and integration of associated behaviours and/or values can be fostered, resulting in a shift to the right of the SDT continuum (Figure 3.1) and therefore inducing a motivational adaptation. However, SDT is a two-way process and if certain conditions are removed or specific psychological needs go unmet then this transitional direction may be reversed as motivation becomes less internalised and integrated and emphasis shifts instead towards external, separable outcomes. Therefore, SDT articulates a distinct set of principles with which to understand how each type of motivation is 'developed and sustained, or forestalled and undermined' (Ryan and Deci, 2000a: 69).

According to SDT, conditions and experiences that facilitate self-determined and intrinsically orientated motivation serve to optimise personal development, enhance well-being and support psychological development (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). Increased integration and internalisation helps to achieve such factors by increasing one's moral or personal commitment to a cause or project, boosting the satisfaction and enjoyment one receives from an activity, and also by fostering the integration of an individual into a given scenario, domain or culture (Ryan and Deci, 2000b; Gagné and Deci, 2005). To this end, utilising SDT to analyse and evaluate

student experiences during their participation in the SUNEE project enables this research to establish to what extent volunteers were able to internalise a sense of personal responsibility towards the project. Moreover, this research component highlights how motivational adaptation of student volunteers during the SUNEE project contributed to their personal and social development, and also, how it may have influenced their desire to volunteer in future, outside and away from the SUNEE project.

3.4.1 SDT, Motivation and Volunteering

For Ryan and Deci, motivation 'is at the core of biological, cognitive, and social regulation' as it underpins all human endeavour (2000a: 69). In the context of this chapter, the term motivation refers to the impetus, influence, or inspiration which moves an individual to act and which underscores the energy and persistence that they may or may not apply to a given task. As Ryan and Deci (2000b) explicate, motivation varies in both level (of drive) and orientation (type of motivation). Individuals can be motivated by a multitude of factors which, to provide the most basic of distinctions, are of either internal or external origin. To elaborate, an individual who is intrinsically motivated might choose to volunteer on a programme or event because they value and/or have interest in that project. Similarly, a student may choose to volunteer on a sports outreach project out of a desire to learn and develop as a sports coach/sports leader. Oppositely, an individual who is externally motivated may choose to participate in a voluntary project as a result of coercion from peers or senior figures, or for the lure of incentives and rewards. Likewise, an individual who is extrinsically orientated may opt to volunteer on a sports outreach project as such vocational experience is beneficially aligned with their career aspirations.

Research suggests that intrinsically orientated or self-determined action is more likely to promote self-esteem, heighten vitality and enhance general well-being (Kasser and Ryan, 1996; Ryan, Kuhl and Deci, 1997; Sheldon and Kasser, 1998). As a result, studies have revealed that individuals who are internally driven towards a

task hold more interest in that particular subject or area of work and consequently receive greater stimulation and excitement in its undertaking. In turn, self-determined and internally regulated action typically manifests itself in higher levels of self-efficacy for a given activity as well as greater levels of persistence and commitment to that task than their externally regulated counterparts and which ultimately results in superior performance in educational, sporting and work-based contexts (Deci and Ryan, 2008b; Sheldon and Krieger, 2007; Kasser and Ryan, 1993; 1996). Conversely, extrinsic and materialistic aspirations have been found to decrease task/job satisfaction and enjoyment, diminish interest and commitment, and also reduce confidence and perceived task competence (Ryan, Kuhl and Deci, 1997; Ryan and Deci, 2000a). Consequently, such factors are to the detriment of individual performance and impact negatively upon well-being by increasing an individual's risk of depression and anxiety (Krasser and Ryan, 1993: 1996).

The study of motivation and SDT is of great import as much value is placed upon its occupational, performance-orientated and health-based consequences. Utilising SDT enables the identification of the direction and orientation of an action, effort or attitude exhibited by a particular individual at any given time. This allows a particular form of motivation to be typed and classified, therefore highlighting the forces that move a person to act under a particular scenario. This is useful as it provides a framework with which to identify and assess situation/scenario specific motivation type, and to either promote or sustain motivation or indeed to mobilise others to act. The application of SDT within the current study is of salience as it provides an instrument with which to identify and track student motivation type/orientation from inception in the programme to the point of interview. In turn, SDT can help to establish what factors move students to volunteer in the first place, as well as those factors which serve to sustain, adapt or enhance student motivation to volunteer, or indeed which elements serve to diminish it. Therefore, the findings emanating from this research can help to inform volunteer organisations, managers and leaders to distinguish between factors which elicit active versus passive volunteer motives and ultimately assist them in designing volunteer recruitment and retention strategies which promote volitional as

opposed to controlling forms of extrinsic motivation (Ryan and Deci, 2000b). As well as being highly relevant to this research, the interpretation and evaluation of the directions and transitions of student motivations to volunteer is also of great pertinence to the study of volunteering in sport as Torkildsen argued that volunteers provide the 'backbone' for sport and leisure provision in the UK (2005: 279).

3.4.2 Intrinsic Motivation

The concept of intrinsic motivation has been widely attributed to Harlow (1950) and can be defined as 'the doing of an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequences' (Ryan and Deci, 2000b: 56). That is, to volitionally participate in activities for their own sake, in the absence of specific rewards and incentives. This concept of intrinsic motivation was developed, partly, in opposition to a number of influential behaviourist theories that had emerged between the early 1940s and 1950s, namely by Hull (1943) and later by Skinner (1953). Hull's (1943) *drive reduction theory* posited that human behaviour is driven out of the need to maintain biological homeostasis, and in order to do this, human beings must be able to satisfy a fundamental set of physiological needs (Arkes and Garske, 1982). If one or more of these needs are not satisfied then a homeostatic imbalance ensues causing a psychological state called *drive*, a negative tension or arousal level, which prompts an individual to pursue and ultimately satisfy that need, restoring homeostasis and thus reducing drive (Schultz and Schultz, 1987). Therefore, according to Hull, humans are motivated towards reducing drive. Moreover, Skinner's (1953) work on *operant conditioning* argued that human action is always influenced by, and is under the control of external reinforcers within one's environment (Catania , 1988).

Following a number of experimental studies, White (1959) found accord with the phenomenon of intrinsic motivation, tying to it his concept of *effectance motivation*. This notion of effectance is now more commonly referred to and

understood as competence or self-efficacy, and in terms of motivation, implied that human beings are naturally programmed with an innate propensity to develop competencies (White, 1959; Ryan and Deci, 2007). That is, human beings are naturally inclined to want to learn, assimilate and grow their knowledge as well as both their skill sets and skill level (Ryan, 1995; Ryan and Deci, 2000b). It is this inherent desire to learn, adapt and achieve mastery of a given task or activity which underlies human cognitive, physical and social development (Deci, 1971; Csikzentmihalyi and Rathunde, 1993).

From birth children are playful, curious and inquisitive, traits which transfer into adulthood and are manifested in tendencies to explore, seek out new or further challenges and to develop a spontaneous interest in and out of the unknown, unfamiliar and the different (Ryan, 1995; Ryan and Deci, 2000a). At all ages and epochs of the life course, humans enjoy their happiest and healthiest states when they are able to creatively apply and advance their skills in activities and environments in which they have an interest and from which they gain satisfaction. It is such activating and energizing features which underpin human performance, volitional persistence and well-being.

However, as people grow older they naturally assume greater responsibilities and come under increasing social and occupational pressures to perform a variety of tasks and functions, reducing their freedom of choice and curtailing their intrinsic interests. To this end, the facilitation, maintenance and enhancement of the positive thrust of intrinsic motivation is dependent on the presence and provision of sufficient supportive conditions for the individual within the activity and also between the persons involved in a given activity, conditions which need to be in accord and alignment with the internal orientations and drives of the individual (Ryan and Deci, 2000a; Ryan and Deci, 2000b). Conversely, if specific conditions or needs go unmet within an activity, or whether between-person relations are absent, strained or have broken down, then self-motivation can become subdued and diminish, potentially impacting negatively on an individual's well-being (Ryan and Deci, 1985b; Ryan and Deci, 2007). According to Ryan and Deci (2000b; 2007),

the key to facilitating, sustaining and developing intrinsic motivation and internalisation, is for an innate and fundamental set of psychological needs to be met and satisfied by the social and environmental conditions that make up a given scenario. These fundamental psychological needs, which SDT and its advocates contend are 'universal necessities' for the optimal development, integrity and well-being of all human-beings, are categorised as *competence*, *autonomy* and *relatedness* (Ryan and Deci, 2000a; Ryan and Deci, 2007; Gagné and Deci, 2005: 337). These specifiable conditions postulated to be conducive to the expression of intrinsic and/or internally regulated motivation are subsumed below in discussion, chiefly, of the cognitive evaluation theory (CET), and more briefly of the basic needs theory (BNT). The CET and BNT make up two of four sub-theories adapted and developed by Ryan and Deci (1985b) and which underpin SDT.

To reiterate, SDT is actually a meta-theory that is comprised of and predicated on four sub-theories (Ryan and Deci, 1985b; Ryan and Deci, 2000a; 2007). The two sub-theories that are to be discussed at this stage are the BNT and the CET. The BNT provides a starting point for the construction of the SDT framework, outlining that human (intrinsic) motivation is optimised when the basic psychological needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness have adequately been satisfied (Gagné and Deci, 2005; Ryan and Deci, 2007). Each individual need will be discussed in greater detail as the chapter progresses.

According to Deci and Ryan's (1985) SDT, intrinsic, and indeed extrinsic motivation is susceptible to variability depending on the environmental and social contexts within which an individual is situated during a particular activity or at a given time. This prompted Deci and Ryan (1985) to construct CET as a means of specifying which social factors and/or environmental contingencies influence variability in intrinsic and externally regulated motivation within a particular scenario (Deci and Ryan, 1985b). Such a framework facilitates the identification of the specific factors which boost versus forestall intrinsic motivation.

The influence of the BNT is prominent within CET, endowing it with its key tenets,

or the fundamental psychological needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness, the three elements which need to be satisfied in order for intrinsic motivation to flourish. In explication, the need for autonomy stems from the work of DeCharms (1968) and constitutes a sense of volition and choicefulness in participating in an activity or behaviour and is absent from external pressure or coercion. Essentially, action which is autonomous is self-endorsed at the highest level of reflection and reinforces intrinsic motivation, whereas behaviour which is experienced as feeling controlled or forced typically assumes an external perceived locus of control (Dworkin, 1988; Pelletier, Fortier, Vallerand, and Brière, 2001). In addition, psychological withdrawal and external regulation can be triggered by confrontational, threatening or intimidating behaviour of a specific group or individual towards the participant, which serves to unsettle and detach that person, subsequently diminishing the value and commitment that they place upon the context in focus (Deci and Cascio, 1972: cited in Ryan and Deci, 2000b). Such extrinsic factors, motivators or influencers are typically referred to as 'controllers' of participant behaviour (Deci, 1972: 227; Ryan and Deci, 2000b:59). Moreover, intrinsic motivation is also likely to wane if a participant feels uninvolved in an activity or environment (Ryan, Deci and Grolnick, 1995), a factor which heavily influences and undermines autonomous regulation and which is closely connected to the branches of competence and relatedness.

Social contexts which have found to be autonomy controlling, and those which have proved to undermine intrinsic motivation, include those which provide rewards or incentives, settings which impose regular and strict deadlines, and those in which participants are frequently or constantly surveilled and/or evaluated (Deci and Ryan, 1987; Deci, Koestner and Ryan, 1999). Such factors have been proven to stifle creativity, decrease interest, diminish cognitive flexibility, which in turn hinder learning and problem solving, induce external regulation and even amotivation[23], and lead to discontinuation of a given activity (Gagné and Deci, 2005).

[23] 'A state where people do not act, act without intent, or lack the intention to act' (Pelletier et al., 2001). Amotivation exists at the non-determined end of the SDT continuum.

In contrast, autonomy is sustained and enhanced when an individual feels a sense of freedom to make their own choices and decisions about their conduct and the protocols that they choose to employ within a work or activity based context (Deci, Eghrari, Patrick and Leone, 1994). Ryan and Deci (2000a) add that the acknowledgement of an individual's ideas and feelings by a group or leader will enhance that person's sense of autonomy as it implicates that person within the decision making process and reflects an equality within the group. Such autonomy-supportive conditions have been shown to elicit intrinsically associated traits such as increased curiosity, a strong desire to seek out greater and novel challenges, and the promotion of developmental and mastery orientated behaviour (Deci, Nezlek and Sheinman, 1981; Ryan and Grolnick, 1986; Parish and Treasure, 2003).

Whilst examining the coaching context, Pelletier et al. (2001) found that autonomy-supportive coaching climates were associated with more integrated and intrinsic motivation, whereas autonomy controlling coaching climates were associated with external regulation. Significantly, Pelletier et al. (2001) also found that external motives or heavily controlled coaching climates were associated with higher athlete dropout rates, whereas those athletes who were more self-determined and internally motivated demonstrated greater persistence to train and remain in their sport. Pelletier and his colleagues (2001) concluded that autonomy-supportive coaching tended to provide athletes with a rationale behind the methods that they were to use, allowed athletes to identify their own goals and have input into their own programme design and competition strategies. Oppositely, coaches perceived as controlling tended to employ typically authoritarian methods allowing athletes only limited choice of, or input into training protocols or competition tactics in what appeared to be highly coercive and pressure-filled climates (Pelletier et al., 2001). Therefore, an autonomy-supportive climate allows the individual the freedom to take-in and integrate the regulation of a given social context, activity or project, by facilitating their understanding of its meaning and the skills required to succeed within it, and subsequently relating that meaning to their own goals and values, in turn influencing their self-determination towards that activity, group or cause (Deci et al., 1994).

A second instrumental psychological mediator, and one which thrives off a sense of autonomy, is the need for competence. The need for competence is the need for an individual to possess or feel capable of developing a mastery of the challenges and tasks that they are confronted with in a given environment as well as the need to feel effective in dealing with the immediate social context in which they find themselves, thus leading to feelings of self-efficacy and an internalisation of their position and role within the current milieu (White, 1959; Markland and Vansteenkiste, 2007). To reiterate, Ryan and Deci (2000a; 2000b) stress that feelings of competence will only enhance intrinsic motivation when accompanied by a sense of autonomy.

The cognitive evaluation theory (CET) posits that such social-contextual events as communications, feedback and rewards affect an individual's motivation. Ryan and Deci (2007) identify three variables which have been consistently found to positively influence intrinsic motivation and potentiate flow experience: optimal challenges, effectance (self-efficacy) promoting feedback, and freedom from demeaning evaluations (2007: 58). Firstly, participants should be set challenging tasks or targets that are also realistically attainable in order to encourage persistence and reinforce self-determination. If a task is too difficult or too easy, respective feelings of failure or boredom/disinterest are likely to instigate a motivational shift towards external regulation. Moreover, individuals may experience positive internal feedback or external recognition for successfully completing a task or performing well, further internalising the value and commitment that they place upon a particular activity. On the other hand, if an individual receives negative or demeaning feedback then their psychological need for competence may go unsatisfied and they may feel that they lack efficacy, subsequently deregulating their internal commitments and causing an external shift in their motives to participate in a given activity. However, if the participant receives negative feedback or derogatory/hostile behaviour they may still have the abiding inner resources to persevere until they are able to turn such attitudes and behaviour towards them, around. In this scenario, Vallerand and Reid (1984) suggest that an individual's perceived level of competence has the capacity to

mediate in the face of such negative feedback if they have previously experienced and operated under similar conditions and/or back their own ability in the knowledge that they have succeeded at the same level or higher in the past. Ryan and Deci 2000a; Ryan and Deci, 2007) add that such self-determined and self-efficacious behaviour must be accompanied by an internal perceived locus of causality (sense of autonomy).

Completing this triumvirate of psychological needs is that of relatedness. This is the need for an individual to feel a sense of connectedness to another person, group or community (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). According to Deci and Ryan (2002), such mutually meaningful, satisfying and supportive relationships help to foster social conditions amenable to an internal perceived locus of causality.

Moreover, Ryan and Deci (2000a) emphasise that people are only intrinsically motivated and wholly self-determined to pursue an activity if that activity holds the appeal of interest, curiosity, novelty, aesthetic value or challenge for them. Often times, behaviour which is initially extrinsically motivated may have been 'prompted, modelled or valued by significant others' to whom a person feels connected to or wishes to feel close to (Ryan and Deci, 2000a: 73). It is such feelings of connectedness which support the internalization and integration of values and regulations, influencing the participant to adopt the group norms and goals as their own (Gagné and Deci, 2005). Alternatively, an individual may participate in an activity or volunteer on a project in order to acquire a specific reward that is available yet contingent on a particular clause; in such a scenario the individual may develop proximal relational supports in the form of other participants or clients. The development of a relational base such as this can contribute to feelings of security and belonging, fostering an environment of mutual care, respect and reliance within which motivation may become further internalised (Harlow, 1958; Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Gagné and Deci, 2005). In contrast, if an individual enters a social context in which he or she is faced with hostility or perceived threatening behaviour, where relationships may be refused or difficult to strike up, then there might be an inhibition or loss of feelings of belongingness within that

particular environment (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). As a consequence of such social deprivation, an individual who has a high intrinsic need for relatedness may become anxious or stressed and experience a lack of confidence, negative effects which may conduce toward external regulation and perhaps amotivation and potential discontinuation of that activity (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). According to Baumeister and Leary (1995), if such a scenario should befall an individual then it is likely that that individual responds, at least in the early stages, by making a concerted and goal directed effort to form relationships.

By employing the SDT framework within the current research, both initial motives to volunteer and the processes through which non-intrinsically driven students' motivation can develop to become self-determined, can be identified, measured and explicated. Furthermore, the SDT model also provides an instrument to determine the ways in which the SUNEE programmes influence such motivational adaptations. In highlighting which aspects of the SUNEE volunteer experience serve to facilitate or undermine student motivation will allow the current research to generate recommendations for the development and management of volunteer motivation and retention.

3.4.3 Extrinsic Motivation, Self-regulation and SDT

The causality orientations theory (COT) adds the personality component to the SDT model. COT accounts for how an individual's personality influences their motivational orientation towards a specific environment or activity, and reflects the extent to which they are self-determined in their behaviour within that context (Deci and Ryan, 1985). Deci and Ryan posit three broad classes of causality orientations that govern the initiation and regulation of an individual's behaviour within a specific context, these are: autonomy orientation, control orientation and impersonal orientation (Deci and Ryan, 2008a). Autonomy orientated behaviour is that which is endorsed and motivated by events that are integrated to one's sense of self, that is, to engage within activities which are congruent with an individual's

personal interests, values and goals (Deci and Ryan, 1985). In addition, behaviour that is autonomy driven may be initiated by events in the environment which are interpreted as informational by the individual; these are events which are perceived to facilitate one's effective interaction with the environment by providing effectance promoting feedback (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Baard, Deci and Ryan, 2004). Deci (1980) defines truly autonomy orientated behaviour as self-determined as it is generated from an internal perceived locus of causality.

On the other hand, control orientation refers to behaviour which is initiated and regulated by events within the person that are external to that individual's integrated sense of self, and also by events within a given environment which that person interprets as controlling (Deci and Ryan, 1985). Deci (1980) states that these controlled behavioural tendencies emanate from an external perceived locus of causality and can manifest themselves in acts of either compliance with, or rebellion to control. It is important at this point to draw the distinction between the internal and the intrinsic, in reference to motivation. Intrinsic motivation is the doing of an activity for the inherent satisfaction it provides the participant, and/or the alignment and integration of a person's beliefs, values and principles with a particular activity, cause or event. Where the internal differs is that it spans a range of orientations between the intrinsic and externally regulated behaviour – for example, performing an activity in order to boost self-esteem or for personal enhancement as a step toward achieving a broader goal.

Lastly, an individual who is impersonally orientated is nonself-determined and amotivated. Impersonal orientated behaviour manifests itself in personal helplessness, a state in which the individual experiences feelings of incompetence in interacting with their environment and dealing with life challenges (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Deci and Ryan, 2008a). Such impersonal orientations commonly occur at the external boundary of motivation and are associated with both a lack of intent towards and a lack of value in an activity, and the expectance that one's efforts will not result in a desirable outcome (Deci, 1975; Seligman, 1975; Ryan, 1995). Less commonly, amotivation can occur at the internal motivation boundary, a scenario

in which an individual lacks the coping skills to deal with specific drives and emotions, and is ultimately overwhelmed by them (Deci and Ryan, 1985).

According to Deci and Ryan's (1985) SDT model, everyone possesses some degree of each orientation. Perhaps expectedly, impersonal orientation has been consistently found to thwart all three psychological needs and is associated with poor performance, low self-esteem and has negative consequences for well-being (Deci and Ryan, 2008). In stark contrast, autonomous orientation is strengthened and sustained by the satisfaction of all three psychological needs, in turn demonstrating a positive relationship with both well-being and effective performance (Baard, Deci and Ryan, 2004; Gagné and Deci, 2005). Finally, control orientation emerges under the satisfaction of the needs for competence and relatedness, but only when the need for autonomy has been thwarted. Control orientated behaviour is typically geared towards external contingencies and introjected motives such as personal development and career progression (Reeve, Deci and Ryan, 2004). The often rigid and pressured conditions of control orientation can lead to diminished well-being and cause anxiety (Deci and Ryan, 2008a).

The distinction between autonomous and controlled motivation is central to SDT. SDT transcends the classic dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, postulating that motivational orientation exists along a continuum which indexes the degree to which it is autonomous versus controlled (Gagné and Deci, 2005). According to SDT then, there are different types of motivation which reflect different manifestations of an individual's tendency to actualise and integrate, or differentiate themselves with their environment (Mallett, Kawabata, Newcombe, Otero-Forero and Jackson, 2007). SDT posits that one's motivational orientation towards an activity or environment is influenced by their underlying regulatory processes and the situational and emotional experiences that accompany them at that given time (Gagné and Deci, 2005). The theory proposes that extrinsic motivation can vary greatly in its relative autonomy and such gradations in extrinsic motivational orientation cover the continuum between intrinsic motivation and

extrinsic motivation as these motivational types vary in the extent to which their regulation is autonomous and self-determined (Ryan and Connell, 1989; Vallerand, 1997; Ryan and Deci, 2000b). This leads into the fourth and final pillar that forms the SDT meta-theory, that is, the organismic integration theory (OIT) which explicates the self-regulation of extrinsic motivation.

The OIT provides a taxonomy of motivational types and plots the degree to which one's motivational orientation towards an activity or group emanates from the self (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). This taxonomy is presented as a continuum of relative autonomy. At the far left of this continuum is amotivation, non-self-determined behaviour which lacks any intentionality. To the right of amotivation emerge five classifications of motivated behaviour which range from the more controlled and externally regulated to the intrinsic, autonomous and self-determined at the far right of scale. The OIT outlines the different facets of extrinsic motivation that lie between intrinsic motivation and amotivation, detailing the contextual factors which serve to either foster or inhibit the 'internalization and integration of the regulation' for these orientations towards a particular activity or setting (Ryan and Deci, 2000b: 61). To elaborate, internalization is described as the process of 'taking in' a value, attitude, or structural/behavioural regulation, identifying with it and attaching to it a sense of personal relevance, importance or value (Gagné and Deci, 2005: 334). By comparison, integration is the process in which these once external and misaligned attitudes, values and regulations become more fully assimilated and transformed as one's own, emanating from their sense of self (Ryan and Deci, 2000a; 2000b). SDT posits that individuals can enter into a scenario occupying any position on the continuum and harbouring any one of the five motivational types (outlined below). Ryan (1995) highlights that once immersed within a setting an individual can readily internalize a new behavioural regulation at any point along the SDT continuum. Indeed, that same individual may instead feel alienated or grow disenchanted with a particular activity or social group and subsequently move backwards towards a more externally regulated position (Ryan and Deci, 2000b). It is important to mention here that the SDT continuum should not be understood as a stage theory in which people must systematically progress through each stage of

internalisation, but instead as a scale or index with which to measure one's behavioural regulation at any given time (Gagné and Deci, 2005).

From left to right, the four types of extrinsic motivation that lie between amotivation and intrinsic motivation are *external regulation*, *introjected regulation*, *identified regulation* and *integrated regulation*, with each type described as being more autonomous than the last (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Conroy, Elliot and Coatsworth, 2007).

An individual who is externally regulated towards a task holds little or no interest in that activity and derives minimal inherent satisfaction from participating in it. Instead, one who is externally regulated may feel external pressure or coercion to perform a task, or alternatively they may seek a tangible reward or implicit approval which they perceive as contingent on a specific action or behaviour (Gagné and Deci, 2005). On the other hand, an individual may be orientated in this way to avoid criticism, sanction or punishment. Such behaviour is therefore highly controlled.

To the right of external regulation on the self-determination continuum is introjected regulation. Introjection represents a regulation that is taken in by the individual but which is not fully accepted as their own and which does not resonate through their sense of self (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). Ryan (1995) adds that introjection is a modulator of self-esteem and promotes behaviour which is performed for ego enhancement, anxiety reduction or guilt avoidance. Introjection is therefore internally driven and yet is governed by an external perceived locus of causality.

Taking another step to the right of the continuum, identified regulation reflects more self-determined and autonomous behaviour. Here, an individual identifies the value that an action, behaviour or task holds in relation to the achievement of their personal goals and so they accept that regulation as their own (Deci and Ryan, 2000a; Conroy, Elliot and Coatsworth, 2007). Concomitantly, if the participant is providing a service to others then at this position on the continuum they also come

to realise the importance of their role in helping others. Due to this congruence between a specific regulation and one's own identity and personal goals, Gagné and Deci (2005) point out that in this scenario a person feels greater freedom and volition in their behavioural choices, feelings which reflect an internal perceived locus of causality.

Lastly, the final and most autonomous extrinsic form of motivation that lies before the intrinsic anchor on the SDT continuum is that of integrated motivation. According to Ryan and Deci, integration is when a behavioural regulation is an 'integral' part of who that person is and the principles and values underpinning it are consistent across all aspects of that person's life (2000b:335). Integrative processes occur when identified regulations become fully assimilated to the self and the aims and purposes of the action or behaviour are congruent with the values, needs and aspirations of that individual (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). However, this form of regulation is still considered extrinsic because an individual eliciting associated behaviour does so in order to attain instrumental separable outcomes and lacks any inherent satisfaction and enjoyment taken from the task or activity (Gagné and Deci, 2005).

3.5 Criticisms of SDT

Self-Determination Theory has not been without its critics, although a number of these have fallen away due to the comprehensive rebuttals and subsequent research presented by Edward Deci and Richard Ryan in swift response to them.

As a first bone of contention, Locke and Latham (1990) argue that if such factors as rewards and incentives are deleterious to intrinsic motivation, then SDT becomes redundant and inapplicable to real life settings. Deci and Ryan (2000a; 2000b) maintain that the use of rewards can be damaging to intrinsic motivation yet insist

that they can be effective for rudimentary tasks and for individuals who exhibit low task motivation at the outset, for example in certain educational settings. Whereas external rewards only generate short-term and shallow motivational outcomes, Deci and Ryan (2000a; 2000b) contend that in the case of more complex tasks which are typically undertaken for long periods of the life-span, such as in jobs, professions and volunteering, those who are able to harness their inner resources and develop intrinsic motivation are likely to be more fully engaged, creative and satisfied in their roles. To this end, Deci and Ryan (2000a; 2000b) are concerned as to how to create conditions within which intrinsic motivation, autonomy and volitional action can truly flourish.

From an alternative perspective, Schwartz describes self-determination, indeed the autonomy of the individual, as the 'tyranny of freedom' (2000: 85). Schwartz (2000) explains that unconstrained freedom of choice can be self-defeating and lead to decision-making paralysis which plunges the self into chaos. Schwartz (2000) argues that in contemporary Western society in particular, individuals are exposed to an abundance of choice in many aspects of life such as in the home, at work and at leisure. With an almost limitless array of choice it is Schwartz's (2000) argument that people start to believe that everything in life must be perfect, a theory that contributes to unrealistic expectations. At the same time, Schwartz (2000) posits that Western culture has grown increasingly individualistic and as a consequence people not only expect perfection but they perceive that they should be able to achieve and produce this perfection themselves, for example making their business successful, getting a job or gaining a promotion. For most, this pursuit inevitably ends in failure, an outcome which individuals often attribute to their own shortcomings and which can promote depression (Schwartz, 2000). The irony for Schwartz here is that an emphasis on individual autonomy and the more people focus on themselves, their own goals and the solo means of achieving them, the more they weaken their connections with others and alienate themselves. The major concern for Schwartz here is that the 'deep commitment and belonging to social groups' is a 'crucial vaccine against depression', yet one that is severely undermined by such an emphasis on individual autonomy (2000: 86). To offset such

problems and promote well-being and functional performance, Schwartz (2000) advises that self-determination be nurtured and allowed to flourish, but within a setting where the range of choices available have been optimised and specific constraints and rule structures have been set.

Moreover, and according to Buunk and Nauta (2000) the SDT pays too little attention to the social nature of human motivation. These authors imply that SDT takes an overly individual perspective of motivation which undermines the important role that group dynamics play. Buunk and Nauta posit that a person's motivation does not necessarily depend on how highly they perceive their own levels of autonomy and competence to be, but instead that motivation could also be contingent on their self-perception of their competence and autonomy in relation to that of others around them – this concept is termed as 'social comparison' (2000: 281). In this theory, an individual may not actually be deprived of specific need fulfilment, ability, or rewards, but feel relatively deprived compared to other people – if there is a negative comparison imbalance then well-being is likely to be adversely affected and consequently raising the potential for absenteeism or dropout (Buunk and Nauta, 2000). A key element in this theory in regard to individual well-being pertains to the level of status and prestige one holds within a group (Buunk and Nauta, 2000). A rise in, and the maintenance of prestige and status of an individual within a given group equates to positive well-being; the converse is also true as loss of status, lack of acceptance, long lasting low status or involuntary low status with limited opportunities for escape are strongly associated with depression, according to (Buunk and Nauta, 2000). However, although the need for relatedness is, as Carver and Scheier put it, a 'relative latecomer' to the SDT model, it does substantially broaden the theory by providing it with a social dimension (2000:285). Although the role of relatedness is context dependent, Buunk and Nauta (2000) appear to overlook this core 'basic' need that has been outlined and studied at some length by Deci and Ryan (2000a; 2000b). Once again, Deci and Ryan (2000a; 2000b) and Ryan and Deci (2006) stress that SDT is primarily concerned with designing and manipulating environments and social settings in order to enhance competence, relatedness and autonomy with the ultimate goal/s

of generating a positive effect in promoting well-being and performance – yet it must be acknowledged that each individual context will present specific restrictions in which compromises have to be made, particularly in a professional setting. Breaking this debate down a step further, Carver and Scheier (2000) describe the need for relatedness as a 'content' domain which is shaped by behavioural experience and which also incorporates both the needs for autonomy and competence, thus highlighting the interconnected nature of this social dimension that Bunnk and Nauta (2000) believe to be neglected within SDT.

Lastly, cross-cultural researchers have questioned the applicability of SDT within Eastern collectivist cultures by arguing that an emphasis upon family interdependence, conformity, and social harmony overshadows a desire for autonomy (Murphy-Berman and Berman, 2003; McInerney and Van Etten, 2004). This has led scholars to question whether autonomy is a universal psychological need (Markus, Kitayama and Heiman, 1996; Markus and Kitayama, 2003). To examine this contention and protect the integrity of the SDT, Jang et al. (2009) investigated the learning experiences of collectivistically orientated Korean high-school students. Despite postulations that the need for autonomy would be less important in Eastern collectivist cultures as opposed to the more individualistic Western cultures, Jang et al. (2009) reported findings which supported the cross-cultural generalizability of the SDT, including a strong need for self-endorsement. Jang et al. (2009) found that Korean students performed well in both learning activities within contexts high relatedness and in those presenting an absence of relatedness. In addition, Jang et al. (2009) revealed that learning contexts largely advocate competence and achievement related activities which are not socially or relationally embedded. In cross-national comparisons, Korean students rank comparatively highly in academic achievement and demonstrate an ethos in which education is an aspect of self-cultivation and a means of attaining personal, social and occupational success – factors which all point to a high need for autonomy and competence (Jang et al., 2009). As a final point, Jang et al. (2009) uncover a telling flaw in such cross-cultural criticisms of SDT, and that is in the definition in which other researchers have been found to apply to the need for autonomy –

misunderstanding the concept to mean 'independence' rather than the 'inner self-endorsement' that it truly stands for. Lack of such a distinction is not likely to fairly or accurately test the universal applicability of the SDT.

3.6 Conclusion

In combination with the previous chapter, I have highlighted both the value of volunteers across an array of contexts, disciplines, and sectors in the UK and also the alarming trends depicting a decline in volunteering in this chapter. These statistics are no more keenly felt than in the field of sport. Although recruitment figures are down, research suggests that voluntary clubs and organisations are not doing enough to retain current volunteers with a large body of evidence pointing towards poor volunteer management as a key factor underlying dropout rates. Crucially, when stripping this down to the heart of the problem, more often than not, the main issue resonates within the motivational status of the volunteer. In order to attenuate drop out and maintain and develop volunteer commitment and enthusiasm, a logical solution would be for volunteer leaders or managers to better understand and appreciate what drives individuals to volunteer and how to design and manipulate in-house conditions to facilitate motivation beyond the short term. To this end, this thesis draws on Deci and Ryan's (1985) SDT theory to gain a deeper understanding of what motivates students to volunteer and the motivational transitions they undergo intra-project, and perhaps most saliently, which aspects of their voluntary experience bolster or inhibit this motivation and ultimately determine their retention on SUNEE. Previously, the SDT has been applied to areas such as professional work settings, educational contexts, and performance sport climates, yet up until now there has been no research, at least as far as this literature has explored, which has used this framework to examine motivation and its development in the context of sport volunteering, or more specifically in student volunteering in sports-based outreach projects. This component of the thesis is therefore an important contribution to the literature.

SDT is a social-cognitive theory primarily concerned with the conditions that serve to elicit, develop, enhance and maintain intrinsic motivation. The SDT continuum details a range of motivational orientations which stretch from the externally controlling to those of increasing internalisation towards wholly self-determined behavioural drives at the far right end of the spectrum. SDT postulates that an individual's motivational drives are subject to transition and adaptation depending on a combination of prior experiences and current situational factors (Ryan, 1995). Not only does this continuum of relative autonomy outline the different types of motivation it also identifies and describes the social and environmental conditions as well as the psychological processes which contribute to motivational internalisation and integration or oppositely external controllers and instances of motivational deregulation. This is of great relevance to the current research as SDT facilitates the identification of initial student motives to volunteer on the SUNEE project and why students who may have not been intrinsically motivated generated the motivation to get involved and persevere. SDT also enables explanation into how internalization and regulation of student motivation may have been fostered and developed during the project as well as lending insight into potential strategies to motivate students to value and self-regulate not only their voluntary experiences during their time with SUNEE but perhaps to also promote self-determination to participate in future unrelated and non-student centred volunteer initiatives.

Advancing the application of SDT within this research are Turner's (1969) concepts of liminality and communitas, and Bourdieu's (1984) interdependent theories of field, habitus and capital. Together, this triumvirate of theories can serve to widen the theoretical applicability of SDT, readying it for use within the field of sociology. Employing this conceptual triad can help to do this by revealing, first, how student experiences during, and the dynamics of the SUNEE projects facilitate the development of volunteer motivation and the retention of participants beyond the attainment of the extrinsic rewards and incentives which moved individuals to enter the project in the first place. Second, the chapters dedicated to liminality and communitas, and the concepts of field and capital will combine to build a comprehensive picture depicting how the potential elevation of student status

amongst the 'hard to reach' groups might serve to strengthen the relationships between the two diverse groups and help elicit intrinsic satisfaction and retention amongst the volunteers. Third, the themes emerging from the application of the frameworks of liminality and SDT will shed light on the interplay between the three basic psychological needs and of particular interest, the importance of attaining autonomy and competence satisfaction under the category of relatedness, when operating in highly social and interactive settings. Not only can these theoretical frameworks help to explain and understand the dynamic concept of motivation through the medium of student volunteers' experiences of the SUNEE project, their application can help to inform the future design and manipulation of organisational set-ups as well as effective volunteer management in order to maintain, develop and enhance participant motivation.

Therefore, to further position this research and set-up the empirical contributions that follow this chapter, Hustinx et al. (2010) raise the concern that if student volunteering is a response to external opportunities (as discussed earlier in this chapter) and therefore not intrinsically guided, then volunteering becomes a commodity. This presents somewhat of a double-edged sword, on the one-hand, project and volunteer managers can use these extrinsic motivations of students as an opportunity to develop incentives with which to market their programmes and recruit volunteers, in contrast however, volunteers driven by extrinsic instrumentalities are likely to be less committed to the cause or agency that they volunteer with and, as a consequence, may be prone to drop out. In recognising the limitations in their cross-sectional research as well as the gaps that remain in the literature about student motivations to volunteer, both Handy et el. (2010) and Hustinx et al. (2010) propose that future research into the subject focus on a) decisions to volunteer and the initial motivational triggers underlying student motivation; and b) an approach which examines whether student motivation to volunteer changes over the course of volunteering and if so, to develop a framework that maps and explains how initial extrinsic motivations transition into something more meaningful and enduring to the participant[24]. These proposals

[24] Simha et al. (2011) indicates that research along these lines of enquiry may prove fruitful, highlighting that volunteering performed by undergraduate student populations offers a formative experience, in terms of maturation, which can serve to exhume and develop and individual's personal moral values. However, there are two substantial downsides to this work by Simha et al. (2011). The first is that the researchers did not seek to understand the process of such developmental changes in motivation and moral values, or any consideration of the individual or combined factors which elicit such shifts. Second, Simha et al. (2011) collected all data using focus groups of up to eleven undergraduate student volunteers – not including the presence of the primary researcher and the graduate assistant taking notes. The potential problem here, and as discussed above, is for

connect with and are encompassed within the research objectives (listed in Chapter One) that drive this exploration into student volunteering.

students to respond in a socially desirable manner in front of others, who in this case are peers/counterparts and academics who may be regarded in some esteem by the participants (Smith, 1981). This is reinforced in the work of Winniford, Carpenter and Grider (1997), who experienced a social-desirability bias when interviewing college student volunteers, commenting that respondents displayed a tendency to play down egoistic motivations, instead citing altruistic statements. It would have perhaps been beneficial in the name of validity to employ mixed-method triangulation rather than just investigator triangulation in order to cross check the data and enhance its reliability. Nonetheless, these works identify a clear lacuna or path for further investigation into the motivation of student volunteers.

4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methods used within this research and to justify their selection. The chapter begins by contextualising the research background before reflecting upon issues of access and participant recruitment. An in-depth rationale is provided for the selection of semi-structured interviews – the method adopted to conduct this research. Finally, this chapter concludes by describing the 'Straussian' application of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) that provided the basis for the analysis of the data.

4.2 Background and Research Design

This research adopts a constructionist epistemology and seeks to provide an interpretive understanding of the meanings constructed by student volunteers through their interaction with 'hard to reach' clients during their involvement in the SUNEE programme. From a constructionist perspective meaning is not discovered, it is instead constructed via human interaction (Crotty, 1998). Simply put, 'reality is socially constructed' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967:1). Constructionism posits that social phenomena and their meanings are constantly in a state of flux and that they are continually being accomplished by social actors (Bryman, 2008). A constructionist epistemology concerns itself with the meanings employed by social actors in order to mediate reality throughout the course of everyday life (Clarke, 2001). According to this perspective all meaningful reality is of social origin, and is therefore contingent on intersubjective human practices which serve to construct, develop and transmit meaning in and out of the interaction between human beings within a given social environment (Crotty, 1998). It is perhaps noteworthy and

particularly relevant to this work that Crotty (1998) highlights a range of interpretations which are applicable under a constructionist perspective. Falling into two distinct contradistinctions, there are those interpretations that serve to liberate and promote prosocial attitudes, the position with which this research argues for; and conversely, there are those that operate to oppress and inhibit human growth (Crotty, 1998). It is the position of this research to argue for the former position. This epistemological viewpoint influenced the choice of methods employed to analyse student experiences whilst volunteering on the SUNEE project.

The primary method utilised during the research was that of semi-structured interviews. The interviews were organised and conducted over a cumulative period of eleven months between December 2008 – February 2010, separated by a three month gap between June and August 2009 to coincide with the student summer vacation. As the SUNEE project is active in each of the region's five universities, a strategy of cross-university sampling was adopted. It is noteworthy that four of these five universities run sport degree courses offering modules in sports development, pedagogy and coaching science to name but a few disciplines. In three of those four institutions student volunteers largely hailed from sports programmes, with the fourth having volunteers representing a diverse range of courses ranging from economics to history. The fifth institution allied to the project however, does not offer sport degree courses in any format and hence the student volunteers involved with the SUNEE project represented a myriad of academic disciplines unrelated to sport. This highlights that many student volunteers involved in the project were not sport students. In total, forty in-depth semi-structured interviews (eight per university) were conducted lasting between 45 and 90 minutes in duration. The participants ranged from 18 to 23 years of age and were spread across first, second and third levels of undergraduate study, and fourteen of the interviewees were female. As a sole condition of eligibility for interview selection, students were required to possess a minimum of six weeks voluntary experience with SUNEE. This criterion was put in place to ensure that each participant had ample time to 'bed-in' to the programme and familiarise themselves with the client groups, as well as to gain a general sense of the purpose

of the SUNEE project. All research was conducted in accordance with the British Sociological Association's (BSA) *Statement of Ethical Practice* and in conjunction with the Durham University School of Applied Social Sciences *Research Ethics and Risk Assessment Policy and Procedures* document.

The interviews and their subsequent transcription were carried out concurrently. This process served to reinforce interview dialogue and facilitated both data analysis and the emergence of key themes. Interview transcriptions were analysed, themed and coded with the aid of the NVivo 8 software package.

4.3 Access and Participant Recruitment

In theory, issues of access and participant recruitment were not envisaged to pose any significant complications as this research opportunity had emerged from collaboration between SUNEE university officials and external stakeholders. Such endorsement of the research by the 'gatekeepers' of the project would perceivably eliminate many of the potential barriers to accessing student volunteers (Thomas, 2007). In reality however, the process of participant recruitment became more protracted than originally anticipated.

The initial step in the participant recruitment process was to meet with the Regional Universities Sports Coordinator (SCO) and establish an entry point into the SUNEE projects active in each of the five universities by acquiring details of the key contacts in those institutions. As directed by the SCO, the next stage was to contact the five sports development officers (SDOs: one per university) who were employed to manage and organise the day-to-day running of the SUNEE project within their respective universities. Meetings with the SDOs took place at their offices, typically located within each of the universities' main sports complexes and which served as the hub for all SUNEE activity. On meeting with each of the SDOs separately a brief was provided by the SDOs which overviewed: the range of programmes and events

that were in operation on the project; the specific 'hard to reach' groups involved with each programme; saliently, the opportunities on offer for students to volunteer at these activities, and the dates and times of all of the available sessions.

In return, the SDOs were informed of the purpose of the research and the aims of the proposed student interviews, to which they gave their full compliance and support. The next stage in the recruitment process was to devise an initial schedule within which to visit student-led SUNEE sports sessions and recruit willing participants for interview. This schedule included a minimum of two visits to sessions provided for each strand of client group across the five universities. To recap, client strands include: those in alcohol and/or drug rehabilitation and ex-offenders; looked after children (LAC); homeless; vulnerable women; disengaged young people; children with learning and social difficulties; high performance camps[25], and Podium young event managers project[26].

In order to recruit participants it was deemed important to meet face-to-face with as many volunteers as possible, out of both common courtesy and respect for the individual as well as the perception that direct interaction was likely to promote a willingness of the volunteers to assist with the research. As Moser and Kalton suggest, the application of 'common politeness, mixed with curiosity' goes a long way to securing participant cooperation (1993:274). By establishing initial face-to-face contact, a respondent's motivation to cooperate is likely to be reinforced as the nature of an interpersonal exchange helps to heighten the volunteer's awareness that their input is an important and valued part of the research. To this end, an initial point of contact can quickly help to achieve a rapport between

[25] Provide the regions young gifted and talented athletes with expert coaching and development opportunities.

[26] Student volunteers work with selected groups of regional school children to develop their knowledge and skills in the area of event management and planning, with a specific focus on sporting events.

interviewer and interviewee which can serve to encourage the respondent to both agree to, and participate in the interview (Bryman, 2008).

However, there are pitfalls to consider when approaching the respondent. As Burgess (1995) comments, social research is far from a smooth process of neat procedures, instead it involves a social process whereby researcher and participant interaction will directly influence how the research progresses and consequently the data collected. When participants have been met by, and acquainted with the researcher prior to the formal interview, an informal relationship has already begun to which the rapport established will directly influence the interview dialogue (Wax, 1986). The researcher and interviewee rapport presents a 'delicate balancing act' in which an over-friendly mood can influence the respondent to provide answers which they perceive will please the interviewer (Bryman, 2008: 202). According to Bernard (2000), a wholly structured interview can inhibit rapport and in turn hinder the quality of responses whereas an entirely open interview is likely to invite bias, therefore the semi-structured nature of the interviews provided a strategy to help balance the researcher-participant rapport.

During the first months of participant recruitment, access to the SUNEE sites was readily available and the procedure was for me to turn up to the sessions towards the end of their allotted time-period so as not to provoke any suspicion or unease in either the volunteers or the 'hard to reach' clients. As the volunteers were collecting-in the equipment used in the session, a window for introductions appeared as did the opportunity to assist in tidying away any spare equipment whilst maintaining dialogue. The key to such an exchange is to keep initial contact-time brief, this tactic helps to create an impression that a subsequent interview would not be overly time-consuming (Moser and Kalton, 1993). On introducing myself and the research a number of informational, dialogical and presentational criteria were observed. Firstly, to legitimate the role of a researcher the choice of clothing was important, plain dress with no marks of identification was worn to convey an unobtrusive and neutral appearance so as not to intimidate or bias the volunteer's responses (Bailey, 1994). Furthermore, an overview of the research and interview agenda was presented to the student volunteers as well as additional

information which included my identity and the university that the research represents, the method of participant selection and answers to any questions the students might have raised (Bryman, 2008; Bailey, 1994). A number of strategies were employed to convey this information and to secure healthy respondent numbers. Firstly, as outlined by Burgess (1995), once the study had been presented a 'research bargain' needed to be established in order to reassure participants of the anonymity and confidentiality policy which was incorporated into the research as well as the proposed application of the results. Initial questions were posed to achieve a 'yes' or 'no' answer and were fielded in a positive and self-assured manner, a technique specifically engineered to inhibit negative responses, resultantly binding respondents to an informal or 'gentleman's agreement' (Bailey, 1994). Additionally, it was proposed to the potential respondents that interviews could be arranged at a time and venue which was convenient to them, providing them with further reassurance and an element of control in the process.

The contact and correspondence procedures that were selected to recruit student volunteers to interview were adapted from Dillman, Smyth and Christian's (2009) *mail survey implementation procedures*. When detailing these implementation procedures, Dillman, Smyth and Christian (2009) outline four contact points and follow in chronological order: a brief prenotice letter; a mailed questionnaire; a thank you postcard, and a mailed replacement questionnaire (final contact). My adaptation included only three of these four stages, omitting the thank you postcard as such a gesture was to be exchanged at the conclusion of an interview. The prenotice letter translated to the face-to-face meet in my research. Secondly, the mailed questionnaire has been replaced by a follow-up email in my study, this email was sent the morning after the initial meet so that the opening exchange is not forgotten and enthusiasm remains high. All emails were personalized by addressing the volunteer by their first name to emphasize the importance of their input in the study and draw them further into the study; also, it was ensured that the content of each email was brief and engaging so to maintain the reader's interest and to convey the key information (Dillman, Smyth and Christian, 2009). Finally, a second email was sent two weeks after the initial follow-up email, a time-

period short enough to ensure that student volunteers remember the initial meet and follow-up email, and long enough so as not to 'pester' potential respondents. As directed by Dillman, Smyth and Christian (2009), the final email delivered a tone of insistence whilst attempting to maintain an intensity that would not disgruntle student volunteers. This final contact also attempted to increase the perception of importance of both the study and the email recipient, for example one tactic used was to state that a relevant SDO had recommended that particular recipient.

The aim of the first contact-points in the recruitment process therefore, was to become familiar with the regular volunteers, present the information mentioned above and to obtain the students' email addresses in a relatively unobtrusive and 'no strings attached' manner. The follow-up email was to be sent the morning following the initial meeting, inclusive of a brief recap of the research content and interview agenda, and concluding with a request for interview and potential availability. The early response rate was encouraging with approximately 18 interviews arranged within the first two months of the data collection schedule. A further positive emanating from the early stages of the research was that, without cue, a number of respondents provided contact details of fellow peers who they suggested had substantial experience of volunteering with SUNEE and would be keen to attend an interview. This somewhat opportune method of snowball sampling[27] allowed me to access numerous student volunteers that I had not previously met and who were both eligible and willing to be interviewed. Ruben and Ruben (1995) acknowledge such a process, advocating that participant recruitment along a social network can provide a resourceful method of data collection if other sources dry up. Following this initial period of research, volunteer responses dropped and interviews declined despite the continual process of visiting

[27] Snowball sampling is 'based on social networking' and is an informal means of accessing participants from the required population (David and Sutton, 2011: 232). As these contacts come on personal recommendations and are as such self-selecting, a biased sample is likely to result as likeminded acquaintances of previously researched participants are typically referred to the investigator (Gilbert, 2011). To this end, the use of snowball sampling can make it difficult for the researcher to judge representativeness, however Becker (1963) states that in the case of certain populations this method is sometimes the only feasible way of achieving the sampling frame.

SUNEE venues, meeting volunteers and following-up with emails. The reasonable proportion of volunteers who had declined interview via email commonly responded by stating that they were too busy due to an intense coursework and exam period. A large number of volunteers did not respond at all, in which case one further email was sent a fortnight later in case the last had been overlooked or wrongly addressed. The second email sent to non-respondents was also the final email they would receive as any more may constitute 'hard-pressing' students which may compromise ethical boundaries due to the potential of causing upset or appearing threatening (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). As a consequence of a 'hard pressed' confirmation an interviewee might have become antagonised or negatively influenced, serving to negatively influence the data (Bailey, 1994). In addition, there were two students who replied to the original email, arranged a time and place for interview yet failed to turn up. Both were given one final opportunity to attend an interview – one respondent had simply forgotten, rearranged and completed an interview, and the other volunteer failed to reply.

With the time-period allotted for data collection fast elapsing there remained 15 interviews to be conducted across all five universities in order to reach the target of 40. Running low on contacts it was becoming increasingly impractical to continue to visit a range of programmes at each of the five universities in the hope of finding untapped resources. To this end, it seemed necessary to pursue 'networked introductions' (Rubin and Rubin, 1995), or perhaps to place it more accurately 'networked persuasion'. This involved going back to the SDOs and identifying their regular volunteers, and then to facilitate an introduction. A caveat here was that if a researcher chooses to avail themselves of the sponsorship of an individual in a senior position in order to negotiate access to someone lower in the hierarchy, issues of trust and suspicion may be raised towards the researcher, consequently influencing interview dynamics (Burgess, 1995). However, such a concern was not realised within this research scenario. Similarly, previous interviewees, namely those holding scholarships as volunteer coordinators or those who had emerged as volunteer leaders due to their length of service on the SUNEE project, also proved to be a valuable resource for gaining further access to new volunteer participants.

Rubin and Rubin (1995) support this approach suggesting that it serves to reassure and encourage potential interviewees instilling in them the notion that the interviews are fun and that the researcher cares about their world. The two strategies aforementioned of tapping into SDOs and former interviewees enabled the completion of interviews across all but one of the universities involved in the project. To complete the remaining handful of interviews from the remaining university, the help of the Director of Sport was enlisted. Taking a firm line on the research the Director of Sport insisted that the student volunteers were an essential part of the SUNEE machinery and that they had a duty to support the current research. From this point that institution's SDO provided me with access to the student volunteer database and within days the final three interviews had been accomplished. Corrigan (1979) comments that when a researcher is sponsored from an individual in a senior managerial position then there is likely to be an expectancy of reciprocation, in the form of reports, consultancy and/or research findings for example which may operate to threaten the originality of the research or slow research progress.

4.4 Interviews

Qualitative research encourages the respondent to share their subjective perspective and experiences of the research field in focus (Hopf, 2004). Effective qualitative research enables the researcher to explore the experiences, understandings, discourses and relationships developed and accrued by the participant in the social world which is being studied, as well as the significance of the meanings that those individuals generate within that social context (Mason, 2002). More specifically, qualitative interviews allow the researcher to listen to the respondent as they describe the social world in focus, assisting the interviewer to understand the participant's experiences and reconstruct events in which the researcher was not present (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Interviews therefore offer a medium within which to critically explore the meanings student volunteers attached to their SUNEE experiences (Heyl, 2001).

As outlined by Gratton and Jones (2004) there are typically four types of interview: the structured interview; the semi-structured interview; unstructured interviews, and focus groups. When selecting which format to use, the process of elimination began with the unstructured interview; a design which would follow a highly informal approach, a topic of discussion would have been posed to the interviewee, holding in mind a number of specific discussion areas (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). In the interests of both time and subject specificity this method was not considered practical as it compromises the focus of the research and complicates the comparison of data across the subject sample. Secondly, structured interviews essentially involve the use of a standardised set of questions which operate to ensure that responses are kept on topic and perhaps conveniently support the systematic analysis and evaluation of data across the survey sample (Mathis and Jackson, 2008). This method offers the researcher absolute control of the interview schedule and dialogue as well as simplifying post-interview analysis. However Rogers (2001) suggests that this technique can be significantly detrimental to the interview process as the routinization of the interview schedule can operate to damage rapport by inflicting a barrage of impersonal questions. Additionally, focus groups allow researchers to conduct group interviews in a semi-structured fashion (Gratton and Jones, 2004). However, only a few discussion areas can be covered in a short space of time when using focus groups, although they can provoke clashes of opinion or experience. The use of focus groups entertained serious consideration within this research and were initially intended to be utilised on completion of the interview battery. This strategy would have attempted to coordinate a small number of focus groups consisting of a mixture of students from all five SUNEE universities; unfortunately, due to time-constraints this did not materialise. However, it is the semi-structured format that was selected to guide the interviews.

By adopting a semi-structured approach the direction of the interview content could be steered towards topics in-line with the research agenda by way of an interview schedule or in other words a standardised set of questions (May, 2001). The semi-structured nature of the interviews provided a fruitful degree of flexibility within the research, providing scope for respondents to expand and elaborate on

their experiences as well as to explore more subtle nuances and observations, whilst also setting some loose boundary lines for discussions. As Ruben and Ruben (1995) observe, the degree of freedom and control that the semi-structured interviews offered participants also served to promote a healthy rapport with respondents. Moreover, as Cargan (2007) acknowledges, the utilisation of a semi-structured format facilitated the modification of the interview guide as and where it appeared necessary, highlighting which questions needed to be re-worded, simplified or explained in further detail, any gaps in the interview schedule that warranted the addition of new questions, or indeed to discard any questions which had seemingly become irrelevant. The adaptability of the interview schedule proved essential as it allowed me to pursue emerging themes from one interview to the next without compromising the course or structure of the interview. Moreover, the semi-structured and flexible design provided a platform from which to 'probe' primary responses, delving deeper into the interviewee's experiences and the internalised meanings attached to them, as well as serving to stimulate both spontaneous answers and novel lines of questioning (May, 2001; Bailey, 1994; Cohen and Manion, 1980).

There are however, a number of limitations and drawbacks that needed to be considered before choosing to conduct interviews. Firstly, interviews are time-consuming, particularly as preparation and analysis are 'end-loaded' as Denscombe (2007) comments, meaning that a dense workload is created following the data collection. As David and Sutton (2004) add, the transcription process is a long one which often becomes onerous for the researcher. Furthermore, the sheer time and effort that goes into contacting and securing participants, organising dates, times and locations as well as travelling to, and conducting the interviews can be, and proved to be, considerably time-demanding.

Moreover, a key concern was the infiltration of bias into the interviews in which the interviewer's manner has an effect on the responses the interviewees choose to give (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, 1962). Importantly, Kvale (1996) emphasises that bias can be attributed to either the interviewer or the interviewee.

Researchers can both unwittingly and deliberately influence participants via the selection or wording of particular questions, the inflexion or intonation placed upon a term or phrase, value judgements or the explicit strength of feeling directed towards a particular viewpoint; any one of these cues may operate to steer interviewees towards providing 'desirable' responses in-line with a specific research/researcher agenda (Bell, 2005). In order to control for bias within the interviews it was important to exercise a constant awareness of the interview dynamic, critically reflecting on all dialogue both intra and post interview to maintain a 'middle-ground' void of cues or persuasive discourse, as advised by Bell and Opie (2002).

Similarly, both during interviews and their subsequent analysis, frequent 'moments of illumination' were experienced in an instance where things 'come together' as researchers form relationships or theory intuitively and insightfully from the data. However the notions and conclusions which are drawn may not be correct (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 253). Without substance, introducing such arbitrary notions into an interview may have proved detrimental or even damaging to the study. Therefore, such 'illuminations' must be regarded with caution, and so the ability to critically reflect in order to control the interview dynamic was essential, an ability honed throughout the early stages of interviewing. A simple, but effective technique was to take a brief pause between a response and a new question to guard against 'jumping-in' with an impulsive, loaded follow-up question or assumption.

Finally, an interviewee may express an eagerness to please the interviewer, or oppositely they may become antagonised by them; both scenarios can distort the accuracy of the data reported (Borg, 1981). It is common therefore, that bias may occur as a product of the rapport shared between the researcher and the respondent. As Bryman (2008) states, rapport describes how quickly a relationship is established between the two parties and the subsequent influence it has on the respondent's willingness to participate in the interview. As alluded to earlier, to offset bias the researcher-respondent rapport requires a delicate balance; a

balance which Burgess suggests can be achieved if the interviewer fosters a friendly, but not over-sociable rapport with participants (1995:101). Initially, such advice appeared vague but was to prove invaluable in serving as a succinct reminder to constantly check behaviour and maintain an optimal 'distance' when interviewing a typically gregarious and open sample group. To achieve this balance, I attempted to ensure that all dialogue, conversational and interview based, was kept on topic so to reinforce the purpose of the exchange. A further tactic employed to redirect a respondent's attention to the interview schedule was to inform them that 'there were only a few questions remaining in this section' or 'there's only one section remaining after this one' at selected intervals or if dialogue had shifted widely off course. This technique proved effective as it provided a reminder of both the interview setting and the supportive role of the researcher.

The formulation of the interview questions was geared around three core strands or sub-sections. These strands were: social perspectives of, and the dynamics between student volunteers and client groups; the SUNEE coaching experience; and the SUNEE voluntary experience. These three strands were conceived and selected as they formed the fundamental pillars of the project. The specific questions devised within each section were informed by several methods. One such method was to visit a number of SUNEE programmes six months prior to commencing participant recruitment and data collection. Kirby, Greaves and Reid (2006) advocate visiting the research setting as it provides a first-hand frame of reference with which to stimulate ideas for questions. Visiting these programmes simply involved gaining an understanding of how the programmes were set-up; the roles performed by the student volunteers; other personnel who were present; the typical ratio of volunteers to clients; the range of activities available; and an idea of the facilities and provisions made available during the sessions. A second method was to research and enquire into the strands of client groups involved in the projects, programme schedules, as well as the opportunities and incentives on offer to both the clients and student volunteers – SDOs were happy to provide such information. Further avenues explored were to consult official publications and

academic references in the areas of social exclusion, coaching and volunteering. A final approach was to tap into personal knowledge, reflections and areas of general intrigue to assist in the formation and clarification of questions. This process and the questions yielded were revised and edited several times in order to remove instances of repetition and ensure clarity and succinctness.

In order to gain rich, accurate data, a large degree of openness was required from the participants (Kvale, 1996; Rubin and Rubin, 2005). To encourage such genuine openness from the respondents it was important to foster an egalitarian interview setting, which Kirby and McKenna (1989) argue is optimally achieved by semi-structured questioning. As Kirby and Mckenna add, the 'combination of a set format with preformed questions and more interactive, spontaneously developed questioning' creates space for participants to 'guide and shape the research interaction', thus serving to foster a sense of equality between the researcher and the interviewees (1989:67). Furthermore, as Brackenridge (1999) suggests, it was important to be mindful of one's influence upon the participants, as consciously or unconsciously, the attitudes, background, characteristics and values of the researcher will be assessed by those participants. As Brackenridge (1999) adds, the ability to think reflexively and make an assessment of one's own position within a research setting can enable the researcher to intelligently negotiate the power relations between themselves and the participant.

The interview procedures adopted ran in-line with the three standard stages of interviewing as outlined by Kranacher, Riley and Wells: introduction, body, and close (2010:238). The introduction is vital in ensuring that the interview gets off to the right start. Upon greeting the interviewee it was customary to shake hands, show them to their seat and ask whether they would like a drink, facilities allowing. A well executed introduction should serve to make the respondent feel at ease with the interview and the interviewer, reiterating the purpose of the study whilst simultaneously communicating the importance of each participant's contributions to the research. Also, as Rubin and Rubin suggest, this presents a good opportunity to 'unobtrusively teach the interviewee the level of depth and detail you want and

expect' (1995:125). To achieve these aims a number of strategies were employed. Firstly, the participants were given a brief verbal overview of the interview schedule which consisted of the three sections outlined earlier: social perspectives of, and the dynamics between student volunteers and client groups; the SUNEE coaching experience; and the SUNEE voluntary experience (see Appendix 1). Furthermore, as recommended by Bailey (1994), 'ice-breakers' were used to make respondents feel at ease during the initial stages of the interviews. A subject specific ice-breaker was used which asked interviewees to comment on their roles within the SUNEE programme and the range of clients that they had worked with to date. This technique assisted in warming-up the respondents and guiding them into the interview schedule.

Due to its semi-structured nature, the main body of the interview largely consisted of open questions. This method allowed the student volunteers to provide what they perceived as the salient responses to a given question, with scope to expand and elaborate their answers. The use of open questions frequently elicited lengthy, extemporaneous responses, which in some instances were sustained for several minutes. It was common for such extensive responses to inform a number of pre-planned questions on the interview schedule without prompt. Such instances raised a number of on-the-spot decisions that needed to be made. In the scenario that a response given contained enough depth and clarity to fulfil the research aims of the questions it encompassed, the interview schedule then needed to be adapted to maintain a specific focus whilst bypassing questions which were perceived to have been covered. The ability to quickly customise the interview schedule in light of the information provided helps to maintain the fluency of the dialogue and to prevent agitating the interviewee by covering 'old ground' (Flick, 2002). The ability to utilise the interview schedule with versatility improved quickly as a result of increasing familiarisation.

As recommended by Bryman (2008), the interview schedule was piloted a month prior to the commencement of the research proper. The pilot study consisted of five undergraduate sport students who I recruited through various teaching duties

within the University; these individuals were not involved with the SUNEE project. By piloting the study I was able to highlight areas of repetition within the schedule as well as questions that were ambiguous, long-winded or unnecessary.

Despite the amendments made to the interview schedule as a result of the pilot study, it was common for interviewees to misinterpret certain questions, or to provide responses that were vague, incoherent and unclear. Also, as Foddy (1993) warned of when using open-ended questions, student volunteers would often list a multitude of responses without placing them in an order of any salience. As suggested by Fowler and Mangione, a technique adopted to promote salient responses during the research was to request 'main' reasons rather than 'all' possible factors (1990:90). For example, 'what are the main factors that you consider to cause social exclusion?' and 'what are the key tools you used to promote inclusion?' are two questions from the interview schedule illustrative of this technique.

Moreover, the literature advises a number of measures which are appropriate when seeking to clarify or explore responses in greater depth, as well as suitable techniques for clarifying any interview questions which are not fully understood or steering respondents in the right direction. One such method of leading the respondent into providing a more fuller, accurate and insightful answer is by employing 'probes', 'prompts' or 'follow-ups' (Jupp, 2006; Ruane, 2004; Luck, Pocock and Tricker, 2000). However, Neuman emphasises that 'a probe is a neutral request to clarify an ambiguous answer' (2000:277). To this end Gratton and Jones (2004) identify two types of probe: the clarification probe; and the elaboration probe. Clarification probes allow the researcher to clarify their understanding of a particular response made by an interviewee, or to clarify a question that was unclear or misunderstood by the participant (Gratton and Jones, 2004). However, Bailey (1994) advises against clarifying questions as it can lead to subtle changes in the meaning of a question which may ultimately serve to influence responses. Rubin and Babbie (2009) reinforce the importance of formulating neutral probes in order to inhibit the presence of bias. Therefore, as advocated by Bailey (1994), to

clarify any questions that participants did not understand or were hesitant of, the neutral technique of simply repeating the question proved largely effective in stimulating further responses. In the rare instances when participants struggled to understand a particular question or find a relevant response, a reminder of that particular interview section's sub-heading was given to reinforce their frame of reference.

However, it was the elaboration probe that was most frequently employed within the interviews, which as Gratton and Jones (2004) describe is employed to elicit more in-depth responses to enhance the richness of the data. To build on a particular response, an effective method of probing was to use a brief pause in order to encourage the participant to fill the silence by elaborating on their previous answer. As Babbie (2008) implies, the use of silence can implicitly suggest to the respondent that the interviewer requires more information to satisfy the question. Pauses were limited to approximately three to five seconds to ensure that the participant did not feel pressured or uneasy at any time. A further prompt which worked well was to indicate interest or understanding towards a given response, this often required only short utterances to provoke elaboration or continuation. As Moser and Kalton (1993) suggest, such signs of approval or genuine interest can serve to reassure interviewees that they are on the right lines and that what they have to say is of value, therefore encouraging them to develop their responses. Similarly, and as Denscombe (2007:192) illustrates, two effective techniques of drawing greater elaboration and clarification of responses were by either repeating the last few words of an answer, or by attempting to summarise the respondent's thoughts back to them, for example by asking 'What this means, then, is that.....'. Such prompts and checks were preferred to the use of neutral questions in case the interviewee began to feel misunderstood and uncomfortable which may have served to narrow responses altogether.

Finally, as advised by Kranacher, Riley and Wells (2010), the interview schedule attempted to close on a positive note. One way of doing this is to conclude by asking the participants 'if there is anything they would like to add' or 'anything

positive they would like to add' followed by a statement of thanks (Kirby, Greaves and Reid, 2006:136). This technique is designed to help positively internalise the contributions that the student volunteers had made to the SUNEE programme and the experiences that they had accrued, in order to protect their commitment and motivation to the project as well as to prevent against sullying the field for prospective researchers due to any tensions that may have arisen.

All interviews were digitally recorded. Recording the interview data meant it was retrievable and accurate. A key advantage of having stored digital files was that it allowed for interviews to be listened to several times and to be transcribed word for word, therefore increasing familiarisation with the data. Ruben and Ruben (1995) suggest that the use of recording devices can often serve to reassure participants by symbolising the researcher's ability to convey their responses accurately. Conversely, Moser and Kalton (1993) do warn that in the case of sensitive participants, an awareness that the interview is being recorded along with the visual reminder of the recording device, the 'openness' of the interview may compromise the richness of any responses. However, Bell (2005) advocates the use of a recording device as it negates the need to take notes and instead allows the researcher to maintain eye contact with the participant as well as to sustain the fluency of dialogue, therefore perpetuating rapport. The ability to freely conduct the interviews unencumbered by a pen and paper allowed total attention to be devoted to hearing the respondent and adapting the interview schedule accordingly. There were however a number of small problems which needed to be managed whilst using the tape recorders. Firstly, on occasions when interviews were briefly disturbed or on the rare occasion that a makeshift interview room was linked up to a tannoy system (once), the recording device is unable to discern between interviewer, interviewee and other voices/noises and so very occasionally recorded data was distorted by 'overtalking'. Moreover, it was vital that a number of general maintenance checks were performed on the recording device prior to each interview to ensure that the batteries were operational and that there was plenty of space left on the device's data file to record the entire interview.

Logistically and procedurally there were a wide variety of factors to take into account when planning, arranging and conducting the interviews. Contingency planning and adaptability was a necessity when attempting to organise venues in which to conduct interviews. In retrospect, the process of arranging/booking out venues and conducting the interviews in the early stages of the research was a relatively smooth one. Participants were recruited and interviews were scheduled well in advance of the date set, ensuring that both times and locations were convenient to the student volunteers. Venues chosen were commonly silent study rooms in university libraries or meeting rooms in SUNEE hub sport centres. Small, quiet and unpopulated rooms or areas were perceived as desirable settings for interview. Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest that such a setting helps to relax the interviewee, putting them at ease and making them feel comfortable. In the case of library meets, volunteers frequently offered to book out designated quiet rooms without prompt or request. However, sport centres provided the venue for the majority of interviews and their availability was facilitated with the full support and cooperation of the SDOs. Unfortunately, the research process is seldom as straightforward as it appeared during the first few months. In the period to follow, participant recruitment began to stall and this led to a more ad hoc approach to both securing and conducting interviews. One approach taken, and again with the full cooperation of the SDOs, was to arrange interviews during certain programmes where volunteers could be spared, or directly following a session or activity. In such instances it was not uncommon for individuals familiar to the interviewee to be loitering outside the interview room or entering to pick up their belongings before leaving. In the event of such distractions there was the concern that the fluency of the interview might be disrupted, that the respondent may lose their 'train of thought' or indeed that they may feel apprehensive about divulging information in front of others. Although such occasions were rare, on reflection such concerns were more in the consciousness of the interviewer rather than the interviewee, due to the desire to safeguard the research from external influences. To negate the effect of such distractions, SDO offices, which were vacant during active SUNEE sessions, provided a contingency interview room at times when the sport centres were particularly busy.

Numerous ethical considerations have already been alluded to throughout the course of this chapter. However, upon meeting and greeting all participants at the designated interview venues, a number of ethical procedures were carried out. Firstly, the principle of informed consent was observed prior to each interview (Bryman, 2008; Long, 2007; Rubin and Rubin, 1995; Bailey, 1994). As outlined by the BSA (2002), it is the responsibility of the researcher to clearly articulate to participants the purposes and intentions of the study. Therefore, prior to each interview participants were given an informed consent form to sign and an accompanying participant information sheet as well as a verbal summary of the aims of the research and the interview format. The details provided in the informed consent form included: the identity of the researcher; the purpose of the study; notification of interview procedures and the use of a digital recorder; reminder that the interview was purely voluntary and that the participant was free to stop or terminate at any time; potential risks and benefits of the interview; assurance of confidentiality and anonymity, and a guarantee that feedback of results would be available upon request once the study had been completed. The accompanying participant information sheet expanded on the statements outlined in the consent form, describing the purpose of the study in greater detail, explaining the criteria for participant recruitment and containing relevant contact details in the event of any queries or concerns. Moreover, to ensure participant confidentiality and anonymity, each student volunteer was assigned a pseudonym following their interview in place of their real name in order to hide their identity, as recommended by Boynton (1995). To further safeguard participant confidentiality, and as advised by Holmes (2004), all copies of transcripts were identifiable only by pseudonym and stored in a locked cabinet. Consent forms and the translated list of actual participant names to pseudonyms were also stored in a locked cabinet, yet in a separate and equally secure location.

4.5 Data Analysis

Interview transcripts[28] were analysed using coding schemes operated through NVivo. Codes were drawn by exploring the transcripts to find data that supported or critiqued key ideas and concepts emerging from Deci and Ryan's self-determination theory (1985; 1987; 2000a; 2000b; 2002; 2008a; Ryan and Deci 2000a; Ryan and Deci 2000b; 2006; 2007) in Chapter Five, Turner (1967; 1969; 1974; 1977; 1985) and van Gennep (1960/1909) in Chapter Six and, Bourdieu (1977a; 1983; 1984; 1985; 1986) in Chapter Seven. In Chapter Five these codes facilitated the production of Table 5.1 which allows analysis of students motivations to volunteer according to the length of time that has passed since they originally enrolled on the SUNEE programme, however in Chapters Six and Seven, the codes provide a way through which ideas relating to liminality (Chapter Six) and capital (Chapter Seven) can be discussed in conjunction with students' volunteering activities. I adopted a 'Straussian' approach to 'grounded theory' that involved a deductive/theory testing starting-point when devising the codes[29]. In Chapter Five,

[28] A sample of three annotated interview transcripts are provided for reference in Appendix 3.

[29] Bryant and Charmaz outline that the application of grounded theory – originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) 'comprises a systematic, inductive, and comparative approach for conducting inquiry for the purpose of constructing theory' (2010:1) however, the 'Straussian' version of 'grounded theory', as highlighted by Strauss and Corbin (1998), started with the deductive premise of testing a theory and modifying that theory (or in this case the codes to test that theory – in the light of the evidence that has been gathered). Glaser stayed committed to the emergence of theory from data in its rawest form, largely uncontaminated and unbound by rigid analytical procedures or the input of relational literature throughout the process (Charmaz, 2000) and tensions arose as a result of the later works of Strauss, who Glaser accused of deviating from grounded theory via the implementation of a myriad of rules and procedures which merely serve to 'force' the data into a 'preconceived package' (Fielding and Lee, 1998: 38; Glaser, 1992). Bryant and Charmaz (2010) lend support to the conditional matrix and coding paradigm offered by Strauss and Corbin in stating that they do not inhibit the emergence of concepts and themes from the data. The structured and prescriptive approach to grounded theory developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) is a favoured approach utilised throughout qualitative research as it facilitates the analysis of a large volume of data. Despite the conceptual and procedural bifurcation that has developed between the cofounders of grounded theory, it remains a highly pragmatic and efficient qualitative methodology. To this end, the constant comparative approach and coding paradigm developed through Strauss and Corbin's grounded theory methodology , or 'Straussian' grounded theory was selected to guide the data analysis within this study (Fielding and Lee, 1998). This approach was chosen in order to test the potential value of SDT, Liminality and Communitas, and Field Theory in interpreting the

this involved testing the stages of transition from extrinsic to intrinsic motivation (see Chapter Three for my original outline of this), graphically outlining the changes in Table 5.1 and illuminating this with extracts from the interviews that illustrate examples of the points made. In Chapter Six ideas of liminality and communitas have been provided to understand separation from the student volunteers' 'familiar' and 'everyday social structures' and the ways in which they overcome the unfamiliar and reconstitute themselves within the client groups, while in Chapter Seven the concept of 'capital' is used to look at how the social connections may be formed within the student volunteer groups. In these latter two chapters, the coded material has been set up to provide a discursive framework to understand the material and so is not used to set up a graphic representation of the results.

The concurrent analysis of the interview transcripts was assisted with the use of NVivo computer software. NVivo can accommodate vast amounts of qualitative information in order to facilitate the analysis and assimilation of the data, thus using NVivo enabled the storage and management of all interview transcripts in one location. Advantageously, this allowed for the retrieval, filing, coding, categorisation and comparison of interview data instantaneously within a single programme (Bryman, 2004). Such 'code-and-retrieve' programs tend to be considerably more time efficient than adopting a cut and paste or even a manual approach, creating more time to synthesise ideas and generate meaning from data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 170) - though at times, more manual methods were utilised alongside NVivo to help piece together specific theoretical concepts and ideas.

Once all of the interview transcripts had been uploaded and stored into NVivo the 'First Cycle' of coding could begin (Saldaña, 2013: 3). The very first step was to read over each of the transcripts and re-familiarise myself with the data; this was performed with both the NVivo interface and manually using paper copies of the transcripts, concomitantly. This initial examination of the transcripts involved

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experiences of and social processes undergone by student volunteers participating on the SUNEE project.

attributing codes to portions of data – these codes could be as short as a word and as long as a paragraph – and enabled the data to be broken down into discrete parts to allow for comparative analysis (Saldaña, 2013). As Bryman states, codes act as 'tags' and refer to units of analysis that are imposed upon the data (2008: 691).

Following this First Cycle of data analysis, a formative process of codifying these 'tags' into categories could go ahead and meant that similarly coded data could be organized and grouped into families (Ravenhill, 2008). Following this early stage of classification, these families, or categories, were housed in Tree Nodes within the NVivo system. Following this initial sweep of the data, the NVivo package facilitated a more rigorous interrogation of the interview transcripts due to its 'advanced search' function. This meant that the entire data could be scoured for important information that may have been previously overlooked during the First Cycle of coding by simply entering key words or phrases. These searches were typically driven by the recurring themes yielded during the initial analysis of the data. Although relatively early on in the data analysis process, patterns in student volunteers' experiences during the SUNEE project were beginning to emerge. For example, students broadly reported their conceptions of what clients might be like prior to volunteering on SUNEE; difficulties integrating with or coaching the client groups; motivational information and different stages in relationship forming. Therefore, some of the early categories constructed included: student preconceptions; changing perceptions; motivation; conflict; relationships and challenges to coaching. Such trends both linked to current reading material and also informed further literature searches. A number of key concepts gained further credence at this stage and some new sub-themes also emanated as a result of this, others were also discarded where links appeared tenuous. The concept of motivational transition using the application of SDT, and the theories of Liminality and Communitas, and Field theory continued to demonstrate consistency with the emergent data categories and were ostensibly contiguous, with the former framework overarching the latter theories. These key concepts offered structure to the data analysis and began to direct the coding process as the research started to gain shape. The data analysis continued.

The Second Cycle of coding was to more rigorously interrogate the data in line with the key theories that had begun to drive the research. The Second Cycle not only sought to garner novel codes, it also helped to reconfigure and streamline existing codes into original or newly emerging categories. This second review of the data was more methodical, benefitting from the structure imposed by the specific conceptual and thematic frameworks being tested. The process of refining, grouping, regrouping, and relabeling codes and categories served to 'consolidate meaning and explanation' of the ideas taken forward from the patterns in the data that emerged in First Cycle of analysis (Gribich, 2007: 21). More specifically, recoding and recategorising the data often involved a coding scheme that was manually worked on paper transcripts whilst NVivo served as a search engine (Araujo, 1995; Hall, 2008; Sandaña, 2013). To elaborate, when applying theoretical frameworks to the data analysis at this stage, it was not uncommon for key categories to be modified or reconfigured to include a core category which subsumed a number of sub-categories, and which in turn subsumed particular codes. An example of this is offered in Figure 4.1, below:

Category: Liminality

Subcategory 1: Preliminal Phase

Code: PRECONCEPTIONS
Code: ANXIETY
Code: SPATIAL DETACHMENT

Subcategory 2: Liminal Phase

Code: PHYSICAL AGGRESSION
Code: LACK OF CONTROL
Code: INITIATION

Subcategory 3: Postliminal Phase

Code: MASTERY OF CODES AND CUSTOMS
Code: FORMING RELATIONSHIPS
Code: ALTERED 'CONCEPTUAL SCHEMA'

Figure 4.1 Example of a Hierarchical Coding Scheme

Adapted from Saldaña (2013)

This approach was not adopted for all categories, as some were seen to be more one-dimensional and clear cut than others[30]. In addition, by continuously conducting codifying and categorising, it became apparent as to which relationships were not substantially supported by the data and could therefore be dropped from the process of analysis. Many early categories and codes were cut from the process of analysis at this stage – yet not discarded, in case future review was warranted. As advised by Krippendorff (1980), a cyclical approach was taken when coding the data, constantly checking to ensure the accuracy and consistency of the incidents allotted within a specific category. A crucial piece of advice taken from the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) was to condition oneself to periodically interrupt coding processes so to record annotations detailing the present state of the research, to log the current ideas, theory and any general areas of note within a category in order to modify the coding structures that have emerged. Therefore, at each cycle of analysis, yet perhaps most frequently during the Second Cycle, the NVivo annotation function was called into use. Annotations were kept separate from the primary data utilised throughout the entire analytical process but helped develop ideas and theories, and to explore relationships in and between categories, and three such examples of these have been included in Appendix 3.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological techniques employed throughout the present study as well as the challenges and setbacks encountered along the way. A divergent approach to grounded theory methodology as it was originally conceived, and as developed in the seminal works of Glaser and Strauss (1967), has been utilised in this research and is described in detail within this chapter. In recent

[30] Categories that were not hierarchically coded and broken down into subcategories, such as 'Flow' theory, were, for the purposes of data analysis, deemed to be mono-conceptual and irreducible into distinct sub-components. Flow reflects an optimal psychological state and is discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

times, a conceptual bifurcation between Glaser and Strauss has emerged. In light of this divergence, it is further documented within this chapter that this research adopts a 'Straussian' approach to data analysis by implementing a more rigid coding procedure. In line with this mode of data analysis, an in-depth rationale is provided detailing the research background and design, including a comprehensive justification for the selection of the semi-structured interview method as well as a critical analysis of its application during the study. In addition, issues of access to participants and their subsequent recruitment has also been paid considerable attention, highlighting also a number of obstacles that were experienced in the process. The key themes emanating from the data are discussed from the next chapter onwards.

5

Motivation, Self-Determination Theory and Flow

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the development of students' motivations to volunteer on the SUNEE project from its inception to the point that fieldwork commenced for this study. More specifically, this chapter investigates the influence of the social and environmental conditions engendered within the SUNEE project upon students and whether those conditions 'facilitate versus forestall' volunteer motivation over the course of their participation on the project (Ryan and Deci, 2000a: 68). To do this, Deci and Ryan's (1985a) Self-Determination Theory (SDT) is utilised to track the natural psychological processes undergone by students and which either enhance their self-motivation to volunteer or oppositely, serve to de-motivate and diminish their commitment to the project. The theoretical underpinnings of the SDT have been fully outlined in Chapter Three.

The application of SDT provides a framework with which to interpret and categorise initial student motives for volunteering on the project as well as to develop an understanding of how the social conditions operating across the SUNEE project impact upon student volunteers' motivational status over time. This chapter is therefore able to employ SDT to examine how students 'take in social and extrinsic contingencies and progressively transform them into personal and self-motivations' – a process termed self-regulation (Ryan, Kuhl and Deci, 1997; Ryan and Deci, 2000a:69). In contrast to looking at the factors that elicit and sustain student motivation to volunteer, this work also observes a small number of instances which may have served to vitiate student motivation.

Therefore, this chapter will examine the patterns in and development of students'

motivation over the course of their involvement in the SUNEE project by tracking their reasons and intentions for volunteering from inception to the point that fieldwork commenced. This will enable the thesis to highlight the motives underlying volunteer recruitment and retention on the SUNEE project, thus lending insight into the conditions which serve to foster versus impair self-regulation and how they may influence student motivations to volunteer in sport in the future.

This chapter aligns with two of the key aims set out within the SUNEE project's strategic development plan: a) to embed 'social responsibility and citizenship as a distinctive aspect of the student experience'; and b) to encourage both students and 'hard to reach groups' to become volunteers at the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games and beyond (Unis4NE, 2007: 2). This research is both theoretically informative and practically significant as it presents an original contribution to research in the social sciences, highlighting the potential of sports-based outreach projects akin to SUNEE to foster, develop and sustain volunteer motivation. In addition, this chapter also flags up specific aspects of the SUNEE project and its set-up which impaired motivational development and/or proved detrimental to volunteer retention. Lastly, this research presents a novel application of SDT in that it has been selected for demonstrating a close fit with pre-collected research data in a 'Straussian' approach to grounded theory. Traditionally however, SDT research has predominantly been conducted within a Baconian style framework using such methods as laboratory experiments and applied field studies involving task-specific measures and interventions.

5.2 Plotting the Development of Student Motivation

Throughout this chapter, SDT is used to interpret, plot and explain the trajectory of student motivation to volunteer on the SUNEE project over time. Before this chapter goes onto examine in-depth the socio-psychological conditions and factors that initiate, facilitate or constrain student motivation, it is necessary to demonstrate graphically the changes in volunteer motivation over time against the

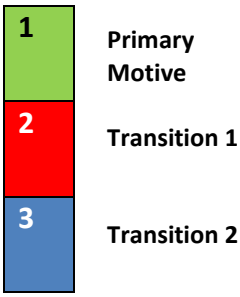
'transition' based coding scheme which was constructed and aligned to the anchors positioned along the SDT continuum. By observing Table 5.1 below, the trends and patterns in students' motivation to volunteer over time are clearly illustrated. Table 5.1 lists each student in order of length of time that they have volunteered upon the SUNEE project, from shortest to longest, up until the point of interview. The graphic illustrates where each students' original motive to volunteer lies in accordance with Deci and Ryan's (1985) five types of behavioural regulation and plots any motivational adaptation inferred by participants along the SDT continuum. To navigate the reader around Table 5.1, the direction of motivation as denoted by the Roman Numerals along the central header is congruent with the illustration of the SDT continuum that is displayed in Figure 3.1 in Chapter Three (refer to page 76). Motivation type I at the left-hand side of the graphic represents external regulation and this is the least self-determined form of motivation, this is followed by introjected regulation (II), identified regulation (III), integrated regulation (IV), and lastly, at the far right of the scale and the most self-determined and autonomous of motivational regulations lays intrinsic motivation (V). A detailed description of each one of these motivational regulations is provided in Chapter Three, page 108. To demonstrate students' initial motives and all subsequent motivational adaptations reported, each behavioural regulation is numbered and coloured to depict origin and transition. Primary motives are number 1 and coloured green; a first motivational transition is numbered 2 and is highlighted in red, and for those students who reported undergoing a second motivational transition then the specified regulation is filled in blue and is occupied with a number 2.

Table 5.1 Student volunteers' motivational development over time

No.	Student	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	Time on Project
1	Philippa (B)			1	2		6 weeks
2	Scott (C)			1	2		6 weeks
3	Aiden (D)			1		2	7 weeks
4	Rory (D)			1	2		8 weeks
5	Will (C)	1		2			8 weeks
6	Alison (D)			1		2	9 weeks
7	Jess (D)			1		2	9 weeks
8	Dean (A)			1			3 months
9	Vinny (B)				1	2	4 months
10	Joey (A)			1		2	6 months
11	Aaron (C)			1		2	1 year
12	Becki (B)					1	1 year
13	Beth (B)	1				2	1 year
14	Charlotte (C)			1	2		1 year
15	Colin (E)	1				2	1 year
16	Gareth (B)			1		2	1 year
17	Jack (B)					1	1 year
18	Jamie (C)			1			1 year
19	Janith (D)	1				2	1 year
20	Kim (E)		1		2	3	1 year
21	Lisa (A)				1	2	1 year
22	Nile (D)	1		2		3	1 year
23	Paul (C)			1		2	1 year
24	Rob (B)			1	2		1 year
25	Tom (C)			1	2		1 year
26	Leon (E)			1		2	18 months
27	Simon (A)			1		2	18 months
28	Sheila (E)			1		2	18 months
29	Vicki (E)			1	2		18 months
30	Dominic (A)				1	2	2 years
31	Gemma (B)	1		2	3		2 years
32	Janey (E)			1		2	2 years
33	Jasmin (E)			1	2	3	2 years
34	Jonny (A)			1	2	3	2 years
35	Mike (D)			1		2	2 years
36	Rick (D)			1		2	2 years
37	Stuart (C)					1	2 years
38	Craig (E)					1	3 years
39	Martin (A)	1		2		3	3 years
40	Ruth (A)		1		2	3	3 years

*Letter in brackets denotes which university each student belongs to

Key for Table 5.1



By observing the patterns of initiation and transition illustrated in Table 5.1, the visual contrast between the green and red indicators of motivation status draws the cursory analysis that the majority of student motives to volunteer are of centre or centre-left origin, and also that motivational transition is evident following a clear rightward shift in motivation. This trend broadly demonstrates that the majority of students' motivation shifts from externally regulated choices to volunteer toward more internalised and intrinsic drivers of behaviour, over the influence of time.

To break down the information conveyed in Table 5.1 further, the majority of students (24/40 participants) debut at anchor III (identified regulation) and not at position I (external regulation) – which recorded the second most common instigator of voluntary action by some distance (7/40 participants).It is important to emphasise that the majority of volunteers do not enter the SUNEE project at the farthest extrinsic regulation. In addition, the majority of students' motivational development reaches and remains at anchor IV (integrated regulation) or V (intrinsic regulation) demonstrating a definite internalisation of motivational regulation over time. Most students report a final motivation of V (29/40), representing the strongest form of motivational drive. From the analysis thus far it can be seen that more volunteers reach and reside beyond the intrinsic boundary than begin at the most external of motivational regulations.

Interestingly, and as displayed in Table 5.1, seven students experienced two transitions and had, in total, occupied three consecutive motivational anchors up to the point of interview (as highlighted in blue in the graphic) – a tentative finding is presented here highlighting that the data suggests that student volunteers are

more likely to experience a three stage transition over a longer period of time, which, on the basis of this evidence is a minimum of a year's participation. Of further note, six volunteers' motivation remained stationary - with two starting and ending at anchor III (identified) and four of which did not move from point V (intrinsic) – thus pointing to a perpetual maintenance of their motivation. Crucially none of the participants that took part in this investigation demonstrated a regression of motivation – which would have been characterised by a leftward shift governed by external regulation.

Looking at these transitions in more depth, six out of the seven students that embarked the SUNEE project at point I on the SDT scale had reached either IV or V at the point of interview. Fifteen of the twenty-four participants whose motivation originated at point III experienced adaptations that had transitioned to type V by the time of interview, whereas the other nine students who entered the project for reasons consonant with type III underwent transitions to the IV anchor point. Two of the twenty-four students that occupied position III on the continuum at the outset demonstrated a double transition passing through point IV and reaching the final anchor, V. All three of the volunteers whose initial motives aligned with motivational type IV went on to reach point V. Both of the volunteers that joined the programme demonstrating type II motives went on to undergo a double motivational shift that occupied IV at 'transition one' before evolving to type V. All but one of the participants (6/7) who underwent a double motivational transition occupied integrated motivation (IV) at some stage of their participation on the project, with six out of the seven of these individuals ending within the intrinsic domain (V) at the point of interview.

The remainder of this chapter will investigate the trends revealed in Table 5.1 by interrogating interview data to examine and interpret the motives underlying students' initial decisions to participate in the SUNEE project, the documenting of changes in volunteers' motivation and the potentiation of the flow state; an analysis of the conditions and processes surrounding this motivational development and a consideration of the potential threats to autonomous regulation and

intrinsically guided behaviour will draw the chapter to its conclusion.

5.3 Initial Student Motives to Volunteer

Students engaged with the SUNEE project choose to volunteer for a variety of reasons, motives that, as illustrated in Table 5.1, span the breadth of the SDT continuum (discussed in Chapter Three) between the internal and external motivational boundaries. In order to explore any development and adaptation of motivation type, it is necessary to firstly examine the range of initial or baseline motives that compel students to volunteer.

Seven of the students that were interviewed during this research indicated that their reasons for volunteering were predominantly externally regulated. Some of these participants stated that they had been influenced to volunteer by significant others. For example, when asked why she had chosen to volunteer on the project, Beth commented that one of her friends at university had encouraged her to get involved with the SUNEE project:

> Well, I'd started uni just last year and I wanted to settle in and one of my friends said she'd like become really friendly with everyone there [SUNEE] and said I should go along with her.
>
> Beth, University B

Here, Beth indicates that her voluntary behaviour was initially encouraged by a friend – a trend not uncommon in the take-up of volunteering, as highlighted in Chapter Three. Ryan and Deci (2000a) would suggest that Beth's behaviour in this scenario was prompted by a need to feel more closely connected and related to others in an effort to help her settle in to her new surroundings at university.

A separate, yet common motivation to volunteer that was identified by a number of students was in order to fulfil the requirements of one of their degree modules, as illustrated by Janith and Scott below:

> Well… my, the reason why I did it – I'm not going to lie – is it was part of my course, um, yeah, that's the main reason.
>
> Janith, University D

> Basically well, to be honest with you, it's one of my modules for this year and basically so I got, put my placement in with Team University C and they put me on this course. I'd heard about it in first year and never got round to doing it but now, since it's part of my module, I had to get it done. I've only got like 70 hours to do basically.
>
> Scott, University C

This type of motive was provided by students who were studying sports degrees and were required to complete a set number of hours of a work placement of their choice as long as it related to their course. These two examples above suggest that the students placed little intrinsic interest or value in the project at the outset, making their participation sound like a chore as their behaviour was orientated towards satisfying an external demand.

Taking a shift to the right of the SDT continuum, just two students elicited motives for volunteering that were characteristic of introjected regulation, behaviour which has been taken in by the participant but not yet accepted as their own. Students whose responses were deemed to be anchored at this position on the SDT scale demonstrated regulation by contingent self-esteem. This point is illustrated below as Ruth, a sport student, speaks of her frustration at being unable to participate in competitive sport due to injury and chooses volunteering as a substitute activity in order to enhance her self-esteem:

> I'm like doing a sport degree but I'm not playing a sport - you get absolutely ripped apart. I wanted to be able to. I just was injured, so I couldn't do it. So I wanted to have an involvement in something… And then everyone's like, oh yes, if you can't play sport, you may as well coach others. And I'm like, thanks.
>
> Ruth, University A

Here, Ruth implies that she chose to volunteer in order to feel worthy and prove her ability as a coach. As well as indicating her need for competence, Ruth also highlights her desire for relatedness, to find support networks outside of competitive and club sport which she suggests her peers participate in.

Similarly, Kim cited motives of ego-enhancement via the attainment of feelings of pride:

> Well, I wanted to… feel proud for doing it, you know, to feel good.
>
> Kim, University E

Conroy, Elliot, and Coatsworth (2007) suggest that such behaviour contributes to a pleasant psychological state which promotes happiness and helps to avoid unpleasant internal psychological states, and is therefore personally rewarding. Further, the majority of students (24 out of 40) who were interviewed inferred that their primary motives represented identified regulation. To recap, a student who occupies this position on the SDT continuum recognises the value that a particular activity or task holds in the attainment of their personal or career goals (see Chapter Three). Students demonstrating this type of motivation cited the attainment of such benefits as gaining job specific experience, features which were aligned to the students' intended career path. Below, Mike, Sheila and Jasmine stated that they had volunteered on the SUNEE project to acquire the relevant coaching experience and related qualifications which are directly compatible to their intended career path of becoming physical education (PE) teachers:

> Basically at first, it was to get a bit of experience in coaching, because hopefully like it's a pathway to become a PE teacher, to see what the environment's like.
>
> Mike, University D

> I wanted to be a PE teacher but I knew how hard it is to get on a PGCE like and I want to go to University A to do it. And, it was all because, from that you get like coaching awards paid for, like the CV looks enhanced, you're like own skills are better because you've worked with such a variety and different coaching staff, and as a result I've got on the PGCE at University A, so it's paid off.
>
> Sheila, University E

> I found out about the project through Sheila who obviously is there and… because she did it all through her first year. And I was like, where do you keep going? And she was like, volunteering. And I was like, well, why did you do that? And she goes, oh, just to help me with my coaching experience. Like, she wants to be teacher. I thought, that's what I want to get into. And I've never done any… I've never had any experience of working with children or working with any type of… any type of coaching other than netball, really. So, I got in touch with, um, Nicky [SDO] and said that I want to be involved in the project.
>
> Jasmine, University E

These three passages crystallise the motivational type of identified regulation. They do this in two ways. First, and as alluded to more explicitly by Mike, student volunteers see the SUNEE project as an opportunity to 'test drive' a potential career. Second, Mike, Sheila and Jasmine all comment that they entered the project with a view to building their coaching portfolio and enhance their Curriculum Vitae (CV) in order to boost their employability beyond the project in what they understand to be competitive teacher training and jobs markets. Furthermore, Rory (below), very candidly illustrates the significance of external contingencies in the attainment of his career ambitions, describing his own motives for volunteering as selfish and self-serving:

> I chose to volunteer for a selfish reason because I wanted to get... I wanted to get the best possibility I can to get a job after I leave university, so I heard about this, it looks good on your CV, you know, any volunteering… I think it's more of a selfish way like for me trying to get my foot in the door, into a job as well like mostly.
>
> Rory, University D

Moreover, there were many students whose future career paths lay outside and away from PE teaching and sports coaching. These students chose to volunteer on the project to acquire and develop transferable skills and to help demonstrate their social versatility, as Tom, Alison, and Gareth report:

> It was to gain experience really, because obviously if I'm going to join the police, then I find, this was definitely going to be of benefit, working with, um, working with a clientele with different, you know, attitudes and experiences, it can definitely help with going out into the world of policing. You know, you're going to have to get involved in different kinds of situations and I think just generally, it's going to help with general people skills really, because just hopefully in a situation you don't really want a random act to happen, or someone ends up hurting themselves, you know, you would rather solve the problem just with words really. You'd rather just solve it quietly. And this experience has taught me how to talk to these kinds of groups.
>
> Tom, University C

> I chose this one because I want to go into the police so, like, I want to get experience with all the different backgrounds and the different types of people, who are here and try and help them because that's the experience that I need.
>
> Alison, University D

> I do economics. I don't envision myself going into teaching, coaching, working in sport or anything. For me, it's been more about skills, that kind of stuff. Um, I said at the conference about how, you know, sometimes like, I'm here now. Most mornings I would have spent probably in bed, you know, and I was at University C on Monday morning, the first morning back. I spent all day in a meeting, planning next year, that kind of stuff. And I suppose that's more like the side of it that I'll be doing when I'm older, or hopefully. So, for me, it's not really about direct experience. It's more about getting skills. It sounds a bit cheesy… Um, another big reason I suppose is, um, I quite want to work at the 2012 Olympics and so, you know, um, I want to, well, volunteer there and so basically the best way of doing that kind of stuff is to, um, get involved with volunteering in the community.
>
> Gareth, University B

Gareth was one of only a few students who were predominantly classroom based during their volunteering on the SUNEE project. Gareth ran an events management and marketing short course for gifted and talented scholars aged between 13 and 14 years. Once educated on events management this course was to culminate in the scholars organising and running a sports day for primary school children. Gareth, an economics student, comments that as well as using the project to hone a broad array of skills similar to those required within his desired career path, he also saw the project as an opportunity to access the London 2012 Olympic Games – as a volunteer. This aspect of incentives and external reward contingencies highlights an important yet challenging distinction that needed to be made when initially interpreting volunteer motives within an SDT framework. When formulating this chapter, it proved conceptually challenging to discern between which motivational orientations fell within external regulation and those demonstrating identified regulation, two anchors separated by introjection. The problem here was to understand properly the role and influence of the external reward contingencies and controllers at play, and the perceived outcome students expected them to yield. To elaborate, any extrinsic motives that were incongruent with personal goals/career aspirations were precluded from being classified as identified regulation. Whereas, those motives devoid of any personal commitment and value, and that were deemed to be entirely controlled by forces external to the individual

are categorised as externally regulated. Due to the traditional and basic dichotomy between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation as referred to by Gagné and Deci (2005) and Markland and Ingledew (2007), it proved difficult, initially, to differentiate between external and identified contingencies. The statements provided below by Philippa and Joey help to illustrate this once liminal conundrum:

> Mainly because I needed some help to get this coaching qualification [level three trampolining] and I'd looked into getting this coaching course because I regularly coach at my club, which is the university one, but it was incredibly expensive. And I realized that I wasn't going to be able to do it, so someone suggested this sports volunteer project, and it turned out that I could get a good amount of money, which at least went halfway towards doing that. So that was great.
>
> Philippa, University B

> I got involved because I, well firstly it was just so the university would pay for my, pay for my level one football badge, because I want to get involved in like club coaching and go coach in America. I understood that if we did ten hours of volunteering then the university would pay for that.
>
> Joey, University A

In these two examples, conveying feelings of free choice, both students volunteered due to the lure of external rewards. However, these incentives, although pursued for arguably 'selfish' reasons as suggested earlier by Gareth, were aligned to the volunteers' personal interests as they facilitated their pursuit of separate coaching objectives, and can therefore be categorised as identified regulation.

Taking a further rightward step, three students referred to integrated regulation – the most internally regulated form of extrinsically orientated behaviour and that which is directly to the right of identified regulation on the SDT continuum type of extrinsic motivation – when explaining why they chose to volunteer. This regulation is defined as the most autonomous extrinsic motivation and is engendered in individuals whose behaviour directly reflects their own belief systems, principles and values. The motives cited below by Dominick epitomise this notion of integrated regulation:

> I've just, from an early age, my mum and dad were both, like, foster parents, so I've, like, seen kids who have, like, been taken off the street, like, they've been abused, or whatever. So I've sort of always been, like, open-minded, and… just appreciated what you've got and trying to give a bit back, really. Um, I think it's just all in your personality and mentality. I know some people would look at that sort of email and just think, no chance. But, um, I didn't do it… I know a lot of… some of the students volunteer just so that they can get the free coaching badges, or free stash, but I haven't done a single coaching badge yet. I just go down because… it's sort of like giving a bit back to the community… So, it's just, sort of, my background. I've been brought up to sort of help others, um, through my mum and dad and that fostering kids.
>
> Dominick, University A

In this example, Dominick implies that the purpose of the SUNEE project and his motives for volunteering on it are consistent with his own personal values, values which, as his response indicates, are likely to have been socialised into him and subsequently internalised over time due to the nature of his background and upbringing.

Furthermore, comparisons can be drawn between Dominick's 'to give a bit back' mentality and a number of other student volunteers such as Vinny (below) who has a track record of previous voluntary projects and attributes an importance to the role of volunteers and voluntary projects:

> I chose to volunteer because I did some volunteer work with, ah, in my gap year. It was mostly conservation work, ah, in South Africa and I sort of came here and I sort of … And I wanted to get involved with volunteering again, ah, around my lectures. I wanted to do something good. I think its important to volunteer if you can.
>
> Vinny, University B

Dominick and Vinny both present examples of integrated regulation as they intimate that their behaviour is directed by beliefs, principles and values which are fully integrated to their sense of self. All that separates Dominick and Vinny's motives from being truly intrinsic is that neither claimed that they volunteered in the pursuit of enjoyment or satisfaction.

The remaining classification of motivational type influencing four of the students' involvement in the project was that of intrinsic motivation. Students falling into this category reported that SUNEE appealed to them because of the inherent

satisfaction and genuine enjoyment that they derive from playing, coaching and volunteering in sports and sports-based activities. For example, Stuart speaks of the pleasure he has received during previous voluntary commitments and how those experiences influenced his involvement in the SUNEE project:

> Well, I first started volunteering when I was at college when I was doing work in sports coaching and I done different coaching awards and stuff. And I finished my voluntary hours, and the company lets you work, so I was a volunteer worker there. I just said, like, oh, I'm really enjoying what I'm doing, can I just stay on as a volunteer because I absolutely love it? And they're like, oh, yes, no problem. Then… then I started university, um, last September. I went to the freshers fair, and there was a store for SUNEE and I put my name down for volunteering.
>
> Stuart, University C

In addition, Craig (below) comments that after getting injured he took up coaching to fill the void of playing [football], something he really enjoyed, and found coaching to be more pleasurable as he felt greater competence in it, and for these reasons he gravitated towards volunteering on the SUNEE project:

> I quit playing football a long, long time ago and I started concentrating on coaching. I just, I got injured at 16, I started coaching then. I find that I actually prefer coaching than playing; I'm probably better at it actually. And for me it's as much a hobby… I enjoy it. So coaching is, like I said, it's as much a hobby as playing for me so that's one of the main reasons.
>
> Craig, University E

In a vaguely similar situation to Craig, Jack states in the passage below that he chose to volunteer with SUNEE to be involved in sport again, predominantly football, as he's always enjoyed the sport but found opportunities in short supply since starting his time at university:

> I just, like, I mean, like, I'm doing history at University B. And I just, I've always been interested in sport and, because they don't do a sport degree I thought I want to get involved with the volunteering. So, I emailed Jim, Jim De Cino [SDO]. I enjoy being in the sport because I used to play when I was a kid. Um, I just always liked being involved; always liked being involved coaching or playing, either, either or.
>
> Jack, University B

Stuart, Craig and Jack share a number of commonalities. First, they chose to take part in the opportunities provided by SUNEE for their own sake and because of the genuine pleasure that they receive from participating in them. Craig's description of his voluntary coaching role as a 'hobby' captures this notion aptly. Second, all three interviewees suggest that their motives to volunteer have all been influenced by previous positive experiences which have subsequently internalised those events, generated positive associations with similar/related activities, and motivated them to act again.

Furthermore, Paul and Nile both commented that they found the SUNEE project an appealing proposition as it presented a new challenge:

> But this was something new. It was a new challenge. I thought if I could address coaching adults that I'd feel a lot more secure with myself in that I could do any sort of coaching in future.
>
> Paul, University C

> I felt it would be quite a good experience to work with these sort of people, because I didn't know what to expect and I, I just wanted to, it's sort of a test of my own ability, but it's been, it's been fine; just wanted to know what it would be like to, to work with this type of group sort of thing.
>
> Nile, University D

According to Ryan (1995) and Ryan and Deci (2000a; 2000b), Paul and Nile display traits strongly associated with intrinsic motivation as they not only intimate a curiosity and inquisitiveness in the SUNEE project and the various client groups it works with, but also because it presents a novel challenge to surmount, an opportunity to learn and advance their existing skills and master new ones.

5.4 Motivational Transitions and Precursors to Flow

When asked whether their feelings towards the project, and their motives to continue volunteering had changed over their time on the project, the vast majority

(34/40) of respondents implied that that their motives had developed over time, providing responses that were therefore indicative of shifts along the SDT continuum (as illustrated fully in Table 5.1). Scott, for example, and joined by nine of his fellow interviewees, demonstrates a progression to the right of the SDT scale, from identified regulation (III) and the pursuit of personal goals, to that of integrated regulation (IV). This increasing internalisation and the alignment of the positive roles and outcomes of the programme to Scott's own personal values is illustrated below:

> Basically well, to be honest with you, it's one of my modules for this year and basically so I got, put my placement in with Team University C and they put me on this course. I'd heard about it in first year and never got round to doing it but now, since it's part of my module, I had to get it done. I've only got like 70 hours to do basically…but I'm wanting to continue after because I feel that they get so much out of it... Like they just, they're comfortable, they obviously really like the likes of the company coming down, taking the time like to help them and help them improve in their skills, basically.
>
> Scott, University C

Above, Scott's response highlights the contrast between his initial motives to volunteer and those which subsequently contributed to his continued participation. Not only does Scott recognise the important role that the project plays in the lives of the clients he worked with, but he is also acutely aware of the clients' needs for stability and the significance of having familiar and trusted volunteers, such as himself, returning week on week to work with them. Ryan and Deci (2000b) support this point further by suggesting that such an attitude of willingness reflects the inner acceptance of the value and utility of the task, and is characteristic of integrated regulation.

Like Scott, the following excerpts illustrate the transition of student motives and the role such processes played in the retention of those volunteers on the project. However, Janith and Simon, who joined the SUNEE project at types I and III respectively, hint that their motivational development and reasons for continuing to volunteer on the project became entirely self-determined and intrinsically orientated. Firstly, Simon, like a further fourteen of his fellow interviewees, leapfrogged Scott on the SDT continuum by one anchor point (see Table 5.1), experienced a single rightward shift from identified regulation to intrinsic

motivation. Simon's prior motives stemmed from a personal interest in the coaching field and his experiences on the project went on to yield sustained feelings of inherent enjoyment:

> I wanted football coaching badges and they said, well, we'll pay for them if you do this, so that was my way into it and I've been on that project ever since… So basically because I wanted to do my football coaching badges and therefore, Team University A said if you do a little bit of volunteering, we'll pay for it. So basically, that's how I got into it in the first place. Um and you know, the moment that I got into it I really enjoyed it. Now I do other things. I do a lot more voluntary coaching at the local cricket club. I suppose, although my route into it was, I suppose, selfish in a sense in that I didn't go into it to volunteer. It was something that was offered to me. But I think the moment that I started to do it, I really enjoyed doing it.
>
> Simon, University A

Simon admits that he embarked on the project in order to satisfy his own ends and attain free coaching badges. However, Simon goes on to add that he continued to volunteer due to the almost immediate enjoyment and satisfaction he received during his involvement with the project, an experience which subsequently whetted his appetite and encouraged him to volunteer outside of the project and in his free-time for his local cricket club. Likewise, Janith states that the intrinsic enjoyment that he gained from volunteering caused him to continue to help out on the project beyond attaining the external tangible rewards for which he chose to volunteer in the first place. The difference between Janith and Simon is that Janith's response suggests that his motivational development, as was the case with three other interviewees, traversed the full gamut of extrinsic motivation types presented on the SDT scale and crossed the internal motivation boundary into the intrinsic domain:

> Well, obviously, the reason why I did it – I'm not going to lie – is it was part of my course, um, yeah, that's the main reason, but like, I finished my degree now and I'm still coming back because I enjoy it so much, so, obviously, I don't mind coming back and helping all the time.
>
> Janith, University D

In reporting that their voluntary involvement in the SUNEE project persisted beyond the attainment of the external rewards for which they had initially entered the

project for, Janith, Scott, and Simon's responses suggest that their behaviour has grown increasingly internalised. These examples contradict a large body of evidence that has demonstrated that tangible extrinsic rewards undermine intrinsic motivation by eliciting a shift from a more internal to external perceived locus of causality (Deci, 1971). The functional significance that participants place upon these reward contingencies has been explored in some depth by Deci, Koestner and Ryan (1999) who found that engagement-contingent rewards (rewards dependent on a participant engaging in an activity for an extended period of time, but who are not required to participate for the entire duration of a project) triggers a cognitive re-evaluation of the activity, serving to diminish participant interest in that activity and as a consequence, considerably undermining their intrinsic motivation in it; a trend attributed to the controlling nature of the task as people had to participate in specific activities in order to gain the reward on offer. However, Deci, Koestner and Ryan (1999) point out that this backwards and externally controlled shift of motivation was typically exacerbated due to distinct lack of competence affirmation, a factor which would have helped to counteract the negative effects of the control. Indeed, additional research trials by Deci (1971) and Deci, Koestner and Ryan (1999) revealed that any such cognitive dissonance provoked by external controllers might be prevented or offset by the provision and fostering of opportunities for engendering feelings of competence and relatedness within an activity or environment – which is what appears to be the case for these for students whilst volunteering with SUNEE.

The promotion and maintenance of intrinsic motivation, and the inherent pleasure and enjoyment gained from participating in the SUNEE project as experienced and reported by these student volunteers indicates the occurrence of the positive psychological state known as *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; 1990; Fortier and Kowal, 2007; Ryan and Deci, 2007). Flow, as defined by Csikszentmihalyi, is the 'holistic sensation that people feel when they act with total involvement' in an activity (1975b: 36). To elaborate, flow is a highly enjoyable experiential state (Fortier and Kowal, 2007). It is a heightened mental state that a person experiences when they are deeply immersed within an activity, a state in which the individual's sense of

self is in complete harmony with the environment. Simply put, flow is a dynamic state that is both pursued for, and experienced in the doing of an activity for its own sake, and is thus akin to the intrinsically rewarding and deeply satisfying internal climate achieved when behaviour is utterly self-determined (Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). Flow therefore has an addictive quality which causes individuals to seek to replicate its sensation and persist in activities they associate with potential flow opportunities (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988).

In this context, the concept of flow was originally termed the *autotelic experience* and is also used interchangeably with the terms *optimal experience* and *psychic negentropy* – terms which help lay further insight into its meaning. There was a number of reasons that the term flow was preferred to its lexical counterparts, namely because it appeared less awkward than the others, and secondly, that many respondents within Csikszentmihalyi's research cited the word when describing what their optimal experiences felt like (1975a; 1988). In returning to the current research, flow is conceptually related to intrinsic motivation whilst also sharing a number of other similarities with the SDT (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Ryan and Deci, 2007; McGinnis, Gentry and Gao, 2008). Fortier and Kowal (2007) explicate this relationship by highlighting that flow and intrinsic motivation are not synonymous, rather the former is a motivational outcome (positive psychological state) whereas motivation is distinguished as the energy or force which propels the individual into action or indeed that which sustains their behaviour – motivation is therefore a determinant of flow. To this end, the index of motivation type provided by the SDT facilitates the examination of the flow state in conjunction with intrinsic markers, and helps to assess the impact of optimal experience upon volunteer retention.

The following passages depict similar motivational transitions of increasing internalisation and integration to those of the previous examples provided by Scott, Janith and Simon and which imply the intrinsic nature of the rewards that the student volunteers began to receive over their time spent on the project. In addition, and coinciding with an intrinsic shift in their motivation, Joey, Nile and Jonny (below) identify a number of flow characteristics which they suggest helped

to extend their voluntary involvement. Firstly, below Joey describes how much he has enjoyed volunteering on the project, sentiments which represent a stark contrast from his motives (type III) to get involved in the first place:

> Well firstly it was just so the university would pay for my, pay for my level one football, because I want to get involved in like club coaching, which I was, I've been involved in for a few years, but I wanted to be qualified for it. Um, I can honestly say within the first two weeks of starting I've just absolutely loved doing it, like, and I would say even though that sounds really selfish, why I got started, um, I don't know, it's just been absolutely fantastic. It's the highlight within our week, to be honest.
>
> Joey, University A

Using a combination of intensifiers and superlatives such as 'I've just absolutely loved doing it' and 'it's just been absolutely fantastic', Joey highlights the profound effect that the volunteer experience has had on him, indicating the flow-like characteristic that the reward for his action lay in the activity itself. Moreover, Joey states that to volunteer on the project became the 'highlight' of his week – a feeling which Csikszentmihalyi would argue is synonymous with flow as it is a source of 'exhilaration, energy, and fulfilment' which transcends the mundane routines of everyday life (1988:29).

Nile echoes Joey stating that he had initially volunteered in order to help fulfil the requirements of his degree course (type I) but sustained his involvement 'purely' because of how much he's enjoyed doing it. Nile adds that for these reasons he intended to continue volunteering on the project throughout the summer (beyond the completion of his degree) and was also considering future employment in the same field:

> It's definitely made me think twice about coaching, because I, when I came here I didn't really think that would be my career path, but I've really enjoyed it. And, as I say, it was only a university placement and now that's finished and I've carried on coming, purely because of how much I've enjoyed doing it. So I'm going to do it all through the summer; so, yeah, I would definitely consider a job in that, um, in that field, without a doubt. As I said, before I came I probably wouldn't have, but afterwards it's, I would say, yeah.
>
> Nile, University D

Csikzentmihalyi (1988) suggests that it is these highly enjoyable experiential flow states, like those experienced by Nile and Joey, which encourage and motivate the students to seek to replicate such moments and sensations, and as a consequence, promote their retention in volunteering.

In the following example Jonny's comments reinforce the points made in relation to Nile and Joey's contributions above and clearly illustrate the interplay between intrinsic motivation and flow. To provide some context to the quotation below, Jonny's role on the project was different to that of the majority of students who volunteered on SUNEE in that he coordinated and lead the debating programme which ran for those alcohol and drug misusers, ex-offenders, homeless persons and vulnerable women who had no interest in participating in the sporting activities offered by the project. The debating project culminated in a formal debate, a black-tie event attended by an esteemed guest list. Below, Jonny's reflections highlight his motivational development during his involvement on the project as well as a number of themes which resemble some key dimensions of flow:

> More importantly, just really, I was doing something, because once this is on my CV in a way, the tangible benefits to me were gone. It's on my CV, right, I've got my graduate job sorted already. I don't really need this project from a self point of view. But over the last eight weeks I've genuinely got tense and nervous and worked up but also quite proud, quite passionate and genuinely have been really, really focussed on the achievements of other people… and you know, I stood and gave a speech and it went well and I was glad my speech went well but I'd have much rather I balls up my speech but they'd have all done okay… because you do just get… it just feels nice for once. You feel like a better person really, not because you've done this project and you feel holier than thou but just because it reminds yourself that you do actually have it in you to really put other people before yourself.
>
> It is… it's my favourite thing of the university. It is definitely… it's very, um, it's very important to me because also I know I probably will earn a lot of money and I'll hang around with people that earn a lot of money because of the job I'm going to be doing. That's the truth of the matter and I probably will never really… I just think it's just nice to keep a grounding on yourself and it's also something I've really enjoyed but it is just nice that I could have had that sort of grounding because you always feel like… you come to University A and suddenly you realise all of the things you just take for granted and can go out and do, which is ridiculous in comparison to what these guys have and so… I will definitely remember it for a long time. I just really enjoy it… Because I've never really had… it's that feeling, that sort of passion and getting worked up about something which you don't get very often. It's just all that mix of feelings, just a massive bag of feelings… it will definitely stay with me.
>
> Jonny, University A

Firstly, Jonny admits that his initial motives to volunteer were solely career orientated (type III) and therefore represent identified regulation. However, as Jonny's response builds, he demonstrates experiencing increasing motivational internalisation over the course of his involvement by illustrating the personal value and importance that he began to attach to the voluntary role he performed and the support that he was providing the clients. This sense of commitment to and concern for the clients' debating performance indicates a motivational transition from identified regulation (III) to integrated regulation (IV) as the success of others became an aspiration of Jonny's. Furthermore, Jonny discusses the importance of remaining 'grounded' against both the backdrop of a university lifestyle which he regards as privileged, and also in light of his admission that he is likely to progress into a 'high-flying' career. Jonny stresses that his time on the project has indeed helped him to remain grounded and will in future, he hopes, serve as a reminder so as to not take his lifestyle for granted. To this end, Jonny intimates that his voluntary contributions have become fully assimilated to his sense of self (Ryan and Deci, 2000a), causing an alignment to his personal needs – which in this case is to provide him with such a grounding.

Moreover, the passages provided above by Jonny indicate that his motivational development did not stop at the integrated anchor (IV) on the SDT continuum but progressed into the intrinsic realm (V), demonstrative of a double rightward transition which had occupied three anchors along the SDT continuum over the influence of time – an adaptation also intimated by seven other student volunteers (please refer to Table 5.1). In the case of these seven interviewees that indicated undergoing a double motivational transition, they each had in common the fact that they had volunteered on the project for a minimum of one year, with five of these seven volunteers experiencing a double adaptation at or beyond the two year participation mark. This points towards a tentative correlation that multi-stage motivational transition is governed by length of time volunteering – in short, the longer one volunteers, the more likely their motivation is to undergo further and rightward transition.

To return to the example provided by Jonny, not only does he express the inherent enjoyment and intrinsic satisfaction that he derived over the course of his time on the project, he also makes inferences to the presence of a number of dimensions characteristic of flow. Firstly, Jonny speaks of the 'passion' which the project stirred in him, describing his voluntary experience as 'a massive bag of feelings' and as his 'favourite thing of the university'. According to Csikszentmihalyi, such feelings reflect peak experiences which are 'caused by unusually high involvement with a system of action so much more complex than one usually encounters in everyday life' (1988: 33). It is such experiences and the feelings emanating from them that elicit a participant's desire to replicate such sensations and consequently to pursue activities that that individual associates with those emotions. It can thus be suggested that the presence of flow played a contributing role in Jonny's sustained involvement. It is noteworthy to stress at this point, that although flow is commonly associated with play scenarios, such experiential states can occur in a variety of other contexts. The requisite conditions for flow to occur are that the participant is 'actively engaged in some form of clearly specified interaction with their environment', be it through a physical, emotional, or intellectual medium, and that the participant is able to apply some of their skills in acting upon that environment (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975a:43).

The responses provided by student volunteers in this section might hint that their motives might have developed to such a degree that they reflect altruism – acting to increase the welfare of others in the absence of personal gain (Batson and Powell, 2003). Even Joey and Simon in their comments above imply that their once 'selfish' motives to volunteer had subsequently been transformed to more selfless orientated drives as a result of their voluntary experiences. However, many psychologists and motivational theorists are incredulous to the concept of absolute altruism, with Smith (1981) stating that those perceived to act in such a manner actually receive psychic rewards and personal gratification for their efforts. From this angle a key dimension of flow is revealed in the student's motives, a dimension which is very closely linked to autonomous and intrinsically orientated behaviour. This dimension refers to the autotelic nature of flow and is labelled by

Csikszentmihalyi (1988) as the teleonomy of the self. An activity which is autotelic is one which an individual participates in for its own sake, where the reward is in the activity itself and requires no external goals or external rewards to experience it (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975b; Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). The teleonomy of the self, in short, refers to the consciousness becoming aware of itself, utilising its memory and directing its attention in order to seek out opportunities to maintain itself, to receive pleasure and to grow, a mechanism which ultimately drives the individual's desire to replicate optimal experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988). The self becomes established in consciousness but also includes 'those unconscious contents that occasionally surface in awareness', and can manifest itself in both selfish and selfless acts (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988: 20). The self therefore 'represents its own interests as goals' and the teleonomy of the self is the goal-seeking tendency of the self that shapes the choices an individual makes among all available alternatives in-line with the hierarchy of goals set by the self (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988: 22). In sum, the teleonomy of the self is geared towards sustaining itself, to seek pleasure and intrinsic satisfaction, and to maintain the well-being of the individual. It is this aspect of flow, the autotelic identity of the self, which appears to reveal itself in the student volunteers' responses and would thus negate the concept of absolute altruism.

5.5 Mechanisms Underlying Motivational Development and Volunteer Retention

As will be discussed later in Chapters Six and Seven, the majority of student volunteers experienced a number of difficulties on entering the SUNEE project, particularly when attempting to integrate with, and coach the client groups. Using the SDT and flow concept the mechanisms underlying student volunteers' persistence and retention can be examined.

In the example below, Jack explains the difficulties that he encountered when

trying to coach the client groups, challenges which instead of deterring him appeared to help develop his confidence, add to his enjoyment, and drive his persistence and commitment to continue to volunteer:

> I mean, we still have problems. I mean, some of them just don't want to know. It's really hard. It's harder teaching these than children because, obviously because of their background… because, I mean, it's just me and Ronny [student volunteer] and there's nobody else, really to help… I've definitely gained more confidence, um, because you need it if you're, especially, if you're teaching or coaching. Um, I think, once you get the confidence, you start to take a bit more of a lead role. I mean, me and the other lad [Ronny], you can see obviously we're getting more confident as it's gone on, we're leading a session, we're coaching and organising what we're doing. It's getting better.
>
> They know me name and they just call me coach, and they'll say, coach, I'm on your team and I'll, I'll, I'll laugh at this, believe me, because obviously they know the job you're doing. They know, I mean, they know how hard it is. I mean, it is challenging. Um, but it's enjoyable, which is the best thing. Um, and I think once you integrate yourself with them and you get to know them it's more of an informal, relaxed thing. And, like I say, they call me coach and I have a laugh with them. That's why I enjoy this whole thing. I'm just there to help them. If I can help them then that's a bonus.
>
> Jack, University B

Jack's response indicates that his experiences were facilitative of self-determined regulation and congruent with the SDT. Firstly, Jack implies that the set-up of the football programme that he coached on was conducive to an autonomy-supporting climate. To elaborate, Jack emphasises both the arduous nature of the coaching context and the fact that this particular programme was only supervised by himself and one other student volunteer. As Jack states, these two factors represented significant challenges to both his coaching and interpersonal ability, challenges which he suggests were unparalleled to any other coaching roles he has previously performed and which consequently appeared to accelerate his development and emergence as a leader among the group. In addition, Jack was able to perform his role with a high level of autonomy as he was rarely supervised or evaluated by a superior, using instead his clients' reactions to determine his coaching efficacy – a feature which Pelletier et al. (2001) argues enhances persistence.

In Jack's case, the balance between autonomy-supportive and autonomy-controlling conditions in this particular programme was very fine and could easily have been disrupted by the confrontational and intimidating behaviour that he

experienced from certain clients. Fortunately, the opportunities available to Jack and his personality were strong enough to offset and overcome any anxiety or psychological withdrawal, and the subsequent external regulation inflicted by such controllers which would have undermined Jack's autonomous regulation. To this end, Jack's experiences of autonomy are closely related to his strong sense of competence. Jack highlights that his role is challenging, yet his confidence in his own ability is constantly increasing. For Ryan Gagné and Deci (2005), this indicates that Jack's need for competence is being satisfied as he feels increasingly capable of mastering the tasks and challenges that he is frequently faced with. Ryan and Deci (2007) would add that this element of the SUNEE project presents Jack with an 'optimal challenge', one that is realistically attainable yet not simple or uninteresting and therefore encourages persistence and self-determination. A further competence boosting aspect of Jack's experiences is the effectance promoting feedback which he receives from a number of clients, individuals which Jack believes recognise the difficult job he is undertaking but who he also implies acknowledge the good work he is doing (White, 1959; Deci and Ryan, 2002; Markland and Vansteenkiste, 2007). This combination of the satisfaction of the needs for autonomy and competence is extremely important here as Ryan and Deci (2000a) reiterate that intrinsic motivation can only be enhanced under the satiation of both needs.

These intrinsic motivational indicators also suggest the presence of three fundamental dimensions of the flow phenomenon. Firstly, a sense of control is an important aspect of the flow experience as it provides the participant with feelings of empowerment which instil the confidence that they can execute the challenging tasks (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). However, Csikszentmihalyi expounds that possessing this sense is 'more a condition of not being worried by the possibility of lack of control' (1975a:50). Jack demonstrates such a sense of control by highlighting his growing confidence as well as outlining his position as a leader, what is more, Jack is also aware of the difficult and unruly nature of the his client group and appears less phased by the probability of the odd one stepping out of line. Secondly, according to Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi

(1999) the most important dimension of flow is the challenge-skills balance. As alluded to earlier, the challenges faced by participants, without being impossible, must stretch the boundaries of their skill level so to extend the person to new, unprecedented levels of experience. The third feature is that Jack describes receiving unambiguous feedback from clients, which reinforces his performance and positive psychological state (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi, 1999).

Lastly, Jack also states that he has been able to 'integrate' himself with the clients, describing that the social dynamics amongst the group have become 'informal' and 'relaxed', and that together the group enjoys a 'laugh' together. This suggests that Mark feels a sense of relatedness to the group, a satisfying relationship which he attributes as his main reason for enjoying his involvement on the project. Deci and Ryan (2002) point out that such a sense of connectedness helps to foster an internal perceived locus of causality and thus promotes intrinsic motivation. To this end, Jack's experiences on the project appear to appease the triumvirate of psychological needs as outlined by the SDT and provide an autonomy-supportive and intrinsic motivating climate.

In a similar developmental process to Jack, Becki reports that she gradually gained more responsibility during the project as time elapsed and as she continued to volunteer. This increasing responsibility coincided with incremental feelings of autonomy, competence and relatedness as illustrated in the passages below:

> I kind of did more and more schemes I got a bit more involved, and now I'm leading the Prince's Trust Sessions. So I try and give Karen [SDO] feedback into what sports things should be in it; I control, I try and organise what sports we're going to do with the sports centre, lead the teams around. I'm kind of in charge of the volunteers, so making sure they're in the right place at the right time, the right equipment's set up.
>
> Yeah, they kind of, and they're crucial; and Karen, the king pin who runs these sessions, she's good at it too because it's quite difficult, it's quite a challenge, I think, we all found that volunteer is difficult in the start to get the balance right, we didn't know whether we were being teachers, we didn't know whether we were being their mates, we didn't know quite what our role was. But the way Karen acts with them is kind of showing us what to do; she needs to be firm with them, like we are now.
>
> Over the past few weeks we've had the same volunteers, so, we've all got a lot closer, we were all quite a nice little team, and it's been quite good; so it's just generally been a better, better set up really, and Karen's taken a step back as well, she's letting us run it more now.
>
> I feel more confident now leading people I don't know because when you kind of get to know the same people, it becomes quite comfortable. Whereas, coming to this and teaching, especially when the groups change quite frequently, like we had last, last week, the week before, we had another half a group come in with the normal group, so it was getting to know them again, and new people, it's quite, quite a challenge, yeah, it's a good challenge, yeah.
>
> Becki, University B

Becki's response illustrates that as her confidence and ability to coach and lead developed her supervisor took a step back and allowed her to take more control of the sessions. This suggests that the passing on of responsibilities from the supervisor to her provided a means of effectance promoting feedback which reinforced her performance, boosting her self-efficacy. This also allowed Becki to step into a position of authority allowing her to feel in control, thus enhancing her sense of autonomy. Moreover, Becki highlights the close-knit relationship that she shares with her fellow student volunteers, an aspect which represents a strong sense of relatedness and a factor which Deci and Ryan (1985; 2008) insist promotes autonomous regulation, self-determination and intrinsic motivation.

Like Jack, the same three dimensions of flow can be detected from Becki's statement. The sense of control and the instances of immediate feedback have already been described when referring above to the SDT and further demonstrate the close relationship between intrinsic motivation and the flow state. However, Becki additionally implies that the challenge-skills balance is essential to optimal

experience as not only does she describe the challenges to her coaching and leadership that she has had to adapt to, she also comments that the frequent changes in client groups that she has had to deal with prevent her from becoming 'comfortable' and present a constant 'good challenge', constantly forcing her to adapt. This illustrates the 'optimal' challenge as described in flow theory and which is also referred to in the SDT (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975b; Deci and Ryan, 1985; Jackson and Cikszentmihalyi, 1999).

The comments provided by both Jack and Becki are characteristic of the experiences and processes undergone by the majority of student volunteers that were interviewed and contributed to the maintenance and development of their motivation and coaching ability, and of equal salience, their retention and perseverance on the project. The following examples further reinforce the mechanisms outlined in the SDT and that facilitate self-determination and intrinsically orientated behaviour.

The following passage provides an example of how the satisfaction of the needs for autonomy and competence can complement one another:

> Jim and Karen (SDOs) have started giving us more of an active role. Normally we would just, like I said, just join in and normally just sit on the side or just supervise the children, but now we get designated hours and Sarah emails us and say right, you've got the first hour and you've got this area, what do you want to do? So, I think it's been easier from the start of this semester because there's been a new group and you do feel more confident because you've had experience with them all last year, and then with my coaching qualification as well, I think it's just made me a bit more confident to sort of design new games and rules, and sort of be a bit more authoritative with them, so they listen to you a bit more.
>
> Gemma, University B

Similarly to Becki, Gemma explains that once she had gained a requisite amount of experience coaching and working with children she was given a more 'active role' in leading activities and designing certain games. Gemma's mentors ensured that her responsibilities were reasonably parallel to the level of experience that she had accrued. This linear relationship appeared to maintain an optimal skills-to-challenge balance which elicited a gradual progression in both her sense of competence and confidence.

Moreover, Aaron indicates that his need for competence was regulated in receipt of effectance promoting feedback from his client group:

> It's sort of like rewarding in a way, because actually showing that my knowledge is quite valuable to these guys is quite... it's rewarding like to find out they're watching me and actually thinking, whoa, he knows what he's doing. So it's just rewarding for me to do something like that. So that's my intrinsic reward; it's the feeling inside as well.
>
> Aaron, University C

This unambiguous feedback perceived by Aaron has a flow-like quality to it, a feeling which he described as an 'intrinsic reward', a 'feeling inside' – terms further suggesting the positive internal regulation of the activity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975b; Ryan and Deci, 2000a; 2000b).

In a similar vein, Rick enthusiastically implies that the strong feelings of competence that he receives from working alongside and as an equal to highly qualified and well respected professional coaches underpins the intrinsic satisfaction that he derives from volunteering on the project:

> The main thing that sticks out for me is just… um, when I'm volunteering, it doesn't feel like work. Ah, I can't believe that like, for example, for the sessions, I'm working with a coach. But it's got to the point now where he doesn't treat me as a student volunteer, he treats me as a fellow coach, and that's… that's the thing that sticks in my head. That I'm allowed to go in and coach these people that I've really enjoyed coaching, and it's just fantastic really.
>
> Rick, University D

Here, Rick intimates that his needs for competence are met by both the effectance promoting feedback that he has earned his position as a trusted coach and that this position provides him with freedom from demeaning evaluation from superiors and/or subordinates.

To highlight how the satisfaction of the need for relatedness promoted volunteer retention, below Joey explains that his motives for remaining on the programme were entirely different to those that he entered it for. Joey explains that one of the main reasons that he continued to volunteer was due to the connectedness and

friendships that he enjoyed with his fellow volunteers:

> I kept going because I made so many new friends quickly like amongst the students and then had great banter with the lads who were there, like. So I would say the reasons why I went are completely different to why I kept going… So, I've come across people who, like they've got similar mentalities and things to me, and who obviously, like me, I'm getting a lot out of it myself, but are willing to put time into other things and are interested in things beyond themselves. So I've come across people who are like like-minded to me, like I've made some really good friends out of it, and that's been a huge positive.
>
> Joey, University A

On the other side of the coin to Joey, Stuart (below) comments that a host of unforeseen opportunities emerged for him to develop a sense of relatedness with his clients:

> On the coaching courses I do, for the professional development, some of the clients are also on as well, so I get a bit more rapport with them. I didn't expect that. I didn't think they'd be on the same courses, but it's benefitting in a way because they get to see more of me and learn more about me, and I get to learn more about them and build that relationship up a lot stronger… It was strange being in the same boat at first, but they were absolutely great, and it benefitted me massively, like, because I got to learn a lot more about them and understand them a lot more.
>
> Stuart, University C

In this passage Stuart suggests that the opportunity to attend a number of formal courses alongside some of the clients that he coaches allowed him to develop an understanding and rapport with them which ultimately benefitted his coaching of those groups. Stuart also infers here that the sense of relatedness that he received from gaining an insight into the backgrounds and personalities of the clients facilitated the internalisation of his motives, attaching greater value to his voluntary commitments which subsequently heightened the inherent pleasure that he received from working with these groups.

5.6 Threats to Autonomy and Inhibitors to Intrinsic Motivation

At this stage, the chapter will highlight a host of scenarios encountered by various interviewees that threatened to undermine their self-determination and commitment to volunteer. The following experiences therefore reveal a series of caveats with which to inform and guide future strategies for the management of volunteer motivation and concomitant retention.

In the following example, Joey suggests that he is eager to take on more responsibility within the football coaching sessions and implies that his basic duties and lack of both progression and freedom to impose his own ideas and activities in the sessions might be causing his motivation to wane:

> So the role that I've taken really to begin with was just joining in with the football sessions, not really doing any coaching. Um, just shadowing the coach really, and just being one of the lads. But as the time's gone on I've taken on a little bit more responsibility. I think one of the things, um, - I'll just pre-empt one of your questions – but we've not really been given very much responsibility so far. I'm not sure whether it's me who hasn't said to them, please, I want to take two sessions myself, but now I feel like I've been doing it for six months I'd like to take on more responsibility and deliver maybe one or two of the football training sessions, or part of it anyway.
>
> Joey, University A

Joey's comments here indicate that his needs for competence and autonomy are going unfulfilled and threatening to cause a backward shift on the SDT continuum towards a more externally regulated and controlled motivational anchor (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). Furthermore, Csikszentmihalyi (1975b) would suggest here that Joey is experiencing a skills-challenge imbalance in which his perceived skill level outweighs the difficulty of his volunteer roles and tasks. As a consequence, this situation is likely to stifle any opportunities within which to experience flow and subsequently fortify the intrinsic reward of the voluntary role, instead inducing boredom and disinterest.

Furthermore, Joey adds that a lot of new volunteers are 'thrown in at the deep end' when they enter the project, a statement which in itself suggests that the challenge

presented by the role may outweigh certain students' own perceived ability level and undermine their sense of competence:

> I think um, because I've worked, like I've coached before and I've worked with some groups similar to these, not the same, but I kind of knew what to expect. But I think it probably puts off a lot of students perhaps to be thrown in at the deep end…
>
> Joey, University A

Dominic echoes Joey's exact words, reinforcing the trend that new volunteers were typically 'thrown in at the deep end' and offers a brief insight as to why:

> I think, um… well, as students, we were sort of thrown in the deep end a bit. They didn't really introduce the, um, sort of, programme to us. There was no training. So we didn't know what to expect, you know?
>
> Dominic, University A

In this example, Dominic comments that as a new volunteer he was not 'introduced' to the programme inferring that he received no insight into the exact nature of the client groups and no form of training on how to approach them. Dominic and Joey's responses highlight either/or a lack of support/guidance and a perceived lack of experience as potential sources of anxiety for new volunteers, factors which are likely to forestall autonomous motivation and need satisfaction, subsequently hindering their drive to persevere (Standage, Gillison, and Treasure, 2007).

Joey goes on to identify a further problem which he experienced in the early stages of the programme, one which he highlights may have detrimental effects upon the motivation of new student volunteers. Joey reveals that upon entering the programme in which he was involved, both himself and the new student volunteers were not formally introduced to the client groups, a situation which made an already 'daunting' prospect perhaps unnecessarily more 'awkward':

> The biggest problem for me – it's just a little thing – but my first session, second session, third session, I was never introduced to anyone. Like I was introduced to the people who run it, but then when I came along the lads didn't know if I was a student, if I was a client. I mean, it's not a big problem, but it's slightly awkward, and it's just a little thing, but I think that would make the biggest difference, if when the students came along, if they said, right, we've got Jack coming along. He's helping this week… I think that would just, that would make it a lot, a lot easier on that first day, because I think some students, it can be really daunting, like it was for me, if I'm honest. Um, and it could put some people off if they go there once and they're not introduced to people.
>
> Joey, University A

According to Joey, this system had immediate and detrimental implications for the student volunteers' need for relatedness. As Baumeister and Leary (1995) point out, if an individual with a high intrinsic need for relatedness, a need which can be inferred from previous contributions by Joey, finds it difficult to strike an accord with those around them or feel like they do not belong, then they are likely to lose confidence and become anxious. Consequently, if an individual feels uninvolved and/or lacks a sense of connectedness to another person or the group then they are susceptible to an external shift on the SDT continuum and as a worst case scenario experience amotivation and withdraw from the project (Ryan, Deci and Grolnick, 1995; Ryan and Deci, 2000b). On a positive note however, Baumeister and Leary (1995) state that if an individual with a high need to belong should experience a scenario as that outlined above by Joey, then they are inclined to respond, at least in the early stages, by making a concerted, goal directed effort to form relationships before succumbing to the effects of distress and dropping out. After participating on the project for six months it would appear Joey managed to break the ice and develop a sense of connectedness with both clients and fellow student volunteers. Ruth also reports experiencing a similar situation and describes below a technique she used to overcome the unfriendly atmosphere that she faced at the outset:

> I talked a lot... When you first go in they'll like look at you but they won't talk to you. You just like have to work your way around the group and chat to everyone, and you make sure you don't just focus on one person. Um and get like groups of them together, and chat to them then… You do see the change a lot in the programme… It takes time and it takes patience but they do warm to you.
>
> Ruth, University A

On a similar yet more concerning level, Rory (below), who coaches on a Street League programme, explains of an incident involving him and a client:

> Oh, no, I feel I've got to be very careful what I say like, because I mean, as I said to Robbo (SDO/ lead coach), I says, look, I says, because one of them had a problem with me, so I said, well, I don't... I mean, I'm only a student at the end of the day so I don't know what to say to them, you know, because I can be harsh with them, I says, but I don't know what he's going to do with me at the end of the day. I says, you know, I don't know what his background is. I says, I don't know what he's done… he could have stabbed someone, he could have done anything, so I might get in his face the way you do because I don't know him. I says, at the end of the day I don't think I deserve to have that happen to me, you know, because I'm there to try and help them and they should understand that. But, you know, obviously, you know, with the drugs, they don't realise that or understand it or they're just ignorant of the fact that we're there to help them.
>
> Rory, University E

This confrontation clearly caused some anxiety for Rory and provides a prominent example of the type of challenging behaviour faced by some of the student volunteers (it must be stressed here that incidents of this seriousness were few and far between). Baumeister and Leary (1995) suggest that such intimidating behaviour can be extremely damaging to an individual's sense of relatedness and can cause great distress, ultimately serving to demotivate that person. Csikszentmihalyi (1978) refers to the type of malaise as seemingly evoked in Rory as a result of this incident, as psychic entropy. For Csikszentmihaly (1988), psychic entropy is a state experienced by the individual which conflicts with their individual goals, and that disrupts the teleonomic hierarchy. This 'noise' is experienced as anxiety, fear and similar nuances which cause disorder in consciousness thus impairing potential flow opportunities (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988:22).

Unlike Rory however, there are those student volunteers who drop out of the project as a consequence of intimidating behaviour such as that outlined above:

> We've had new volunteers come and they… I don't want to say that… but if you don't have confidence in what you're doing, they will sense it and they will eat you alive. It's as simple as that. They won't, they won't listen to you. But, yeah, we've had people that have come along and spent one session with the clients… and they realise oh, I can't be with these guys, simple as that, and walk away.
>
> Craig, University D

Although none of the students interviewed in this research dropped out of the project or chose to discontinue prematurely, yet some do mention instances when other volunteers decide to drop out. In the majority of these examples, the students that drop out do so early into their involvement with the project. The examples provided by Rory and Craig not only highlight a lack of relatedness as a threat to motivation but also demonstrate the inextricable relationship it often shares with the need for (or lack of) competence with the former confessing 'I don't know what to say to them' and the latter suggesting that clients 'will eat you alive' and 'they won't listen to you' if they detect a lack of confidence from the new recruits. Rory's reasons for volunteering represent identified regulation and fortunately he was able to gain enough satisfaction and need fulfilment from his role on the programme to maintain his motivation and persevere. Amiot, Gaudreau and Blanchard (2004) posit that it is more typical of individuals like Rory, who present higher levels of self-determination, to successfully employ positive coping strategies in stressful situations. Ryan and Connell (1989) attribute greater interest, enjoyment and alignment with personal goals as key factors linking this trend to individuals exhibiting identified regulation. It can be argued here that some of the possible reasons for volunteers dropping out of the project in the early stages may have been that their initial motives to volunteer lay further to the left of Rory's (on the SDT continuum), reflecting more externally controlled forces and suggesting that they were simply overwhelmed by a lack of relatedness and competence. For those whose initial motives were more internalised and self-determined, and who chose to drop out early on, a similar picture could be painted, suggesting that a challenge-skills imbalance and/or a lack of a sense of connectedness provoked an externally orientated motivational shift along the SDT continuum, forestalling intrinsic satisfaction and curtailing volunteer retention.

5.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to study student volunteers' original motives to volunteer and to plot their motivational development over the course of their participation in the SUNEE project. To do this, Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self-Determination Theory was employed to gauge and explain the psychological processes undergone by students and which contributed to their motivational development, maintenance or indeed regression. Investigating the motivational progression of students enabled this research to identify and understand specific conditions and factors which serve to facilitate versus forestall motivation and which are therefore responsible for volunteer recruitment, retention, and conversely, their disengagement.

This chapter argues that the SUNEE project offers a site through which the source and development of student motivation to volunteer can be traced and explicated when interpreted through the SDT framework. The findings revealed throughout this chapter demonstrate that the majority of students on the SUNEE project volunteer in order to ready themselves for the paid jobs market and ease their transition into the workplace, and simultaneously to gain work-related experience or the transferable skills that they perceive may facilitate their access into either employment or further formal training opportunities. However, the chapter goes on to contend that the experiences accrued by the students that volunteer in the SUNEE project over the course of their involvement can serve to facilitate their motivational development beyond the pursuit of such instrumentalities as gaining qualifications and work experience, and toward an intrinsically sourced sense of satisfaction which underlies commitment and retention. This chapter therefore argues that motivational transition of student volunteers is governed by the length of time they have served the project – in short, the greater the length of time that a participant has dedicated, the greater the likelihood that their motivation will become internalised and enduring.

The case made here is that the SDT provides a reliable framework with which to assess and measure the influence of students' SUNEE experiences and to subsequently utilise this data to inform the design, organisation and manipulation of the social environment and structural set-up of the project to optimize the motivational development, performance, commitment and retention to the project of this volunteer pool. The critical issue here, is the unearthing and harnessing of the features and mechanisms experienced by student volunteers which elicit a shift away from the externally regulated behaviour that initially moves students to volunteer in the anticipation of reward contingencies, and which ultimately serve to promote autonomous regulation and intrinsic motivation. Such positive motivational outcomes present a raft of potential benefits to both stakeholders and the broader community. First, the greater the commitment volunteers have to the project often equates to the degree of progression and responsibility that they experience, developmental factors which they perceive as commensurate with their prospects for employability. Second, intrinsic motivation is associated with enjoyment and satisfaction and is purported to translate into positive well-being for volunteers. Third, those individuals who are intrinsically motivated are typically associated with higher levels of retention, a factor which is vital to the sustainability of volunteer-led projects such as SUNEE. Fourth, the development of intrinsic motivation within projects such as SUNEE and concomitant participant commitment and retention to the cause increases the likelihood that those individuals will choose to volunteer on unrelated programmes and initiatives in the future, benefitting the community and society as a whole.

A motivational construct conceived and applied within the field of psychology, SDT has traditionally been investigated using laboratory based methods to test related hypotheses under contrived settings, whereas the current research, in adopting a grounded approach, draws strong parallels between the mechanisms pertaining to SDT and pre-collected research data. This chapter therefore makes the case that the SDT has the flexibility and versatility, as well as the conceptual rigour with which to be adapted into and interpreted through a sociological apparatus for the study of motivation in a variety of settings – with its emphasis within the current

research placed upon volunteer motivation.

Finally, this chapter suggests that the conditions conducive to intrinsic motivation, as implied by the student volunteers, are also precursors to flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). Flow, or optimal experience, is a highly enjoyable and deeply satisfying psychological state that occurs when an individual becomes completely immersed in the moment. Flow occurs when an individual is intrinsically motivated and therefore requires similar conditions within which to flourish, such as when the participant feels in control and perceives a given activity as an optimal challenge. Flow has an addictive quality which causes individuals to seek to replicate the sensation via the pursuit of activities which they perceive possess similar characteristics to previous flow experiences. This finding further underlines the importance of facilitating intrinsic motivation in volunteers – so that they continue to volunteer on projects both in the present and in future. As a final point, McGinnis, Gentry and Gao (2008) posit that flow may be an antecedent to communitas which, as will be further discussed in Chapter Six, supports the formation of relationships and friendships amongst diverse individuals – raising further the salience of utilising well-considered strategies for motivational development when planning projects similar to that of SUNEE.

6

A Rite Way to Make Friends

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter drew on Deci and Ryan's (1985a) Self-Determination Theory (SDT) to interpret and index both initial student motivations to volunteer on SUNEE and also the impact of the project on their motivational development over the course of their participation. The purpose of undertaking such motivational assessment was to uncover the social-contextual conditions and structural features of the coaching programmes which served to either facilitate or forestall intrinsic motivation, leading to either volunteer retention or oppositely participant disengagement. To this end, the SDT provided a useful tool with which to understand the factors which induce students to volunteer as well as those processes which contribute to their sustained commitment, lending insight into effective volunteer management and project design. The evidence compiled within the previous chapter also points towards episodes of flow that were experienced by students who presented intrinsically motivated behaviour. Flow, or optimal experience, is a deeply satisfying experience that occurs when an individual is in complete harmony with their environment (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). Flow is said to be an antecedent to communitas, the sense of togetherness and belonging that emerges among diverse individuals experiencing social transition (Turner, 1969). This concept of communitas and its role in the student volunteers' retention is explored in greater depth throughout the current chapter.

The purpose of this chapter therefore, is to study more closely the 'crises' and transitions that student volunteers experienced from their inception in the programme, to the forming of solid and cohesive relations with the clients. The investigation of such social processes lends further insight into the functional

dynamics of the programmes over time and of equal salience, the collectively inclusive and individually edifying nature of the SUNEE project. The processes of liminality that take place between the ordeals and integration of participants, and the events beyond, build on the themes of the previous chapter and shed further light on the mechanisms which underpin volunteer persistence and promote student retention in the project. More specifically, this chapter connects with the concept of or need for relatedness, and the ways in which the establishment of friendships and social bonds with the client groups helped to develop students' commitment to the project. The liminal challenges faced by student volunteers over the course of their involvement on SUNEE, borne out of an initial lack of relatedness with the client groups, evoke feelings of anxiety and distress. As well as emphasising the importance of social connectedness in volunteer retention and well-being, the concepts of liminality and communitas presented within this chapter highlight the implications that a lack of social connectedness can hold for feelings of autonomy and competence, and conversely that these two needs can find nourishment in relatedness.

To reiterate, the voluntary opportunities offered to students by the SUNEE project impose upon them a range of novel social experiences which place them outside of their typical, everyday environments and into surroundings that are significantly differentiated to those which they are accustomed. Drawing from the field of social anthropology and influenced particularly by the work of Victor Turner (1969) and also Arnold van Gennep (1909), the conceptual framework of liminality will be applied here to contextualise the transitional social processes undergone by student volunteers as they pass from one stable state to another during the course of their participation in the SUNEE project. This chapter will examine the changing relations between student volunteers and 'hard to reach' clients throughout this transitory process, and in particular the emergence of communitas, a phenomenon which served as a powerful mechanism of integration (Turner, 1969). The application of liminality then, will serve to further elucidate the processes underlying volunteer persistence and retention that occur as students experience

challenges to, and the gaining of, membership and status amongst the client groups.

6.2 A Fragmented Society

The conditions that once existed to bond and unite whole communities have long dissipated as economic upheaval has increasingly impinged upon the social space resulting in the breakdown of traditional communities and the disenfranchisement of those individuals that once belonged to them (Power and Wilson, 2000; Wilcox and Andrews, 2003; Erickson et al., 2009). As a consequence of the processes of industrialisation and subsequently deindustrialisation, society has become fragmented and segmental as sociality is confined to distinct sub-communities and social categories (Ingham and McDonald, 2003). The impact of postindustrialisation is especially apposite within and around the towns and cities of the North East of England where the current study is based.

In addition to the socioeconomic inequalities that serve to segregate social categories, Sennett adds that by design, man-made physical environments such as the sweeping cityscapes, function to 'wall off' differences between people, differences typically perceived as mutually threatening (1990:xii). Spaces that once operated as social hubs have now become neutralized, built rather than peopled to 'remove the threat of social contact' (Sennett, 1990: xii). Ingham and McDonald reinforce this notion with the example that the urban realm consists of the 'mobility frozen poor' and the 'socially dead' business class, two disparate groups frequently present within the inner city yet who rarely cross paths during the course of a working week (2003:29).

Despite these changes to the urban make-up, there are those authors who highlight contemporary opportunities and scenarios which offer the potential to unite and bond people across structural and socioeconomic boundaries. The work of Turner (1974) for example, suggests that those who embark on pilgrimages are likely to

develop a strong sense of community. In the main, Turner's (1974) studies pertain to preliterate and preindustrial societies, yet there is valid representation of such pursuits in post-modern society. For example, research by Wallace (2006) refers to non-paid volunteers as modern day pilgrims; degraded, disenfranchised and alienated by the contemporary occupational roles available to them these volunteers seek highly skilled yet unpaid labour in order to fulfil a sense of self-worth. There is crossover here with the SUNEE project, for in their pursuit of vocational experience and qualifications, and/or a desire to contribute to society and the wider social agenda, student volunteers are able to build relationships with, and establish a sense of community across a diverse range of individuals and groups.

Moreover, Rowe (2008) argues that sporting events and activities have vast potential to nurture shared feelings of commonality and solidarity by encouraging a range of behaviour and expression which is largely inhibited by the boundaries of contemporary daily life. Similarly, Ingham and McDonald (2003) pose the concept of the civic ritual – a festival, public event, or sporting fixture – occasions that represent symbolic rituals and which they perceive as ideological vehicles for civic regeneration. According to Ingham and McDonald (2003), civic events have the potential to elicit communal bonding by submerging individuals and sub-communities through the ritual experience which can ultimately help to establish interactive channels across an entire community. However, Ingham and McDonald (2003) point out that many civic rituals are often devised to mask the lack of structural reform within society and that the spontaneous generation of social unity and togetherness as products of such events is all too fleeting and consequently an unsustainable basis for community under the current structure.

Furthermore, in recent times sport has been increasingly promoted as a vehicle through which to pursue social ends such as community regeneration and social inclusion. A number of sports-based policy initiatives have moved away from the conventional 'diversionary' and sport development centred programmes, adopting instead a sport-based social inclusion philosophy (Home Office: 2003:6). Leading

the way in this area has been the Positive Futures programme which is referred to as a 'relationship strategy' (Smith and Waddington, 2004). Funded by the Home Office, the Positive Futures programme operates in some of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the UK and uses sport and other activities to establish relationships with young people who have become alienated and marginalised from the mainstream (Crabbe, 2008). Fundamental to the success of the Positive Futures programme is the establishment of trust in these 'hard to reach' young people (Crabbe, 2008).

As stressed by Crabbe, the impact of the relationships created across such programmes cannot be 'measured' in a 'finite, quantifiable sense' (2008:18). However, this chapter provides a conceptual process with which to evaluate the impact of the SUNEE project upon the relationships experienced and established from the perspective of the student volunteers, as well as the changing dynamic of those relations throughout the course of their participation. This adds to the understanding of volunteering by exploring how the construction and strengthening of social bonds enhances students' commitment to SUNEE and subsequent retention.

The preface thus far would suggest that the SUNEE project represents an opportunity to generate or manufacture 'community' and civic spirit under a novel (structural and cultural) set of circumstances amongst socially disparate groups. What follows in this chapter is an exploration of the social and transitional processes undergone by the student volunteers whilst operating alongside the 'hard to reach' clients, as well as an examination of the shared experiences and the degree of unity established between the two groups during these processes. This chapter will lend insight into the (profound) effects of a medium-to-long term sports based outreach programme upon student volunteers and the level of sustainability and communitarian potentiality such effects possess.

6.3 Liminality

As Wallace (2006) suggests, participation in the SUNEE project exposes student volunteers to a set of conditions which are outside of, and significantly different from those that they experience in their everyday milieu. Drawing from the field of social anthropology, the conceptual framework of liminality will be applied to interpret the transitional processes that the student volunteers undergo as they move from membership in one group to membership in another. This will help to illustrate how the challenges and crises presented to students by the social environment drive their perseverance on the SUNEE project rather than their abandoning of it, as well as how the social bonds formed with clients as a result of subsequent integrative processes serve to sustain volunteer participation in the project.

The concept of liminality originated in the work of French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep (1909) and his studies into the ritual processes of establishing membership in tribal societies. Van Gennep was interested in the 'movement of individuals and societies through time and with the mechanisms which promote social stability in times of change' (Tinto, 1988:440). Van Gennep was particularly concerned with the transitional processes that accompanied rites of passage and the 'life crises' that they evoked as individuals passed from membership in one group or status to another, and how such passages served to effectively revitalize and stabilise those communities and societies within which they were an integral component (van Gennep, 1960; Tinto, 1988). Some fifty years on and heavily influenced by van Gennep's *rites de passage*, the British Anthropologist Victor Turner (1969; 1974; 1982; 1985) emerged as a leading commentator on the subject exploring a myriad of religious and/or tribal ritual processes before applying it within vastly diverse and secularised Western processes and customs, particularly in performance genres such as festivals, theatre, film, television, and sports events, and indeed literature. The schema laid out in *rites de passage* provided a heuristic framework through which Turner would explore symbolic social action. Turner was to expand and

reapply the central phase of van Gennep's schema, terming his own adaptation of these transitional rites as *liminality*.

For van Gennep and Turner, society is open-ended and reflects a process through which human beings alternate between fixed and 'floating worlds' (Turner, 1969: vii). These liminal interludes accompany an individual's every change of place, state or social position as they make the transition from one social status to the next (van Gennep, 1960). Turner's liminality, and indeed van Gennep's rites of passage, therefore describes a temporary breach of structure, a break with the roles, routines and constraints of normative reality. In framing this notion Turner (1969) subscribes to two models of human interrelatedness which he describes as juxtaposed and alternating. The first represents structure, a hierarchical or socioeconomically classified and highly differentiated model; the second model is termed 'anti-structure', emerging during a liminal scenario, it takes a relatively undifferentiated and unstructured format (Turner, 1969).

The central tenet of van Gennep's work is the 'tripartite movement in space-time' of individuals as they pass from one stable condition to another (Turner, 1974:13). For van Gennep, all rites of passage consist of three consecutive phases: 'separation (*séparation*), transition (*marge*) and incorporation (*aggrégation*)' (1960: vii, 11). The first phase of separation (preliminal rites) signifies the spatial detachment of an individual or group from their normative state – 'a fixed point in the social structure or from an established set of cultural conditions' (Turner, 1974: 232). During the intervening transitional or marginal period (liminal rites) the initiand's status becomes ambiguous as they pass through a symbolic domain which has little or none of the attributes of his/her previous or coming states (Turner, 1967; 1974). In the re/aggregation phase (postliminal rites) the passage is consummated as the liminar (passenger) is incorporated into the norms, customs and ethical standards of their new status, his/her condition becomes stable once more (Turner, 1969). As the subject re-enters the social structure they do so with a new identity which is compatible with their new status in that community.

Considered as a whole, the successful departure from liminality and reincorporation into society requires the consecutive passage through all three of its sub-categories (van Gennep, 1960). However, van Gennep (1960) stresses that depending on the ritual or the event, each of the phases of liminality are unlikely to share equal significance, with one sub-category likely to be more protracted and prominent than the other two (van Gennep, 1960). Additionally, both Kimball (1960) and Tinto (1988:440) propose that van Gennep's schema of passage during such rituals and ceremonies would translate more appropriately to 'dynamics of the rites of transition' due to the relationship between 'process' and 'structure' upon which it is predicated.

The liminal, or transitional stage of liminality, is frequently referred to as a 'threshold' as it derives from the Latin term *limen* (van Gennep, 1960: 21; Turner, 1974:232). Consequently, neophytes have come to be termed 'threshold people' or liminal personae when translated from the Latin (Turner, 1969: 95). This notion of threshold is of great significance to both Turner and van Gennep as it presents an interim in which liminars are set adrift of any structural moorings. Turner famously describes individuals who are experiencing this condition of statuslessness as being 'betwixt and between' secular distinctions and social positions, 'betwixt and between all fixed points of classification' (1974:232). It is this limbo inducing function of liminality and the profound uncertainty it evokes which enables this process of transition to transcend classifications of rank, status and hierarchy. As secular distinctions subside or become homogenised, conditions of egalitarianism and togetherness prevail amongst liminars (Turner, 1969).

Liminality provokes an ontological and epistemic shift in the neophyte, assimilated with new understandings they begin to deconstruct what they know, the common sense assumptions they once held, and 'the meaningfulness of ordinary life' (Turner, 1977:68; Cousin, 2006a). As the novice becomes inculcated in the ways of a new discipline and the language of their new community they begin to see structure from a novel perspective and one which arouses conflict with previous knowledge and modes of understanding. During liminality, neophytes are

suspended between a state of partial understanding and ambiguity, struggling to accept what is new and counterintuitive to them they are also beginning to question and reject previously taken for granted knowledge. Land, Meyer and Baillie refer to such a state as a 'stuck place' (2010: x) in which subjects are neither here nor there. Brueggemann eloquently describes this phase of liminality as a 'time when the old configurations of social reality are increasingly seen to be in jeopardy, but new alternatives are not yet in hand' (1995: 319-320).

Once immersed in liminality, neophytes start to discover a fresh outlook on the social world, meet new and diverse peers and develop novel ways of interacting with them. As Cousin highlights, 'we are what we know' and once liminars learn something new it begins to shape their perspective, redefining past and preconceived notions, thought processes and behaviours (2006b: 4). Liminalty therefore exposes the interrelatedness of individuals, prompting the neophyte to make connections with other human beings which were otherwise hidden from common view (Turner, 1969; Cousin, 2006a). The concept of transition is underpinned by the discoveries that the process foments, as once knowledge has been uncovered an individual is not likely to forget it or revert to superannuated notions.

To escape this 'stuck place', liminars must therefore overcome the troublesome knowledge emanating from a discourse which is alien to them. What is more, the initiand must develop a mastery of the customs and features of their future environment by internalising a whole gamut of characteristics and traits which are implicitly derived from the repository of cultural attitudes, norms, values, and relationships that are active among their community of fellow liminars (Turner, 1969; Land, Meyer and Baillie, 2010).

This transitional period represents the optimal window for neophytes to become refashioned and retooled, shedding any outmoded views and norms, and to acquire new knowledge and skills, all whilst developing an intense comradeship and unity with their fellow initiands (Turner, 1969; Tinto, 1988; Wallace, 2006). Van Gennep

(1960) states that to cross the 'threshold' is to unite with a new world and to successfully do so is to sever all customs pertaining to a liminar's previous structure, purifying the neophyte so that they do not contaminate their new world. Only when the novice has mastered the ways and workings of the new community or their new status, and is unencumbered by past mentalities can they cross the threshold into this 'new realm' and become successfully reconstituted and integrated into their new social domain. Only when this transformation is complete will members of the neophyte's ingoing community recognise and accept them into the collective group as one of their own or into their newly designated status. Only when this adjustment is complete will the novice have successfully departed liminality.

As Meyer, Land and Baillie (2010) iterate, the window from separation to transformation may be sudden or it may be protracted depending on the student and the 'hard to reach' groups they are involved with.

The function of liminality therefore, is to promote inclusion and membership within a community in order to generate and sustain social stability across all generations, classes and ranks within that community. The process of liminality provides a mechanism with which to transmit the beliefs, norms and relationships that are unique to a community or particular social status upon the neophyte. Each rite, ritual, or liminal event serves to rejuvenate and revitalise society by conferring novel socio-political roles upon subjects, the highlighting of new responsibilities, eliciting original patterns of interaction and interpersonal growth, and the forming of new bonds between members. Such liminal events and ritual processes enable younger members to assume responsibility for the older ones, the more privileged members to actively support the disadvantaged ones, and the community as a whole to assist strangers to cope with similar adjustments in the future (Tinto, 1988).

6.4 Liminality in SUNEE

Liminal processes are not exclusive to preliterate and/or tribal cultures but highly applicable to any individual or group undergoing or experiencing a social change. Although van Gennep's (1960) work on rites of passage was restricted to ritual, he advocated that his paradigm would be applicable to many extra-ritual processes. Turner sustains van Gennep's sentiments, extending from Les Rites de Passage that liminality refers to 'any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life' and one that can readily become a sacred event (1974: 47). What follows is an application of liminality to the experiences of student volunteers over the course of their involvement on the SUNEE project. This account therefore documents the transitional and integrative processes volunteers new and old undergo as they attempt to 'bed-in' to the project and establish supportive and prosocial relationships with both new and established 'hard to reach' clients.

6.4.1 "Betwixt and Between"

The SUNEE project, places student volunteers in unfamiliar, and often intimidating and uncomfortable social environments as they endeavour to support, lead and coach 'hard to reach' groups across a variety sports. Such scenarios bear a strong resemblance to liminal characteristics by presenting student volunteers with numerous social, psychological and emotional challenges and ordeals that they are unlikely to have previously encountered (Turner, 1969). As a consequence, the large majority of students revealed that they felt nervous and anxious, or even scared prior to, and in the early stages of working with some of the client groups involved with the project, feelings which served to induce a psychological crisis in the neophytes. To further illustrate this experience, Jonny and Janith comment below that they were both acutely aware of the range of backgrounds that the client groups hailed from and that some possess criminal records and have a history of deviance, knowledge which proved daunting and unsettling for volunteers:

> We were… I'll be honest. Obviously we were nervous, and I think the reason we were… I was nervous is because… it's bad, but, just, you don't like to… because you never find out which individual participants have been involved in what, but you know that a lot of people have been involved in prison, in crime.
>
> Jonny, University A

> When we came, we didn't know what type of people they were, what type of offenders they were or anything, it just, it got us a bit worried and stuff before we started. Because before I was scared because I didn't know what they were like.
>
> Janith, University D

The reasons behind these emotions stemmed from self-confessed preconceptions that the students had attached to particular client groups. In many cases these feelings were heightened by their first impressions and initial judgements of the clients on entering the various programmes. Examples of such perceptions were as follows:

> Some of these people here, you look at them and they… you straight away pre-judge them and might have pre-conceptions, like some of them have got, like, shaved heads and, like, earrings and, like, 666 tattoos behind their ears and stuff like that and you kind of sort of think, hmmm, what have these lot been up to for the last few years?
>
> Martin, University A

> I thought, you know, are these people… are they going to be violent people, am I going to get injured, you know. Am I going to be breaking up fights with them, am I going to be in the middle of fights…So, I was a little bit, I was anxious about doing it in the first place, you know. But, my mother even more so actually, she was like, she thought it sounded a bit dangerous.
>
> Simon, University A

> I was worried when I first, first started here, because I didn't know what they were like and, um, like, being Indian myself, I thought they might be racist and stuff like that.
>
> Janith, University D

These passages reflect the spatial detachment of student volunteers from their established sets of cultural positions (Turner, 1974). Adrift from structural moorings and absent of familiar support mechanisms, student volunteers experience

profound uncertainty as they separate from normative reality and move into liminality.

In addition, a number of interviewees commented that in the early stages of a new programme or with a new client intake, there appeared to be a clear division between the student volunteers and the 'hard to reach' groups – this was particularly the case with some of the more adult based client groups. Interviewees reported that the client groups appeared to be standoffish and wary of the student volunteers:

> There was a big, actually, there's a big divide in that they like stick to their shelter[31], so it was one group versus us, and that was very apparent.
>
> Vicki, University E

> I personally feel for myself that when I first started there was… It's not suspicion, but they treat you like maybe as an outsider. Oh, it's a student.
>
> Joey, University A

> Yeah, definitely when you first come in they're a bit wary, thinking, who's this? That they're not used to seeing you in all, in a social group with each other. A lot of them… associate several days of the week with each other, people in a similar position to them so they're quite in a comfort zone, so to speak, so when you come in out of university, they're a bit wary, a bit quiet.
>
> Nile, University D

To provide an explanation for this, interviewees suggested that the client groups held their own preconceived notions of the student volunteers. Respondents indicated that these preconceptions were twofold, first, that there was an element of resentment towards student volunteers from some clients as they may have perceived them to be privileged or 'posh':

> They didn't really want to get to know us, it took them at least, like, three or four weeks to get …they thought, oh well, you're just two students, you know, like, Daddy pays for education, that sort of thing.
>
> Jess, University D

[31] The term 'shelter' refers to the temporary accommodation certain client groups are associated with.

> They were thinking well, these are going to be posh kids who've just been roped into it, because they have to do it.
>
> Vicki, University E

> Ultimately, with the Street League[32] clients that we have, some of them you need to earn their respect first as a volunteer. You can't just go jumping in there... because they think you're a university student, you're well off. That's their perception.
>
> Rick, University D

Second, many interviewees suspected that clients might have harboured preconceived notions that the student volunteers had attached negative perceptions and stereotypes to them, and that they automatically looked down on them:

> I don't think they really liked us that much being there because obviously, I think, they got the impression that we thought we were better than them.
>
> Scott, University C

> Definitely at the beginning I felt like that was something I was most wary of, like, that they thought that I was looking down on them.
>
> Charlotte, University C

This dislocation of student volunteers from their stable and familiar everyday social surroundings and subsequent insertion into the novel and diverse social milieu presented by the SUNEE project represents the preliminal stage of liminality. It is clear from student responses that at the outset of a new SUNEE programme or with an intake of either new volunteers and/or clients, that there was a great deal of suspicion and distrust active amongst participants and that both groups' perceptions of one another served to push them apart, or rather inhibit their integration. McGinnis, Gentry and Gao (2000) would suggest that such conditions make manifest feelings of separation and uncertainty in the neophytes.

[32] A programme that delivers football and education to some of the most disadvantaged young people (16-25 year olds) across the UK (Street League, 2011).

Moreover, student volunteers reported facing a multitude of attitudinal and behavioural challenges in their attempts to coach, lead and support the client groups in the early stages of their involvement in the various SUNEE programmes. As alluded to above, student volunteers largely attributed such challenges to a perceived antipathy held of them by certain clients. Students commented that their coaching and leadership were often inhibited by both a lack of respect and a strong resentment of authority. Student volunteers also cited ill-discipline, anger and aggression, unnecessary or 'over the top' physical behaviour, occasional animosity between clients and directed at student volunteers, verbal abuse, and a general intolerance to session structure, as key hindrances to their coaching implementation during their inception to the programme:

> The volunteers that haven't had experience with this kind of group, they're all pretty nervous, and, um, they do sort of… they make it quite obvious, but, because of that, like, the Street League clients will walk over to them, sort of thing, and, like, take the mick out of them [make fun of them] sometimes.
>
> Stuart, University C

> I've played football a couple of times with them, where you know, they'll kick you up the backside when you're playing football and they won't… do you know what I mean, they'll say sorry to somebody else when they've knocked them, but they won't say it to you. There was one guy in particular who'd kick me unnecessarily and I wasn't the only one… I don't think he liked students this one guy.
>
> Simon, University A

> Well, at first they would call you things, give you a bit lip...just calling you stupid names and stuff while you're trying to instruct a session. It's a big, massive group to come into , and it's you and just another girl and then they're calling you all the names under the sun. You're like, wow, you know, this isn't nice.
>
> Kim, University E

> To be honest with you some of them are really like angry, to be honest with you. Like whenever… for example there was two new guys that came down and there was a few of them that just wouldn't accept them, wouldn't let them in, just kept giving them backchat. Like a few of them, one guy got hit in the mouth – not on purpose, and it's just like they were calling them names and stuff so just not friendly, they're just in their own wee group, you know.
>
> Scott, University C

> There was one dominant group who, from what behaviour I witnessed, I would class them as more bullies, and then there was the other group who you could tell just wanted to, to get on with it and wanted to get a new start. But they were certainly affected by the dominant group and it just seemed to hinder any real progress for weeks. . . We had one guy who came in who was just really obnoxious, especially to the female coaches, and you just didn't want to really be around him, and you could see by his personality that he was also affecting the other participants.
>
> Vicki, University E

Student volunteers found such initial attitudinal and behavioural responses of the 'hard to reach' clients towards them as daunting and unsettling. The volunteers add that the majority of clients did not want to speak to them in the beginning and that the students were apprehensive of how the clients might respond to their actions, directions and general efforts to generate conversation. As a consequence, interviewees infer that they were unsure of how to communicate with the client groups at the outset and that they felt that their presence was not welcome – this appeared to generate a profound uncertainty in volunteers as to their presence and role in the project.

During this transition from the preliminal to the liminal or 'threshold' phase of their voluntary experience, students find themselves in a 'stuck place', they are suspended between the old structural configurations and customs of social reality that they had previously taken for granted, whilst they also remain out of reach of the novel alternatives becoming of their new surroundings (Brueggemann, 2010). Interviewees imply that they encountered two distinctive yet interrelated forms of troublesome knowledge or barriers to both their social integration and their coaching/leadership efficacy during their early involvement with the project. First, volunteers reported experiencing a range of specific learning factors that hindered student coaching and leadership of the client groups. Second, the SUNEE project presents an alien social discourse to the majority of student volunteers, exposing them to a range of new and testing social experiences which challenged them to discover novel ways of forging communications and relationships with a diverse range of clients.

When reflecting upon the key hindrances to their coaching methods, the more established volunteer coaches on the project and/or students who had prior

coaching experience, highlighted a range of specific learning factors presented by the 'hard to reach' groups. For example, Jonny, who led the debating classes, intonated his surprise at a distinct lack of confidence presented by clients in their own ability, a factor which for him proved to be one of the major obstacles to both their involvement and development in the initial sessions:

> Honestly, the main thing I noticed was a genuine lack of confidence. That is the thing that comes across the most. I think there was… no, two things. Probably, one, confidence... there was a massive lack of confidence amongst the group sometimes, especially at first… They genuinely had very little belief in their own ability. Then…Sometimes the concentration span isn't always that long. Like, if they're going out for a ciggie, they're going out for a ciggie, and they're just not going to listen until they have done.
>
> Jonny, University A

As well as a lack of confidence, Jonny adds that the 'hard to reach' individuals generally suffered from a limited attention span which meant that the sessions were often interrupted by rest or 'ciggie' breaks and so it was necessary to split the classes into smaller portions. Below, Sheila notes a similar problem and comments that clients can be easily distracted. Sheila continues to cite additional impediments to her coaching itineraries such as behavioural problems and clients carrying over to the sessions lingering quarrels initiated from outside the project:

> It's mostly with like behaviour management, they don't intend to be naughty but like the concentration spans, sort of they get distracted easily, or say if they've had an argument in the home like between them, like it tends to come with them; so you've just got to try and like make them forget about stuff like that. And, just keeping them organised, keeping them on task, um, sort of thing like. And, you've got to accept like if you were teaching a school you wouldn't allow them to go like, as they call it a fag break, but with these clients you've got to just let them do that because sort of you can't say no to that because that's a way of sort of keeping them engaged.
>
> Sheila, University E

On a similar note, Simon goes on to portray the client groups as fussy and stubborn individuals who have a collective aversion to any exercise which they perceive as being overly strenuous or exerting, and somewhat paradoxically, they are also impartial to any activity which is non-competitive in nature:

> Their attitude towards doing it is different. It's as simple as that…I think there's the case of we just want to play the game. We don't want to do anything else. We don't want to do anything that's going to be particularly fitness based. We don't want to do anything, um, that's going to make us out of breath. We want to have a fag[33] break every 20 minutes, please, those sort of things.
>
> Simon, University A

Jonny, Sheila, and Simon imply that in order to gain some degree of cooperation from the 'hard to reach' groups, they had to operate on the clients' terms, at least in the early stages of their involvement in the project. By giving clients a certain degree of freedom to do what they wanted, the majority of volunteers implied that they felt undermined but were resigned to the notion that the path of least resistance would provide the most fruitful means of eventually gaining favour and preventing fall out.

Similarly, going into the project a number of student volunteers based their expectations of what the coaching dynamics would be like within the sessions upon their own past experiences of participation. Students perceived that if an individual receives coaching they do so because they want to be there and whilst there they listen intently to the coach's instructions. Volunteers voiced their surprise and in some cases intonate their disappointment that many 'hard to reach' clients either ignored or did not follow the coach's instructions, and also that some clients appeared bored and uninterested:

> It's just, it's weird like with all the, um, like when I was playing all the coaches taught me just like you do the thing, you do what the coaches say, you do the drill and you play a game or whatever but here it's like you have to sort of convince them to actually do it and then if they get bored halfway through they're just quite happy to just walk off and then just go and get a drink or have a cigarette or whatever, which massively hinders it because if you're trying to organise people and you've got them in a drill and people are just walking off and coming and kicking balls about, you obviously can't, um, structure it very well. So it massively hinders it.
>
> Dean, University A

[33] A 'fag' is a slang word for a cigarette.

However, it must also be recognised that it was not just the adult client groups who presented challenges to the coaching and leadership roles performed by student volunteers. Indeed those student volunteers who had worked with Looked After Children (hereafter abbreviated to LAC), young children and adolescents added that such groups were a lot more difficult to control, instruct and entertain than mainstream children, novel experiences which forced the volunteers to deconstruct and adapt their typical coaching styles and practices, and to redefine taken for granted notions that might once have assumed this category of learners as homogenous. Volunteers commonly described LAC groups to be excessively hyperactive, attention seeking, and were overly tactile with a limited awareness of social boundaries, as outlined by Becki and Dean below:

> With the Prince's Trust kids they lack a bit of respect, they struggle, we had an issue a week or… in last week's session, they were getting a bit too hands on with some of us, the guys were a bit too touchy basically, they didn't quite grasp the boundaries between us being the kind of teachers, and them being the… but they just didn't seem to have that social awareness as to what was expected... They're lovely guys, and we got on really well with them in the end, but they just lack that, they're not very articulate, they swear quite a lot, they're just generally quite rough kids really, but in the nicest possible way… You could also notice from the foster kids, the Looking After Children sessions, they were foster kids, you could tell they were foster kids because they, a lot of them were kind of quite troubled in the way they were doing the sport, they, they all required a lot of attention. Some of them didn't want to leave us at the end of the day, they'd formed that attachment, I'm guessing they're missing their family lives; and they were just quite troublesome, they're very hyper.
>
> Becki, University B

> When we had in looked after kids, I think, they're a bit more difficult, more attention seeking, some had like ADHD and stuff… we weren't sure how to handle them at times.
>
> Dean, University A

Dean, above, suggests that some children presented with specific behavioural disorders and exhibited a range of behavioural tendencies which he suggests many volunteers had not experienced and admits that students did not always know how to appropriately or effectively deal with.

Although the student volunteers represented here had accrued substantial experience in coaching their specific sports, their prior knowledge of learners,

pedagogy and coaching processes was often challenged by the 'hard to reach' groups. The crises and challenging ordeals thus far experienced by volunteers once again raise the question of why students persevered and continued their involvement on the project instead of walking away. To begin to answer this question, such encounters as those outlined above created troublesome knowledge for these volunteer coaches, causing them to deconstruct certain coaching methods and techniques of delivery, considering instead novel alternatives to add to their repertoire. This data highlights the preliminal to liminal transition of the student volunteers and also demonstrates the invaluable learning process of the volunteer coaches as they continue on the project.

Indeed, Turner (1967) would suggest here that volunteers were caught in an ambiguous state at this early stage of their involvement in the project, as they pass through a sociocultural realm to which they possess few relevant attributes. Tinto (1988) adds that during this state of normlessness liminars begin to question and discard past assumptions and associations but are yet to have adopted the codes, rules and language appropriate for membership amongst the 'hard to reach' groups. In this position, student volunteers find themselves 'betwixt and between' fixed structural points and on the cusp of the preliminal and liminal phases (Turner, 1974:41).

Turner (1969) noted that in some tribal rituals liminars had literally been disguised as monsters so as to symbolise the outsiderhood of the neophyte and dramatise the threat that the uninitiated pose to a community's structural norms. Presented as monster, the neophyte is degraded and ground down to enable them to cope with, and appreciate their position in the community. Students new to volunteering on the project might be regarded as metaphorical monsters here due to the suspicion, mistrust and general difference perceived to be held of them by the client groups. The behaviour displayed by new volunteers in response to the attitudes and actions of the 'hard to reach' client groups in the early stages resembles that which Turner describes in liminality. Students describe instances in which they have been subjected to unnecessary and overly physical behaviour, and

verbal and emotional abuse. These interviewees implied that they accepted such behaviour without complaint and let it pass unchecked:

> They think they're, they walk around as if they own the place. They can make it difficult sometimes. They kick off quite a bit if they don't get their own way… It's like before. When I started, the volunteers that were helping out then, they were only 20-odd and they'd just walk over them, there was nothing they could do with them. They couldn't do anything at all.
>
> Dean, University A

Caught 'betwixt and between' the interstices of social structure, the neophyte is inclined to feel detached and isolated from any structure, role, and relationship to which they can attach meaning. Rendered stateless, it is in this limbo that the neophyte is at their most vulnerable, accepting the ordeals and humiliations imposed upon them as a part of their initiation into the group. The effects of such transitional processes upon the volunteers were powerfully humbling as students behaviour inferred a modesty, passivity and humility to which Turner (1969) identifies as typical of individuals undergoing liminality.

> In terms of me personally it's just I think about growing in confidence and getting to know them a little bit better and like 99% of the stuff that's going on in their lives that I don't know about, but the stuff that they let on to you, like, just, I don't know. It makes you think, like, that they have got it like pretty difficult like, and for me, how lucky I am being here, and so I don't want to sound patronising or go on like I am patronising towards them.
>
> Joey, University A

> It's funny, actually, because on Friday night after debate one of the blokes came up to me and said, oh, I really like you guys. I thought you were going to be a load of pretentious gits, but I actually thought you were really nice. They were actually really, really good. You could tell initially they were nervous, because it's on the Palace Green next to the Cathedral in debating chamber. You could tell, when they walked in, they were massively nervous, but generally they were always pretty friendly. We always… I mean, especially I always try taking the mickey out of myself a lot, because it, kind of, tends to put them at ease. And they, well, they took to that pretty well. The other thing is, I think we got that from them. On a slightly similar but different issue, they loved it when sometimes to build their confidence, I'd stand up and do a speech and just get them all to challenge me all the time and if you got… if you give a speech they feel comfortable with, they'd absolutely destroy you and they loved that. They just absolutely loved you getting up, being a bit comfortable, giving the speech and then just it's absolutely tearing you apart, which is brilliant. And they enjoyed that.
>
> Jonny, University A

Students are therefore confronted with troublesome knowledge as their previous or existing modes of social discourse and interaction, and their coaching methods often appear to be ineffective with, or disregarded by the client groups. To this end, this troublesome knowledge provokes conflict with the neophyte's previous knowledge of coaching pedagogy and social interaction, causing them to question and reject previous assumptions. As the student volunteers begin to deconstruct their previous understandings, attitudes and perceptions, they are simultaneously taking steps, conscious and unconscious, to better understand the client groups and overcome the troublesome knowledge they have been presented with; explicitly and implicitly students are inculcated in the precepts of the client groups.

6.4.2 Coming Unstuck

The data suggests that over the influence of time student volunteers break free from this 'stuck place', gradually overcoming this position of ambiguity and uncertainty. This movement coincides with an increasing familiarisation with the features and language of the client groups. As students began to accrue a greater knowledge and understanding of the 'hard to reach' groups it enabled them to develop a mastery of the behaviours, language and values that those clients were receptive to and to which they attached meaning.

> I feel more confident that I can communicate with sort of… It sounds bad to say, but like, people from different backgrounds, like, worse off backgrounds than me, basically. I feel like I can… I can be on a level with them whereas before I wouldn't really… I was really apprehensive and I wouldn't really know how to speak to someone like that and I think… I think, in myself, I've learnt how to just be on a level with some of these people and just interact with them better than I would have done without doing it, perhaps.
>
> Martin, University A

> Once I'd kind of got the grasp of how to speak to them, I found generally that they were really, really good and they responded really well. I think it's just learning by personal experience, learning how to use it, how to, what words to use and just even the language kind of thing, just what to use and what to say to them.
>
> Tom, University C

Interviewees highlighted that the stronger their mastery of these codes, values and norms the more effectively they were able to communicate and integrate with the client groups and build relationships. According to Turner (1969), it is as the liminars gradually become reaggregated in the norms and values of their counterparts that a rapport starts to develop.

> It took a few weeks because, obviously, I'd never met any of these lads; they hadn't met me. But once, once a couple of weeks passed and you got to know them and you learnt names and things like that, they just treat you like one of them, one of the lads. So, I just tried to integrate myself with them and they did the same with me and just got to know each other. And just, like, made it more relaxed.
>
> Jack, University B

> It was sort of a lot different from what I was expecting. I was expecting them to be a lot more aggressive than that, but they were quite… they were pretty canny with us, to be fair, but throughout the weeks and the months that I've been coaching them, the rapport has built and I'm getting more and more close to the clients.
>
> Stuart, university C

The assimilation and reconstitution of student volunteers into the customs and features of this new social discourse also appeared to coincide with a decline in the antipathy, distrust and fractious behaviour that had been directed towards the student volunteers by some clients in the early stages of the programme.

> Definitely. At the start it was, it was really them against us, it really was, and it took a lot to change that sort of feeling among the groups. But, we have managed it and they do, they do treat us as a bit normal now. They joke around with us. Even their insults are in a joking manner, whereas before they wouldn't even interact with us and now they're having jokes. I mean, walking down the street how these guys come up, hi, coach and screaming across the street at me. They do, they have changed. Before it was really, they couldn't talk to us because we're students, we're university students and we were, we were sort of out of their league for some reason, that's the way they were seeing us. But now they've got to know us; they know that we're just, we're on their level and we will talk to them and we will interact with them.
>
> Craig, University E

> I don't think they really liked us that much being there because obviously, I think, they got the impression that we thought we were better than them, sort of thing. But like after they got talking to us they found out who we really were and like we just got talking to them about even our pasts and things like that and they seemed to like settle down a lot because obviously you've trusted them to tell you things and things like that. And they seemed to, they've calmed down a lot from what they were, so they have, because they were a bit angry at the start, basically.
>
> Scott, University C

> Well, as I said, once we got used to, they knew who we were, they knew we were from the university, they knew what we were doing, and then they respected what we said, they'll listen… but at the end they'll do it, they'll understand that you're in an authoritative position over them and you're here to help them, so they'll listen to what you want to do. And it generally leads to them having fun anyway, so the next time they'll associate with that and they'll do it without arguing, or without questioning what you're doing.
>
> Nile, University D

> The more I see them, the more confidence they have in me. Like, if a slightly different coach turned up every week, they've been let down a lot in the past. So the fact that I'm turning up often and I'm always having a laugh with them and stuff like that, they do build that confidence in us as well.
>
> Stuart, University C

These findings concur with Turner's (1974) sentiments on the liminal phase as he posits that the exchange or transmission of qualities, customs and values are a social necessity for establishing right relationships. It is also at this point of alignment that 'neophytes tend to develop an intense comradeship and egalitarianism' amongst themselves (1969: 95).

Although the transitory passage of liminality occurs at a rate unique to the passenger, it is at this point - when the student volunteers begin to internalise the spectrum of characteristics, norms, values and expectations of the ingoing community - that those neophytes undergo an ontological and epistemic shift. This shift represents the integration of new knowledge upon the learner which entails the reconfiguration of their 'prior conceptual schema' and the discarding of their prior 'conceptual stance' (Meyer, Land and Baillie, 2010: xi). This reconstitutive nature of the liminal phase endows the learner, or in this case the volunteer, with the required new understanding with which to adapt to their new environment

(Meyer and Land, 2005; Lewis, 2000). As Cousin (2006b) suggests, this shift entrenched both the knowledge gained and the assumptions that were flawed during the liminal experience and provided student volunteers with a novel perspective on social reality. To demonstrate this, interviewees revealed several conceptual shifts in their knowledge. Firstly, the majority of volunteers admitted that they had wrongly labelled many of the 'hard to reach' client groups prior to participating on the project, and instead praised the qualities that these groups possessed and the positive effect that they had had on the students:

> In the six months that I've been there has my opinion changed? Like I think because of this maybe I think to myself that I should take people as they come. If you hear about, I mean it's difficult all the time, because you hear of things about people and you do make judgements, but I like to think now that I'll take people as I find them until they do something to me, that I'm not going to think badly of them or worry about what they're going to do, so… But I think that's been a process that's happened throughout university, but being part of this project has cemented that feeling, and I think that's been one of the big benefits for me, being, taking part in the project.
>
> Joey, University A

> I've definitely become more confident, and I'm not, I came into this with some reservations about what it would be like, and it's been fine; and I've definitely grown in confidence and I've known… It's like this, these type of people are just the same as anybody else; they're just lacking a few interpersonal skills and just need to be shown sort of some direction in what they need to do, and everyone's fine. So that just opened my eyes to, yeah, first of all, how much it means to these to do this, and the positive effect that it has on them sort of thing.
>
> Nile, University D

> I made a lot of friends doing it. From the other volunteers right through to the clients and community workers… It's really just added a lot to my life. I don't think they'll ever realise that or know it, but, like they can… if you're having a bit of a rubbish day, oh, I need to go to this volunteering group. They come in, in such high spirits even though they've spent the day in the bus station, or, you know, wandering around the town, maybe in the green bit, it's just like, well, if they can be happy about what's going on then I definitely should be.
>
> Ruth, University A

> Everything about it… I know it's a cliché but like I don't think I'd be the person I am today if it wasn't for volunteering, like in every sense, because of what I've got from them and how it's helped me give so much back to my community.
>
> Sheila, University E

> I never really thought that I would get back from this as much as I have, that I would actually learn from them, if you know what I mean, but I definitely have.
>
> Gareth, University B

> When I first started I was quite nervous, especially when they told us about their backgrounds and stuff, I was thinking, oh, God, what's it going to be like, but the first week it was, because I didn't really speak to them that much, but after the first couple of weeks, you find they are really nice people and they're so easy to get along with, and they're no different. They're probably a lot nicer than people who go to university. A lot of the people, because they're not stuck up, and you and just, like, have a good laugh with them, like.
>
> Alison, University D

The student volunteers also highlighted the self-realizing and self-actualizing potential of the SUNEE project. To elaborate, the majority of students have emerged from the difficulties that they experienced in the early stages of their involvement in the project as they passed through the separation and liminal phases of liminality, a period where many doubted their ability to coach, lead and interact with the client groups and were uncertain of their role in the sessions. Whereas, in time, the student volunteers largely appear to emerge from these challenging phases of liminality with renewed confidence in their ability and realize their potential not only within the project, but beyond as well. As students' initial needs of security and stability, belonging and self-esteem grow, they begin to develop a sense of what they can achieve and future roles and occupations and roles that they are not only suited to but also hold ambition to pursue (Maslow, 1954; Hoy and Miskel, 1991). To illustrate this, a number of volunteers detected a perceptual shift of their own ability, realizing for example the growth and further potential of their professional and pedagogical skills, and also their suitability to a particular vocational role:

Since being on SUNEE; I came to university… because I wanted to be a PE teacher. That was it; didn't want to do anything else. I wanted to be a PE teacher. But now I want to be a disability coach when I leave. That's what I want to do. I want to take… I want to be a coach that goes into different schools and teaches multi-sport sessions, different sports; coaches teams and things like that. And if that's a no, that I can't get into it for any reason then I seriously want to pursue a career as a PE teacher, but I'd want to be a PE teacher in a disability school. I don't want… I'm not really keen on doing mainstream anymore. I want to be in the disability sector.

Jasmin, University E

I would say that voluntary experience has influenced me, because before I started volunteering, I wasn't really sure what I wanted to do. I was… I wasn't sure I wanted to be a coach… I didn't know what I really wanted to do. Because of working with these groups, I enjoy it so much, I think that it's something I want to pursue in my career, maybe as a community coach, or maybe as a community sports development officer perhaps in the future, I would really love it.

Rick, University D

If I'm honest, at the beginning of my third year I was sort of torn between where I wanted to go in terms of my career, after I leave uni in June. I'm not even joking, this is something that has really opened my eyes to sort of where I want to go and sports development is something that I'm very, very interested in and it's the area that I've been trying to get in in the next, well, in next few months I guess. Working for a scheme such as Second Chance[34] and obviously working with hard to reach youths as well, but it's been really good because I've seen this aspect of it as well, working with adults, Second Chance, those with drug related problems, and it's been really enjoyable. So it's definitely something I'd want to pursue in the future.

Paul, University C

I originally wanted to be a teacher, but now I'm kind of leaning towards actually being… actually trying to be a full time coach or something like that. I think it might… I find it more satisfying being out on a pitch, like, coaching and that sort of stuff than being in a classroom. Because some of them have never had the opportunities to play like different sports, or even to play football regularly. You know, some of them are, like, really passionate about it whereas I can actually see if you're a school teacher, half of your kids probably don't want to be there anyway, or they take it for granted. But, it's, like, these lads are turning up to play football and I think it does make a big difference because they actually respond to what you're doing and what you're trying to do because they want to play.

Martin, University A

Following this conceptual transformation and mastery of the ways and workings of the 'hard to reach' groups, student volunteers successfully depart liminality and are

[34] Changed to Street League in 2009

reincorporated into a new status amongst the 'hard to reach' groups. On gaining the trust, respect and friendship of the client groups, student volunteers suggest that their status had been enhanced across the programme, consequently facilitating their leadership of the 'hard to reach' groups. Turner (1969; 1974) would infer here that structure has not only been restored, but also strengthened. Although student volunteers will once again interact with past associations following their departure from liminality, they will now do so edified with the novel and irreversible social perspective borne out of their SUNEE experience (Tinto, 1988).

Turner (1967; 1969) subscribes to two main types of liminality and experiences of student volunteers during their involvement in the SUNEE project appear to exhibit characteristics belonging to both. Firstly, Turner (1967; 1969) identifies rituals of status elevation which are typically organised around an individual's life-cycle and represent an irreversible transition from a lower to a higher position in the social hierarchy, for example the transformations undergone during coming of age and rites of passage ceremonies (Turner, 1969; Csapo, 1997). Inculcating the neophyte with the knowledge and wisdom of the community, rituals of status elevation prepare them to cope with the responsibilities attached to their new status. Secondly, Turner (1969) describes rituals of status reversal in which the underling comes uppermost. These ceremonies involve the entire community and are designed to restore both relations and the status quo (Lee, 1981; Csapo, 1997). During rituals of status reversal, all social barriers and social distinctions are suspended as each member of the community is reduced or lifted to a state of equality and those persons who habitually occupy low status positions are free to harangue, revile and even physiologically mistreat their superiors – who must accept their ritual degradation with good will (Turner, 1967; 1969; 1979; Lee, 1981; Csapo, 1997). Ultimately, the long-term effect of status elevation rituals is to emphasise and reinforce the social definitions of the group (Turner, 1969). This process of role reversal provides underlings with opportunities to pursue greater involvement in the social structure as their grievances and concerns are tempered by the freedom to voice their opinions and vent their anger towards authority

figures. Moreover, rituals of status reversal serve to restrain those of superior social position, class, or rank from abusing their privileges and neglecting their responsibilities to their community as well as to heighten their appreciation of their health, wealth and position (Turner, 1969; 1979).

Interviewee data suggests that the liminality undergone by student volunteers exhibited elements of both status elevation and status reversal rituals. To elaborate, student volunteers are perceived to occupy a higher status than the client groups within the broad class-based social hierarchy and in a number of cases entered the SUNEE project as coaches or assistant coaches - positions of senior authority to the client groups. However, the majority of students reported experiencing various forms of abuse and derision from the clients in the early stages of their involvement in the programme, particularly over the initial four to six weeks. These instances of dissent, flouting of instructions, 'robust' tackling, and a general disregard of clients towards student volunteers resemble aspects of status reversal rituals. For Turner, such humbling and degrading experiences are an essential component of this type of liminality as he stresses that 'the high could not be high unless the low existed, and he who is high must experience what it is like to be low' (1969:97).

Moreover, parallels can also be drawn between student experiences and status elevation rituals. Following a difficult introductory period, volunteers gradually begin to build relationships with the client groups over the project. In concurrence with these developing relations student volunteers begin to exert more and more of an influence over the sports sessions. From simply taking part in the sessions, student volunteers naturally emerge as leaders over time, gradually increasing their coaching input in the sessions. The format of the SUNEE project has remained unchanged since its inception with clients well aware that year on year there will be new waves of students entering the project with a view to eventually assisting in the leadership and coaching of the sessions; however, the reception received by new volunteers to the SUNEE sports programmes by client groups is consistently similar to that that the more established volunteers experienced when they

entered the project. As the challenges and ordeals faced by new volunteers appear to be a repetitive event, connections can be drawn to status elevation rituals of liminality. Here, Turner (1969) would contend that in order to go higher on the status ladder, one must first go lower on the status ladder. The putting down and degradation of the novice here serves to earn the trust and respect of the group, raising the profile of students among the 'hard to reach' client groups. What is more, the voluntary and coaching experience accrued here by the students will also serve to raise their profile in general society.

Furthermore, all the students that were interviewed during this study possessed a minimum of six weeks experience of volunteering on the SUNEE project, the majority of these had in excess of three months experience and there were also those who had served the programme for over two years. Typically, the majority of students commented that it took them approximately between four to six weeks to integrate themselves amongst the clients, develop functional relationships, and generally build their confidence in those settings following a turbulent introduction to programme dynamics. Despite the growing familiarity and developing relations between the 'hard to reach' groups and the student volunteers as time elapsed, interviewees frequently highlighted the unwelcoming and often intimidating reception new student volunteers received on entering a long-running sports programme by client groups – akin to that of the challenging and deeply disconcerting reception that they themselves received upon entering the project. Turner (1985) would explicate this process as a latent progeny of a liminal ritual evident within the redressive phase of a social drama. Here, Turner implies that 'the contents of group experiences (*Erlebnisse*) are replicated, dismembered, remembered, refashioned' and implicitly or explicitly made meaningful (1985: 298). Highlighted here is the cyclical and repetitive nature of this particular liminal ritual which re-presents the core elements of the drama, and that orchestrates them into episodes which resonate within the collective experiences, values and vision of that community (Rowe, 2008). Rowe expounds that the repetitive public performance of such liminal progenies 'integrates the community by uniting members in common experience, thereby by building the basis for communal identity' (2008:131). To this

end, it can be postulated that the early barriers to integration and socialisation imposed upon new volunteers by the 'hard to reach' clients, served to initiate and incorporate student volunteers into the group by ensuring the transmission of common norms, values and understandings through shared ritual experience.

6.5 Communitas

Borrowed from the work of Goodman and Goodman (1947), the term 'communitas' appealed to Turner as he felt that it served two important purposes; not only did it represent 'community' but it also made a clear distinction between that of a communal living space and a modality of social relationship. Influenced by Buber's (1958) 'I-Thou and we' conceptual framework and the interrelated notion of 'das Zwischenmenschliche' (translated as 'spontaneous communitas'), Turner was interested in the emergence of the feelings of immediate community among social agents during shared experiences, feelings that foment open, mutual and egalitarian relationships between men and which subsequently prompt the dissipation of individual social personas. Buber (1961) contends that such a community is free of conflict and that its members are no longer above or below one another but *with* each other.

To reiterate, Turner (1967; 1969; 1974) subscribes to two primary models of human interrelatedness. The first model is one of structure wherein society is highly differentiated and segmented into categories of social status and position. The alternate and juxtaposed model, which is the focus here, has been coined by Turner as 'communitas' (1969: 96). Communitas, also referred to as social anti-structure, emerges in liminality and presents the society in focus as an unstructured and undifferentiated community of equals (Turner, 1969).

Emerging in the absence of structure, communitas is a moment of and in transition between statuses. For van Gennep (1960), the structural outsiderhood imposed

upon neophytes during liminality is tempered by the group solidarity that emerges between fellow liminars in their isolation. Here, communitas evokes a sense of camaraderie, togetherness and belonging 'that occurs when individuals from various walks of life share a common bond of experience' (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh, 1993: 12). Turner describes this sacred moment as 'a flash of lucid mutual understanding on the existential level' and a 'gut understanding of synchronicity' (1982b: 48). Thoroughly grounded in this 'shared ritual experience', communitas is a profound sense of community that transcends all secular distinctions of rank, role and status (Turner, 1969; Belk, Russell, Wallendorf, and Sherry, 1989: 7; Shoham, Rose, and Kahle, 2000). Largely seen as a temporary process, communitas establishes a condition whereby individuals from a diverse range of social backgrounds and positions within the social classification 'communicate and bond with one another without considering one's social standing as a divide' (McGinnis, Gentry, and Gao, 2008: 76). For Turner (1969; 1974), the irrelevancy of external roles, professions and statuses, and the condition of absolute equality across the group is both the most recognisable and salient feature of communitas. As St John (2008) points out, here, member interaction during communitas is characterised by modesty, openness and personal honesty.

As communitas emerges, the significance placed on extraneous factors such as possessions, occupation, role and status is disposed of as the group is united by its devotion to transcendental and task specific goals (Arnould and Price, 1993; Shoham, Rose, and Kahle, 2000). These external roles are replaced by specialised roles within the group as members develop, and subsequently demonstrate their level of expertise in a given field, activity, event or role (Shoham, Rose, and Kahle, 2000). An individual's efficacy in a given role, particularly if that function has a strong bearing on group objectives, contributes significantly to that person's social standing within that community (Arnould and Price, 1993). The pursuit of these common goals and interests helps to construct a group identity, generates trust between liminars, boosts social cohesion and reinforces the spirit of teamwork and togetherness among neophytes (Turner, 1969; 1974; McGinnis, Gentry, and Gao,

2008). Schurtz (2010) implies that it is at this phase of initiation rites or rites of passage that a distinct sociability and gregariousness develops between co-liminars.

As mentioned previously, Turner (1969) states that communitas inevitably develops a structure as free relationships between individuals sooner or later become norm-governed. For this reason Turner distinguishes between existential, normative, and ideological communitas (1969: 132; 194: 169). Existential communitas represents 'the quick of human interrelatedness', it is the spontaneous and immediate confrontation of human identities that is unique by its very nature (Turner, 1969). Secondly, normative communitas is likely to occur under the experience of fellowship and is therefore particularly relevant to threshold situations where individuals have been temporarily released from the structural constraints of everyday life (Turner, 1974; Austin, 1981). As time elapses under normative communitas, the necessity to mobilize and organize the resources of the group emerges in order to sustain the pursuance of collective goals and to maintain social control amongst members (Turner, 1969; 1974). As Austin (1981) expounds, the egalitarian experience of normative communitas may be recreated at set times or under specific ritual conditions. Finally, ideological communitas refers to any utopian model of a ritual process which seeks to routinize and perpetuate the optimal conditions that make manifest existential communitas (Turner, 1969; 1974; Austin, 1981; Ingham and MacDonald, 2003).

As norms and roles begin to emerge amongst co-liminars communitas undergoes a concomitant 'decline and fall into structure and law' (Turner, 1969: 132). Revitalized by the 'regenerative abyss of communitas', liminars return to structure with a greater involvement 'in the rich manifold of structural role-playing' (Turner, 1969: 139). To this effect, liminality and communitas serve to maximize structure by promoting inclusion and social order.

6.6 Communitas in SUNEE

To recap, communitas is a social antistructure, a condition that occurs 'outside or on the peripheries of daily life' (Turner, 1974: 47). Freed from the constraints of normal social structures, communitas is a strong sense of camaraderie which emerges from shared experiences among social agents from differing social backgrounds, cutting across secular distinctions of status, rank, role or position. Turner argues that communitas emerges during liminality, particularly in cases of protracted initiation rituals, and is likely to reveal itself as either a 'spontaneous expression of sociability' and/or a 'cultural and normative form' which emphasises norms of 'equality and comradeship' (1974:232). Sherry (1987) echoes Turner's argument and adds that communitas is likely to occur in countercultural settings such as the SUNEE project, schemes where individuals find themselves betwixt and between two statuses. Austin (1981) concurs, implying that it is individuals who voluntarily place themselves at the threshold of structural experience, such as the student volunteers on the SUNEE project, that are most likely to experience the creativity of communitas.

Over the influence of time, and once the volunteers and 'hard to reach' clients had established a mutual understanding and recognition, students report the emergence of close relationships and friendships between the two groups. Students go on to describe a sense of camaraderie that had developed between themselves and members of the 'hard to reach' groups which Turner (1969) would identify as 'communitas':

> At the start, I think they were probably a bit wary of us, but, I think as we went along, as more weeks go by, you do develop a kind of togetherness when you come to the sessions.
>
> Janith, University D

> Well, at first it was a bit like, you know, they would, like, call you names and nasty things, and you just... I'd take everything to heart. You know, and then now they have a laugh with you now, but at first it was like, oh, It was really daunting because I'd never... you know, I used to think, oh, look at them, kind of thing, but now, when you actually work with them, it's a completely different attitude towards them and you're even sticking up for them, kind of thing.
>
> Kim, University E

> We act on a family level… all of them are family, to be honest.
>
> Nile, University D

> I've made friends now that I would never have made before, we are going to keep in touch with them to see how they're getting on in life.
>
> Jess, University D

Validating the emergence of communitas between the two groups, Celsi, Rose and Leigh state that such a camaraderie develops 'when individuals from various walks of life share a common bond of experience' (1993:12). This being the case in regards to the SUNEE project as both student volunteers and the client groups have been separated from their familiar social surroundings and placed together in a novel environment where they are expected to interact and work with one another. This shared experience would appear to unify the group in a period of uncertainty. In addition to this, students reported experiencing unsettling levels of aggression, contempt and derision from clients, acts which reflect the status reversal dimension of liminal ritual (Turner, 1979). The generation of communitas between students and clients would suggest that those volunteers who withstood this putting down and degrading by clients, and who continued to persevere on the project, were actually able to earn the trust and respect of the 'hard to reach' groups. Turner (1982) would further corroborate the prevalence of communitas within the interviewee data by suggesting that such a sense of camaraderie and togetherness typically coincide with the emergence of a synchronicity of understanding between participants as inferred by student volunteers. This synchronicity is said to emerge in the transition from the liminal to the reincorporation phases of liminality as the neophytes develop new patterns of understanding which facilitate their adaptation

to their new surroundings (Meyer and Land, 2005; Cousin, 2006a; Meyer, Land and Baillie, 2010).

Moreover, Wallace (2006) posits that the sense of communitas that an individual shares with a particular group shields that individual from any form of ridicule that they may experience or expect to experience from those who exist outside of this anti-structure and who hold negative perceptions of the group in focus. Wallace (2006) adds that the intense sense of camaraderie gained from the experience of communitas facilitates the 'coming out' of an individual who no longer feels that they need to justify their involvement in a particular group or activity to anyone. Interestingly, Ruth speaks below of how she experienced this exact type of scenario. Ruth explains that in the initial weeks of her voluntary work on the SUNEE project she struggled to admit her involvement in the outreach programme to her college peers due to any stigmas or stereotypes she felt they might have attached to the client groups and thus impacting on their opinion of her. Ruth went on to add however, that following this initial period, she developed a confidence in herself and a pride in what she had been doing that she began to talk about her involvement in SUNEE and successfully encouraged three of her friends to volunteer on the project. To illustrate this, when asked what she thought she had gained from the project Ruth replied:

> Confidence in myself, and my own ability, definitely. Confidence to talk about what I'd done as well. I used to just kind of… I'd miss college tea, and everyone was like, you weren't at tea today. Oh yes, I forgot. Whereas, because I'd be doing, like, some homeless group, and I'd always think, well, maybe it's a bit weird for them. After a few weeks I was like, no, this, this programme is amazing. Like… So I got three of my friends involved, who went as well, and, and then… Yes, no, it is mainly just the confidence with myself. Like being able to talk about it and work with different people, and know that I can push this, like stereotypes I might have had as a 13-year old girl at school, where at school I probably just thought, like, all the… I don't know. Like, less privileged people in my school I might have not… like they weren't necessarily in my friendship group, or whatever, not by choice, but just like, it's just how it always seems to happen at school. And now I know if I went back, it would be completely different, I think. Now I've changed as a person completely.
>
> Ruth, University A

Such an example demonstrates both the pride and confidence that can be derived from a powerful sense communitas in order to 'come out' about one's involvement

in a group or scheme, as well as the strength generated from the group camaraderie to vehemently defend the reputation of that group regardless of the consequences.

Moreover, volunteers indicated that as they grew closer to the 'hard to reach' groups and gained more confidence around them they began to look forward to attending the sessions, suggesting that they enjoyed both the sports activities and the company of the 'hard to reach' groups:

> I personally feel for myself that when I first started there was… It's not suspicion, but they treat you like maybe as an outsider. Oh, it's a student, and… But definitely as six months have gone on I feel like me personally I've built up a good rapport with a lot of them. Obviously I'm only in for a couple of hours each week, but I have a good chat with them, I don't know if I would say they were loyal to me, but I feel like I've really built up a good rapport, and I ask them how they're doing at work, and how they're doing in life and things, and they share information that they wouldn't have six months ago. So I feel like I have won their trust to a certain level.
>
> Joey, University A

> By the end of the summer last year, when we'd been working with them for eight, nine weeks, it was quite sad when you had to cut down on your contact with them. And now you see them in the street and they're talking to you and it's really good.
>
> Vicki, University E

> So I'm going to be seeing them around the uni so it will be nice. I think I've got more confident as well because before I wouldn't dare go and talk to them but now I really look forward to seeing them, see what they've been up to.
>
> Jess, University D

Here, students further highlight the close relationships and strong bonds that they shared with clients, indicative of a high level of trust and mutuality between the two groups. As Celsi, Rose and Leigh (1993) suggest, communitas constitutes feelings of belonging to the group, an observation that tallies with the sense of belonging on the SUNEE programmes conveyed by the student volunteers above.

Additionally, interviewees explained that as the sense of camaraderie grew between participants, clients and volunteers they began to open up to each other

more and more, sharing personal stories, friendly banter and jokes, and the insults aimed towards the students also began to subside:

> I found that their trust and respect comes quite quickly, when you're working with older individuals, it took me maybe three to four weeks just to get their trust and respect, and it's, now they see me as one of their friends and they can trust me with knowledge and information.
>
> Mike, University D

> But once you get to know them, as I said, you become on a personal level and you're just having a laugh or joking around, just having a bit of banter, so to speak, with each other, just having a laugh and a joke more than anything.
>
> Nile, University D)

> You do form a great working relationship with the people from the volunteer team and then also with the clients and the people from their charities. There's some people you get on with better than others. I often get on well with the lads because, um, I think it was the first week one of them saw me with my girlfriend and he came the next week and just absolutely started rinsing me and I started rinsing him, we had a bit of a laugh from there on in, but then it was my first year doing the project, there was some sort of 55 year old woman called Shirley who was the key worker, and she was the balsiest woman you ever met in your life and she used to put me in my place all the time, which is a complete laugh and she developed a good relationship with a lot of them but there's always certain ones you get on particularly well with.
>
> Jonny, University A

This data reveals that as trust and mutual understanding increased between the student volunteers and the 'hard to reach' client groups, participants began to demonstrate a sociability and gregariousness which Schurtz (2010) suggests are interactive features synonymous with the phenomenon of communitas. Here, students illustrate both explicitly when commenting on the relations between the student volunteers and clients, and implicitly in the manner and tone of their responses, the characteristics of modesty, openness and personal honesty that are active between the two groups, traits which according to Buber (1958) and St John (2008) underpin mutual and egalitarian relationships between group members whilst also serving to dampen ego, pretension and self-interest among participants.

> But over the last eight weeks I've genuinely got tense and nervous and worked up but also quite proud, quite passionate and genuinely have been really, really focussed on the achievements of other people, how well other people can do, which really you don't do very much, especially not when you're' at University A and it's all about getting your job and, you know, it's all about getting your job and getting that goal for you and earning that money for you and doing that for you, it's very, very self- focussed. And here at University you've got all your mates and you care about your mates but really it all comes back to you whereas this project actually, you know, I stood and gave a speech and it went well and I was glad my speech went well but I'd have much rather I balls up my speech but they'd have all done okay because you do just get… it just feels nice for once. You feel like a better person really, not because you've done this project and you feel holier than thou but just because it reminds yourself that you do actually have it in you to really put other people before yourself.
>
> Jonny, University A

> The fact that with these sort of ones you don't expect them to basically let you into their lives but obviously in such a short time whenever you're like playing football they'll actually let you in. Like some of them have let you into like their past basically and told you what they've done and what they've been ashamed of basically and why they wouldn't do it again. So, in a way, it's probably just the trust, them being able to trust you is something I've got to take out of this the most because obviously I couldn't, I didn't expect, it's one thing I didn't really expect to get much of whenever I first started this programme, in such a short period of time.
>
> Scott, University C

The evidence provided thus far is further demonstrative that the emergence of communitas has the capacity to transcend social distinctions and cultural differences between individuals from diverse backgrounds. The following passages infer that possessions, positions, statuses and roles that are extraneous to the SUNEE project were no longer of relevance among participants, ceasing to be a source of division:

> Yeah, definitely, they've definitely grown fond of us and us to them, they see us as partners, it's not just, oh, these are the university people, they actually say they want us to be involved in their games and practice as equals with them instead of outsiders.
>
> Mike, University D

> When you come in out of university, they're a bit wary, a bit quiet. Some of them are more confident than others, so to speak, but, yeah, but after you get talking to them you sort of become one of them sort of thing in their eyes. They're not classing us as from university, just classing us as someone to play, play football with… someone to just have a laugh with, basically. The first couple of weeks I was just getting to know everyone, and then once you do, you just have banter with them, it's just, it doesn't take long to get integrated into the group at all. And as I say, they don't, I'm sure they don't even see us as people from the uni anymore; they just see us as people like themselves.
>
> Nile, University D

> Honestly, it makes me feel like really good when I see the lads, like, coming on that field and myself coming on and being more confident speaking with them, so I think it's just a, it's such a good scheme because like it's opportunities for everyone, like opportunities for them to have a game of football, do their coaching qualifications, and the same for the students as well, and more than that, just to meet different people who you wouldn't normally meet, and then just realise that everyone's like basically the same. Everyone wants the same stuff, and the people are canny… and it doesn't matter where they're from.
>
> Joey, University A

These sources portray how the SUNEE project served to bond and bind participants, fostering social connections and exposing the 'interrelatedness' of student volunteers and 'hard to reach' clients alike with absent regard for background, class, occupation or status (Turner, 1969: 127).

In addition, Arnould and Price (1993) point out that this transcendence of the typical social order and the norms and conventions it espouses is reinforced and perpetuated by a group's united pursuit of mutual goals. Interviewee responses comply with this feature of communitas with students inferring that over the influence of time the group as a whole began to pull in the same direction in the pursuit of mutual ends:

> They were very open when they got to know us. I think because we took the time to actually do activities that they wanted to do, they were really among us eventually.
>
> Vicki, University E

> They all want to come down and play football and that's their sort of common goal, its' just to come down and have fun and play a bit of football at the moment.
>
> Martin, University A

> I just try to keep it really laidback, really. I'm not here as a teacher. You're not here as a pupil. We're just here to put on this event, kind of thing. So then I tried to just create a team feeling really, that we're working towards an end project, an end goal, rather than I was being paid to stand there and tell them and they just had to listen.
>
> Gareth, University B

Here the data reveals that once common interest/s had been established amongst both volunteers and 'hard to reach' groups, and the clients realised that their cooperation would move them closer to their goals then social cohesion was improved and a group solidarity began to emerge. The camaraderie between certain student volunteers and clients is particularly evident here as students reported numerous instances where members of the 'hard to reach' groups would vocally support and assist them carrying out a specific task or assist the integration of newer volunteers into the programme:

> If anything kicks off , or when anyone steps out of line, some of the lads, some of the clients pipe up and help to calm it down like, tell them to calm down, because they want to play football at the end of the day and do the sport. So, they will help you out there, to say howay lads calm down. Most of the time it works like and then they just get on with it.
>
> Jack, University B

> They've had to change a lot because obviously with two women involved, they've never had that before, so I think they have had to change, and the lads are like come on lads, there's girls here, mind your language and stuff. They get told off by the lads. The older lads will tell them, all right, there's girls around and stuff and even when they're cracking a joke, some of them, some are not what you want to hear but then they realise we're there and they're, like, sorry, I totally forgot. But I think it's probably because they're not around, never been around women in this kind of environment.
>
> Alison, University D

Ultimately, the actions of the client groups reported here served to fulfil their own ends, yet the inferences made by interviewees suggest that there were perhaps deeper, and more compassionate and selfless motives at play.

Although external roles of participants become obsolete in the eyes of other group members during communitas, Shoham, Rose, and Kahle (2000) highlight that specialised roles emerge within the group instead as members seek to utilise individuals' expertise in the pursuit of common goals. This was evident on the

SUNEE programme as the character, skills and abilities of the student volunteers became increasingly recognised and appreciated by the client groups:

> So the role that I've taken really to begin with was just joining in with the football sessions, not really doing any coaching. Just shadowing the coach really, and just being one of the lads. But as the time's gone on I've taken on a little bit more responsibility, occasionally taking on the coaching. I've been doing it now for six months and the lads are comfortable with me, I've started taking on more and more responsibility delivering some of the football training sessions, or at least sections of them.
>
> Joey, University A

> What made it easier probably is that when I came here and I was more apart, like I was watching sessions, because at first I was just observing and as I got to know them it was easier. But I had to start, I did my first session, which it was hard to get them to take notice of me, but over time they really started to accept me as a coach.
>
> Janith, University D

> I think like, this second year now, even just the last four months, it's definitely as if we're just more, some of them more friendly, now, you come in, and they know you are the coach. Before, maybe they'd get our names mixed up, or something. But now it's like they know us now. So, I definitely think, like you do need to build a rapport up with them, like some new people who've came in, new volunteers, they maybe haven't got the same like friendship with them yet.
>
> Janey, University E

These sources illustrate how over time student volunteers naturally grew into positions of leadership across the SUNEE programmes, gaining the respect and trust of the clients and proving their value as instructors and coaches – a process which ultimately enabled the volunteers to boost their social and professional standing amongst the 'hard to reach' client groups.

As Turner (1969; 1974) posits, once such roles and norms began to emerge amongst SUNEE participants communitas underwent a concomitant 'decline and fall' as structure began to take hold across the project once more. To elaborate, as student volunteers emerge as sports coaches and leaders, their roles recognised and respected by the client groups who subsequently accept their positions as learners and tutees, anti-structure reverts to structure. According to the three models of communitas described by Turner (1969; 1974), he would identify the

processes experienced by SUNEE participants as representative of 'normative' communitas. Normative communitas emerges over the influence of time and under the experience of fellowship (Turner, 1974; Austin, 1981). Drawing further parallels with the dynamics of the SUNEE programmes, Turner (1969) expounds that under normative communitas the necessity to mobilize and organize the resources of the group emerges in order to effectively pursue the collective goals of the group.

As student volunteers emerge as leaders on the project, Turner (1969) implies that the maximization of communitas leads to the maximization of both social inclusion and social order as participants return to structure. Shoham, Rose, and Kahle (2008) and McGinnis, Gentry, and Gao (2008) concur that such powerful experiences of communitas are likely to motivate volunteers to continue and even increase their level of involvement in the project. Austin (1981) adds that following the socio-cultural realisation and creative renewal instigated by the experience of communitas, participants return to normative social life ready to pursue autonomous dialogue within it – this suggests that student volunteers are likely to feel empowered by their experiences of SUNEE and indeed communitas, feeling confident and prepared to step independently into an occupational/vocational setting.

6.7 The Essence of Play

Turner (1985) stresses that ritual processes designed to induce liminality with the purpose of reinforcing social structure and establishing membership consist of a blend of serious work (in the form of traditional social obligations) and a ludic dimension of play. Deriving from the Latin verb 'ludere' ('to play'), the ludic represents the playful nature of liminality (Turner, 1985: 264). In the case of the SUNEE project, the ludic is represented by the sport programmes offered to participants and the serious work dimension takes a myriad of forms including coaching, leadership and the efforts made to adjust to the novel and diverse social milieu. Beisser (1967) draws parallels with modern sports here, citing that they

have become transitional institutions that cannot be defined as either work or play, belonging instead somewhere in between.

This ludic richness possessed by sports-based outreach programmes such as the SUNEE project, is essential to the process of liminality as it contravenes the mundane order of social life, inviting novelty, recreation, spontaneity and creativity (Rowe, 2008). Turner propounds that liminality is a 'time outside of time' which is naturally synonymous with 'playful experimentation' (1985: 236). During this 'time outside of time', the liminars find themselves dislocated from, and unfettered by the constraints of normative and habitual social structures - this ludic, or play element therefore facilitates the deconstruction of society's conventions as originally perceived by the liminar and disengages them from their intrinsic cultural moorings, stimulating instead a range of novel and improbable experiences (Turner, 1985).

For Turner (1993), play can have a highly influential role in the construction or reconstruction of social reality. According to Turner, playful experimentation heightens the sense of sociocultural variation that exists outside of conventional structural themes. In addition to fulfilling its exercise functions, play is also educational, raising awareness and understanding about socio-cultural differences it enables the acquisition of 'fundamental mental subsistence and social skills' within a given social environment (Turner, 1985:264). In accordance with liminal phenomena, Turner (1985) emphasises that play is in the subjunctive mood – this means that experiences and relationships which might have previously appeared hypothetical or unlikely within the confines of structure are made possible within the interstices of social structure. As a result, Turner (1982) asserts that a ludic recombination takes place during the playful/sporting milieu in which liminars undergo creative self-renewal, disposing of disproved past associations and adopting new perspectives and expressions of social agents and their relationships. In addition, Rowe states that sports events and activities represent modern day liminal rituals which support a context for metacommunication and serve as a mechanism of personal and social potentiality (2008: 129). In line with Turner's

ludic dimension, the majority of student volunteers felt that the sporting dynamics underpinning the SUNEE project offered the most effective mechanism for integration and socialisation between the two diverse groups:

> I think it's quite an easy way to do it because the thing is, we did sports that no one particularly excelled at, which made it easy, because everyone was like on a level playing field, like the belly dancing for example. Like there was no one going to be able to walk in that room, when it was foster children, be like, I'm really good at belly dancing. And then we'd all go like, it's amazing, whereas, we were all hopeless, and I put the little sparkly dance on, and it was just like we had no idea what we were doing. It was just hysterical. And the kids absolutely loved it, and wanted to do it again. And, and I think it's hard to recreate a situation where you don't have anyone that's going to excel and not outshine others, necessarily. Yes, for me personally, sport was the best way to put everyone at ease and integrate each other. Yes, sport. Yes, I think it's a really good platform to do this kind of project.
>
> Ruth, University A

> I think the basic skills like people skills. I don't think they get to gain the best without relating with others who have good people skills because, obviously, it's engaging and things like that... When they come into these sessions, they're actually building their people skills, if you like, especially in the session on Friday, the BME[35] group which is a group from Sudan. You can see the things like that because they are learning English and all learning how to get on with each other and how to react to each other under different situations.
>
> Aaron, University C

> In my opinion, I think… I think sport's the best vehicle for bringing people together because as soon as you're shoved on the same team as each other you immediately just start to bond and you start to… You get to know each other better… better from that. I think it's the same with the programmes put on here by university.
>
> Martin, University A

[35] BME stands for Black and Minority Ethnic communities which are supported by the BME Community Services organisation – an organisation working in partnership with the SUNEE project.

> I join in with them in the sports sessions and I don't see myself as being any different to them; we just play football and I don't… I haven't seen anything from them to suggest… I don't think they take me any different to them 'cos we're just playing sport and I don't know whether it would be any different out of sport, but definitely while we're playing sport, we're all seen as the same, joining in. And it seems like they have the ball we all join in and we're all as a team really, so sport gels people together, yeah, so we're interacting, just, yeah, definitely together.
>
> Will, University C

Although the SUNEE project emphasises cultural variability, interviewees concluded that the vehicle of sport was crucial in generating positive lines of communication, boosting sociability and integration, and promoting inclusion between student volunteers and 'hard to reach' groups. Here volunteer responses concur with the sentiments of Buber (1961: 72), Turner (1985) and Rowe (2008), implying that sports based activities and events (or the ludic) provided across the SUNEE project enabled individuals to reveal their true form to both themselves and to others, helping to strip away any prior personal or social inhibitions, judgements, prejudices and pretensions, and instead witness the 'irrefragable genuineness' of participants. Such a condition helps to connect participants to the reality of their own indeterminacy by fomenting a collective reflexivity which is capable of challenging cherished assumptions and previous knowledge, subsequently transforming such beliefs and perspectives (Rowe, 2008).To this end, the element of play serves to enhance and enrich both the processes and effects of liminality as well as facilitate the generation of communitas.

Therefore, the SUNEE project offers an environment which is parallel to normative social structure, a 'time outside of time' which heavily encourages ludic centred experimentation and discovery through a raft of sports-based activities and which are participated in by a socially diverse range of individuals. As Rowe (2008) infers, environments such as those cultivated by the SUNEE project kindle the 'spirit of spontaneity and creativity', two conditions which are fundamental to liminality and which drive cultural analysis and the subsequent recombination of novel perceptions of others, new expressions of social relationships, and new images of self (Turner, 1982a; Turner, 1985; Rowe, 2008: 129). The sporting activities

provided by SUNEE engender the ludic element of liminality by heightening participants' self-awareness of their own qualities and attributes, whilst simultaneously revealing their true selves to others – a process which highlights the 'sheer potentiality' of the vehicle of 'play' for establishing new relations and to both learn and transmit new values, skills and behaviours (Rowe, 2008: 129). Here, the SUNEE project presents a mechanism capable of stimulating collective reflexivity and creative self-renewal which facilitates socio-cultural understanding and creates inclusive roles for participants which ultimately serves to rejuvenate society.

6.8 Conclusion

The previous chapter examined the factors and forces that move students to volunteer on SUNEE and highlighted the key features active and available within the programmes that serve to influence their subsequent motivational development and ultimately determine their level of continuation and retention on the project. As revealed in Chapter Five, positive or intrinsic motivation is contingent upon the satisfaction of the needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness, as outlined in Ryan and Deci's (1985) Self-Determination Continuum (SDT). Intrinsic motivation is synonymous with volunteer persistence and retention whereas a deficiency in the three needs outlined above is associated with externally regulated behaviour, disinterest and potential volunteer drop-out. The current chapter heavily connects with the concept/need for relatedness and argues that both the initial lack of social connectedness between students and clients, and the subsequent fomenting of social bonds, and indeed friendships forged between these two diverse groups, play a profound role in the retention of volunteers on the SUNEE project.

This chapter contends that the liminality induced in student volunteers, particularly during the early stages of the SUNEE project, and the challenges it represents due to an initial lack of relatedness with the client groups, actually serves to sustain their motivation and retention in the early (and most testing) stages of their

involvement in the project. Links can be drawn to Chapter Five here, indicating that student volunteers were driven not only by the need for relatedness, but also the challenge for competence in developing interpersonal relations and making a mark as a coach and leader within the sessions.

As students undergo this transitory process, liminality serves as an initiation process for the student volunteers in which they develop a deeper understanding of the 'hard to reach' groups, and gain acknowledgment and recognition from clients. As student volunteers develop novel ways of interacting with the clients they are able to get closer to them and learn more about them; it is this aspect of the liminal process which exposes the interrelatedness of human beings, prompting the volunteers to make connections with clients which were otherwise hidden from common view. This leads to the second salient feature presented within this argument, that as time elapses and students move through the various stages of liminality, they experience improved relationships with the client groups and communitas emerges. In this moment of communitas social bonds are forged between clients and student volunteers, and it is these friendships which last beyond the decline of communitas, and which further drive the retention of these volunteers on the SUNEE project. As an outcome of this normative communitas, student volunteers began to emerge as sports coaches and leaders as their roles became recognised and respected by the client groups who subsequently accept their positions as learners. This effect of communitas therefore serves to satisfy student needs for both autonomy and competence, and consequently perpetuates their involvement on the SUNEE project. In theory, and revitalized by their experience of communitas, both students and clients seek a greater involvement within the SUNEE sessions and in theory, broader society.

It can be argued therefore that the dynamics of the SUNEE project provide an environment which renders participants 'betwixt and between'. This would suggest that the SUNEE project, unfettered by normative and habitual social structures, serves as a medium for the transference of civil values and social skills, and the transmittance of prosocial and inclusive relations across the diverse range of

participants for whom SUNEE caters. Thus, the challenges, opportunities for social learning, and the capacity for the development of relatedness engendered by the unique dynamics of the SUNEE project helps to further explain its popularity among students as well as its ability to promote volunteer perseverance and retention. As Rowe (2008) explicates, liminal activities/events, such as sports-based outreach projects, are woven into the broad cohesive social tapestry with the purpose of strengthening the community and society by fomenting the membership of its individuals. Indeed the SUNEE project serves as a vehicle with which to socialise, integrate, and include participants within the broad social structure, instilling in them the values, skills and enthusiasm to contribute to society and civic regeneration.

In the following chapter, Bourdieu's (1984; 1993) theory of field is adapted to explain the changing social dynamics between the student volunteers and 'hard to reach' client groups during the SUNEE project, over time. The chapter examines the convergence of student and client social subfields and how the struggles that ensued between these two objectively unconnected groups yield reciprocal benefits in terms of self-development and prosocial relations. The data indicates that the presence of student volunteers in the various SUNEE programmes served to weaken the autonomy of the participants' respective social subfields. Student volunteers brought new forms of capital to the programmes, species of capital which had previously been inaccessible to the client groups. Following early resistance and symbolic violence towards the volunteers, over time the majority of clients began to recognise and value the forms of capital possessed by the students. As participants began to compete for the various forms of capital active within the SUNEE programmes, opportunities to break down social barriers between the two groups arose, facilitating the integration of the 'hard to reach' clients and student volunteers. By socialising and working together, interviewees reported that both groups acquired a broader awareness of the backgrounds, behaviours, motives and values of their counterparts which helped develop a mutual understanding between participants to the point where rapports and friendships were able to be built. To further support this, the data highlights the dynamism of the habitus

rather than the inert and deterministic nature which Bourdieu (1984; 1996) more commonly ascribed to it. Indeed, the data suggests that sustained participation in the SUNEE project induces an adaptation of habitus, as interviewees report that their perceptions towards the client groups has been positively altered during the programme. As a result, all the students who participated in the study report improved integration between students and clients as the SUNEE programmes progressed.

7

Shifting Fields

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlights the potential of sports-based outreach programmes such as the SUNEE project to foster the integration of socially disparate individuals, by engendering feelings of trust, reciprocity and friendship – features which appear to play a crucial role in the retention of student volunteers. The chapter does this by examining the social and psychological transitions (or liminal processes) experienced by student volunteers as they adjust to the dynamics of the programme and gain membership among the 'hard to reach' groups (Turner, 1969). The chapter further illustrates the emergence of 'communitas' between volunteers and clients - a sense of camaraderie and togetherness which emanated from their shared experiences on the project (Turner, 1969).

This chapter explores the developing social dynamics of the SUNEE project through the theoretical lens of Bourdieu's framework of field. Drawing from the fieldwork, this chapter attempts to adapt this notion of field to illustrate that the SUNEE sports outreach programme can transcend the systems of relations intricately plotted by Bourdieu, which function to compartmentalise and segregate social factions, groups and classes. The case made throughout this chapter posits that the SUNEE programme instigates a shift in the social field by drawing socially diverse and objectively unconnected social agents towards a shared environment. From this position, this chapter demonstrates how the interactions and relationships fostered throughout the project serve to reframe the attitudes, behaviours and perceptions of the participants involved. It is through the analysis of these interactions and relationships that the virtues, benefits and rewards bestowed upon, and/or enhanced in both the student volunteers and clients who participate in the programmes are revealed.

7.2 Shifting Fields

The SUNEE project situates 'hard to reach' groups in direct social contact with university student volunteers. The evidence from the current research suggests that the social milieu fostered through the SUNEE project has given rise to a series of shifts across the social *field*.

Here, Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'field' will be adapted to explain the unfolding social dynamics taking place across the SUNEE project. Coined and developed by Pierre Bourdieu, a 'field' presents a spatial metaphor, denoting a structured space of social positions (Bourdieu, 1993). The concept of field is not a stand-alone theory and is instead reflective of the metatheoretical approach that underpins Bourdieu's sociological thinking.

Bourdieu (1990a) believed that to look upon the social world objectively is to undermine and ignore the subjective conceptions and representations that individuals apply to their social environment, as well as the symbolic struggles that those agents may instigate or encounter throughout daily life. For Bourdieu (1990a), the application of an objective reality is to analyse social existence from a perspective that is inaccessible to the agents operating within it. Conversely, Bourdieu is also critical of purely subjectivist-interactionist approaches, adopting instead a relational mode of thinking stipulating that social reality is not governed by interaction between agents but the very relations that constitute a space of positions (Bourdieu, 1989). To this end, Bourdieu proposed that the antinomy of objectivism and subjectivism could be, and needed to be reconciled, insisting that cognitive schemata and social divisions are structurally intertwined (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Wacquant, 1998).

7.2.1 Overcoming the Dichotomy between Objectivism and Subjectivism

To overcome this false dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism, Bourdieu employs the concept of 'double objectivity', a twofold reality in which objectivity exists in two orders (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 7). Bourdieu outlines these two concurrent orders as follows:

> On the one hand, material properties, starting with the body, that can be counted and measured like any other thing of the physical world; and on the other hand, symbolic properties which are nothing other than material properties when perceived and appreciated in their mutual relationships, that is, as distinctive properties.
>
> Bourdieu, 1990a:135

The first order alludes to the distribution of scarce material resources or, stocks of species of capital, which govern power relations within the social structure; whereas the second order outlines the objectivity of the subjective – schemes of perception and appreciation of social agents in regard to their position within the objective social structure and the symbolic actions, attitudes, feelings and judgements that such cognitions evoke (Bourdieu, 1985). As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) suggest, it is an individual's internalisation of their position within the objective social structure which forms and develops systems of classification as human beings make meaningful the world around them.

To operationalize the dialectical relationship that Bourdieu professes objectivism and subjectivism to share, he has constructed and developed the metatheoretical concepts of field, habitus and capital – and it is the interplay between this conceptual triad that governs social practice (Bourdieu, 1993; Wacquant, 1998).

7.2.2 Habitus

As this conceptual discourse progresses, the tightly interlocking notions of field and capital between volunteers and clients will be outlined and the power that capital confers over a field shall become evident. Firstly however, it is necessary to

elucidate the concept that is 'habitus' and the fundamental role it performs in bridging the relationship between field and capital as Bourdieu attempts to transcend the antinomy of objectivism and subjectivism (Bourdieu, 1977a; Bourdieu, 1989; Noble and Watkins, 2003). The habitus refers to the second order of Bourdieu's theory of 'double objectivity', the subjective schemes of perception, thought and action which are the product of an individual's internalisation of their external social location. Simply put, habitus is the embodiment of the beliefs and practices of the system of social relations within which an individual is socialised. To this end, Bourdieu defines habitus as:

> Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations.
>
> Bourdieu, 1990a:53

The habitus is established through a long incubation period. Stemming from early childhood it possesses the durability to last the life course (Bourdieu, 1993). The subconscious conditionings of one's immediate social environment become engrained into an individual's mental and physical schemata inculcating them with the norms, rules and values common within their social locale (Bourdieu, 1984). A field is therefore the 'exteriorisation' of the habitus, projecting the objective social structure which serves to position and classify agents within the various spheres of life; whereas the habitus internalises the representations and practices bestowed upon individuals by those social locations within which they reside (Bourdieu, 1989: Robbins, 2005: 196). As Vandenberghe expounds, the habitus 'mediates between the invisible system of structured relations (by which actions are shaped) and the visible actions of the actors (which structure relations)' (1999: 48). As a result, Bourdieu stresses the practice-generating and practice-unifying capacity of the habitus, a function which serves to classify social agents, imbuing them with a 'sense of one's place' as well as a 'sense of the place of others' (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1989:19). To this effect, the habitus dictates behaviour that is expressive and representative of an agent's social position.

7.2.3 'Distinct Microcosms' – a Space of Positions and a System of Relations

To now return to the notion of field; a field exists within a social space (Bourdieu, 1989). Viewed as an objective topology of social reality, the social space represents the overall conception of the social world (Bourdieu, 1989). As the system of relations, the social space comprises multiple fields which Wacquant refers to as 'distinct microcosms endowed with their own rules, regularities, and forms of authority' (1998:221). Social spheres of life such as art, education, politics, religion, science, sport and so on, all represent distinctly separate fields (Bourdieu, 1993). Each field is made up of a structured system of social positions hierarchically ordered by the distribution of the current and desirable capital, or the stakes, which define that given field at that moment in time, therefore placing those with the greatest stocks of capital in the dominant upper echelons of the field in focus (Bourdieu, 1993). To capture his notion of field Bourdieu provides the following definition:

> A network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).
>
> Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:97

To expound this definition, Bourdieu iterates that 'to think in terms of field is to *think relationally*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:96). By this Bourdieu (1989) suggests that individual behaviour is influenced by the invisible relations that constitute the space of positions between agents or institutions within a field, those relations defined by their proximity to one another. Bourdieu (1990b) emphasises that such objective relations exist independently of conscious thought and that social reality derives not from inter-subjective experiences and interactions, but instead from activated connections between agents who are closer to one another within a social space. To crystallise the relational underpinnings with which

Bourdieu ascribes reality, he states that 'individuals or groups exist or subsist in and through difference' residing in the mutual exteriority of their composite elements (1998: 31). That is, the positions agents occupy within a field are relative to the volumes and compositions of the capital that they possess.

7.2.4 Autonomy and the Logic of Fields

Functionally, fields are relatively autonomous, stabilised from the external pressures of the social universe by the structural tensions they exert from within (Bourdieu, 2004). Over time, these internal structural mechanisms have gained and developed the capacity to insulate themselves from external influences (Wacquant, 1998; Bourdieu, 2004). It is this independence that allows each field to 'develop its own necessity, its own logic, its own *nomos*' (Bourdieu, 2004: 47). Each field is defined by its particular nomos, a set of underlying rules and laws which govern the practice and experience of participants old and new (Bourdieu, 2000). The nomos underlying a specific field is often irreducible to the logic underlying another (Bourdieu, 2004); it is this differentiation of laws between fields which perpetuates their autonomy. Heavily influenced by their historical and cultural development, fields project their rules, regularities and criteria of evaluation in order to remain impervious to the forces of neighbouring or intruding fields (Wacquant, 1998). Moreover, Bourdieu (1993:31) views any field as a 'field of forces' (1993:31). In this sense, the theory of field bears the analogy of a magnetic field or force field, possessing poles of attraction and repulsion (Bourdieu and Wacqant, 1992; Lane, 2000). Bourdieu elaborates by commenting that as the bearers of capital, social agents have the capacity to preserve or subvert the distribution of power (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu expounds the dynamics of a 'force field' in his definition below:

> A field is a field of forces within which agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions that they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed at either conserving or transforming the structure of the relations of forces that is constitutive of the field.
>
> Bourdieu, 2005: 30

The purpose of such a force field is to impose the nomos and the conditions of a given field upon all those who enter it (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu, 2000; Bourdieu, 2004). Entry into a specific field comes at a price and an individual must demonstrate both the competence to exist in that field as well as to share the belief, or *doxa* in the 'game' and the tacit recognition for the value of its stakes (*illusio*) and the investment in them – the *game* as Bourdieu refers to it, is an analogy he ascribes to any given field, a comparison he draws to a game in which players strategically deploy capital in order to either conserve and reinforce their position, or conversely to displace and usurp those in the dominant positions (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 117; Prior, 2000; Bourdieu, 2004). The concept of *doxa* is especially important to Bourdieu, implying a deep-rooted and common-sense perspective of the game; it is 'everything that goes without saying' (1993:51). *Doxa* therefore underlies the system of classification within a field; it is the acceptance of the *game* and all the struggles within it, the dissensus stirred by opponents serves to promote a consensus within the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: Vandenberghe, 1999). To fully comprehend and believe in the game one needs a firm grounding in the game, and in order to accrue the specific capital to gain recognition within a given field new players must first acquire a functional and historical understanding of the field/game as well as the practical ability with which to participate in it (Bourdieu, 1993; Giulianotti, 2005).

A field therefore, is a social arena in which individuals and institutions struggle for positions within it, struggles which transpire to either conserve or transform the field of forces (Bourdieu, 1993; Bourdieu, 1998). Essentially, such struggles take place over the access to specific resources or stakes that define a particular field as agents and institutions jostle to preserve or overturn the existing distribution of capital (Wacquant, 1998; Jenkins, 2007). Such struggles are struggles for legitimacy,

that is, the acceptance of the structural divisions within the social world by the dominant and the dominated in accordance with those who possess the means to dominate. The positions held by actors and institutions within a field are therefore determined by the stock of specific capital that they possess, each field ordered in correspondence to a particular kind of capital (Bourdieu, 1989; Mahar, Harker and Wilkes, 1990). Those who hold the most power or species of capital are in the best place to consolidate their dominant position and turnover profit. Bourdieu highlights that an individual's volume of capital is likely to be distributed across a variety of different species of capital to which he refers as an agent's composition of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The principal powers identified by Bourdieu are economic capital (material wealth), cultural capital (knowledge of the field), social capital (relations and networks of influence), and symbolic capital (prestige, honour) – the hierarchy to which these four species of capital adhere varies according to the field in focus (Bourdieu, 1989; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Vandenberghe, 1999). Therefore, Bourdieu likens a field to a 'battlefield', a social network of conflict and competition in which participants vie against one another to establish a monopoly over the species of capital effective in it to maximise their position (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:17; Prior, 2000).

7.2.5 Struggles

For Bourdieu, the systems of classification imposed upon society through the unequal distribution of capital serve to organise individuals, groups and classes into antagonistic social formations – inter-class social collectives that are 'continually engaged in a struggle to impose the definition of the world that is most congruent with their particular interests' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 14). It must be iterated here that struggles can transpire between classes and also between individuals within structurally related social networks.

Indeed, Bourdieu (1990a) emphasises the competitive and tenacious nature of struggles that take place within the most proximal and alike social spaces. The

struggles that occur within relatively homogeneous spaces are vital to the maintenance of the broad social structure according to Bourdieu. This is so because only in related social networks are genuine differences construed at a subjective level, and those perceptions of difference generated of socially unconnected groupings can only be projections (Bourdieu, 1990a). Therefore, those social relations that are the closest present the most real and imposing threats to social identity and the position that an individual occupies within a particular sub-region of the field in focus. Consequently, agents vie for the capital that holds currency within their native social framework, thus serving to reinforce and perpetuate its distinction. For Bourdieu (1990a) then, it is such 'intra-class' difference that maintains social order; by dividing those who are closest and most alike, 'inter-class' struggle is largely negated. Without the struggles that occur within the relatively homogeneous social spaces it is Bourdieu's (1990) belief that both difference and social meaning would decline and a large scale 'levelling-down' would occur as the broad social structure would relapse into a homogeneous and undifferentiated space.

However, Bourdieu does not reduce all fields to the distribution of economic capital and is quick to point out that a specific capital active within one field may be of less value or worthless in another (Ihlen, 2005). As Bourdieu (1984) describes, capital is a social relation, a property or 'energy' which only exists under the specific logic and laws of a particular field. Within each field or subfield there corresponds a species of capital which represents the 'Gold Standard' of capital, which confers the greatest power (Bourdieu, 1985; Maton, 2005). Social rank is therefore determined by the possession, or lack of such a commodity.

The struggles for legitimation and recognition within fields and subfields are motivated and espoused by the habitus. As the social field is structured according to the distribution of different types and volumes of capital, the habitus embodies the forms of species of capital active at a given social position located within a 'social neighbourhood' which shares a similar composition of capital – capital which is therefore recognised as desirable within that social locale. The habitus reflects

the tastes and judgements that are characteristic of the social environment in which it inhabits; traits which ultimately serve to classify and distinguish those who possess and endorse them (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1989). Such classifications and distinctions operate to both implicitly and explicitly demarcate social and structural divisions, thus generating an objectively differentiated sense of place.

What is more, Bourdieu indicates that the potential for transformation within a field is low, highlighting that cultural practices are socially situated, embedded in the systems of social distinctions which occupy opposing regions of that social space (Bourdieu, 1993; Swartz, 1997). It is such dispositions, distinctions and divisions which compartmentalise a field into functional parts which drive its autonomy, thus reproducing the dominant power relations. As Lash summarises, 'the more autonomous a field is, the greater the extent to which production in that field is only for the producers and not for the consumers in the social field (or field of power)' (1990:244). Bourdieu reinforces this perspective with his notion of homology. Defined as 'a resemblance within a difference', field homologies objectively place agents in equivalent or at least similar social positions across a myriad of separate fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:106). Bourdieu stipulates that the structural and functional characteristics of fields are isomorphic meaning that those in either dominant or subordinate positions in one field will most likely occupy respective positions in another (Bourdieu, 1990b; Bourdieu, 1993). Therefore, the concept of homology amongst fields serves to reproduce the power relations whilst simultaneously preventing subordinates from one field gaining advantage in another and upsetting the balance of that social space.

However, although the concept of field is heavily deterministic and the potential for mobility or transformation is low, Bourdieu (1984) does emphasise that capital can be acquired and that it can also be converted or reconverted. Made up of social obligations and networks of connections, social capital is convertible to economic capital, it can also be institutionalised in the form of a position or title; cultural capital may also be converted to economic capital and can be institutionalised in the form of qualifications (Bourdieu, 2002). Economic capital is more

straightforward as it is directly convertible into money (Bourdieu, 1986). Regardless of conversion or reconversion, capital always possesses a distinctive value, marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition, its roots (Bourdieu, 2002). The exchange rate for the conversion of capital is dictated by the dominant groups as they seek to preserve their monopoly over a field by simultaneously protecting their stock of the gold standard species of capital and reproducing its definition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1998). The conversion rate is therefore one of the fundamental stakes in the struggle between class factions (Bourdieu, 1984).

7.3 Early Client Behaviour towards Student Volunteers and 'Symbolic Violence'

The application of Bourdieu's concept of 'field' is useful in understanding the SUNEE project. For example, within this framework the client groups represent a sub-field (or region) within the economic and social fields, relatively low in the overall hierarchy. Contrastingly, the student volunteers exist at a higher relative position within a separate subfield as they possess a greater stock of specific capital that is desired within that field. However, the dynamics of the SUNEE project largely negate any economical or academic advantages held by the student volunteers and instead shift the emphasis towards those of the cultural, social and symbolic species of capital that are abundant amongst the client groups. It is important to note here that students were in the numerical minority across the majority of the SUNEE programmes, often outnumbered by clients ten or more to one, and this was particularly evident on the adult programmes which include 'hard to reach' groups such as ex-offenders, rehabilitating substance abusers, and the homeless. Therefore, many of the 'position-takings' (the stances taken by those who hold the dominant positions) evident throughout the SUNEE programmes were initially held by individuals belonging to the 'hard to reach' groups as conventional hierarchical social order became inverted and students initially found themselves to be low on the most valued and recognised species of capital. This was typically the situation

met by the majority of new volunteers entering the project regardless of how long the programmes had been running. Examples of such position-takings are illustrated below:

> When I first came in they just weren't having any of it. We'd spend about 20 minutes setting up cones and markers and whatever. They just took one look at it and walked straight back off and it took about half an hour to get about five of the lads doing it but we just had to clear it up because they weren't doing anything…Before me there used to be a young lad who coached here as well, he works here, he was only like 20-odd, 24 maybe, and there was a few clients who gave him a really hard time, and he just, and he'd walk out and they're half our age and we couldn't do anything with them. So he just couldn't do it at all.
>
> Dean, University A

> I mean, we had, we still have problems. I mean, some of them just don't want to know about the skills. I mean, it's hard trying to integrate them every week and getting them to do what we ask. I mean, because, it's just me and Ronny, and they take advantage. We aretrying to get them to do skills and practise certain things and they won't listen to us, they don't want to know, they just do their own thing. And there's nobody else, really, to, to help us with organising them, getting them to understand we're there to try and help them, because, obviously, we're new to it, and, I mean, we just took a few level one courses and both passed so we've just got qualified now. So, before that we didn't really, we didn't really have someone qualified to help, someone who knew how to get them on-side. So, it's, it's splitting the group.
>
> Jack, University B

> Yes. He's [Brett][36] probably the man on top about that but the people he's working with don't like to think anyone else owns anything. They think they're, they walk around as if they own the place. So I think they do give Brett a lot of stress.
>
> Joey, University A

Bourdieu (1995) posits that the dominant agents, perhaps the leaders, the domineering and outspoken characters among the client groups are likely to deploy defensive strategies to reinforce the discourse of orthodoxy. In an effort to preserve or enhance one's position of legitimacy and domination, it is common for those of position-takings to inflict symbolic violence upon subordinates (Bourdieu, 1977b). There was evidence of symbolic violence occurring within the SUNEE

[36] Brett is the Pseudonym allocated to the head football coach on the SUNEE programme at University A.

programme by some clients and aimed towards student volunteers. It was particularly in the early stages of a burgeoning programme or towards new volunteers that respondents described instances of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence can be described as any acts of communication which impose the systems of meaning, thought and perception that confer the power relations which exist in a social matrix of a sub-field or field (Bourdieu, 1979; 2000). Symbolic violence is wielded by those who possess the greatest stocks of symbolic capital – sources of prestige and recognition which are 'perceived through socially inculcated classificatory systems' and offer a potent source of power (Czepczynski, 2008:45). Moreover, Bourdieu highlights that social capital typically functions as symbolic capital because it is 'governed by the logic of knowledge and acknowledgement' (1986: 257). Here Bourdieu (1986) suggests that those agents who can draw on, and influence the greatest network of social connections within a system of relations are most likely to possess the largest stock of symbolic capital. Symbolic violence is therefore the tacit and often unconscious imposition of dominant categories of thought and perception by the power holders which are in turn internalised and accepted by the dominated, consequently legitimating the social order (Bourdieu, 2000). To this end, Bourdieu (1996) adds that the dominated are actively complicit in their domination due to a process of misrecognition, a process which perpetuates the power relations and contributes to the reproduction of the system of relations.

Returning to the SUNEE project, as illustrated below student volunteers reported experiencing client behaviour which served to socially exclude or emphasise divisions between themselves and/or their colleagues, and the client groups:

> There was a big, actually, there's a big divide in that they like stick to their shelter[37], so it was one group versus us, and that was very apparent.
>
> Vicki, University E

[37] The term 'shelter' refers to the temporary accommodation certain client groups are associated with.

> When they come here, they come here with this preconceived notion that it's, it's them against everybody else. And if it's not them personally, it's their, their own small little group from whatever community they come from.
>
> Craig, University E

> A lot of them seem to, like, come from backgrounds where they don't want to interact with anyone that's not in their, like, core group of mates or whatever. . . They don't, they wouldn't respect anybody really outside their group so basically they don't want to change that.
>
> Scott, University C

> Yeah, definitely, I mean, you can, you can see from the tight bond they have between them that they literally, they defend each other to the death, like they're really a tight group. And you can tell how, at the start, it took us a good few weeks to actually get past that initial barrier, the awkwardness; the Prince's Trust kids, the first group, I don't know if we like ever really got to know them, they were quite withdrawn, and not very friendly. And it was quite difficult to break that kind of, they saw us as kind of from the university, we've got a bit of money, or more than they have, and from a better background.
>
> Becki, University B

The symbolic forces at play here appeared to emphasise the social differentiation between the two diverse populations, a disjunction which highlighted a low stock of specific capital on the volunteers' behalf that was perhaps incongruent with the codes and values of the dominant social group at that stage in time – ostensibly the client groups. The following passages provide a sense of this:

> I personally feel for myself that when I first started there was… It's not suspicion, but they treat you like maybe as an outsider. Oh, it's a student.
>
> Joey, University A

> At the start it was, it was really them against us, it really was, and it took a lot to change that sort of feeling among the groups. But, uh, we have managed it and they do, they do treat us as a bit normal now. Before it was really, they couldn't talk to us because we're students, we're university students and we were, we were sort of out of their league for some reason, that's the way they were seeing us.
>
> Craig, University E

> They didn't really want to get to know us, it took them at least, like, three or four weeks to get …they thought, oh well, you're just two students, you know, like, Daddy pays for education, that sort of thing.
>
> Jess, University D

> At the last match day[38] there was quite a few students from University C who did have quite a posh accent and the lads were taking the Mickey out of them. It's a lot of jealousy, like, them students have had a really good upbringing whereas our lads haven't, so there's a bit of resentment there.
>
> Alison, University D

The distinctions perceived between the two groups and indeed the lack of specific species of capital, namely cultural and social capital, possessed by the student volunteers may offer explanation for the early distance between the two groups and the difficulty experienced by many student volunteers at the outset to establish a rapport with clients. Moreover, the negative, and at times, aggressive attitudes of some clients towards student volunteers illustrates the presence of symbolic violence. From the comments provided by students above it would appear that a root cause of the symbolic violence directed towards students by clients was due to a perceived disparity in economic capital, with clients acknowledging that students possess and have access to more economic resources and consequently demonstrate outward displays of difference, animosity, and resentment. According to interviewees, the effects of such instances of symbolic violence appeared to hinder any early progress of the student volunteers in two ways. First, such symbolic communications directed by the dominant client figures clearly appeared to affect the behaviour of the majority of the clients as a number of interviewees indicated that many clients were apprehensive of pulling away from their peers to participate in the sports activities alongside the students:

[38] A match day is an inter-project/university sports tournament where clients attached to each of the five regional institutions compete against each other.

They've got the barriers. We tried to go the other day and we went the week before and said, oh, do you want to do sports and it was oh yes, yes, yes, we'll do it, and then we went back Tuesday and only two out of like 50-odd joined in. So we had to go home because there was nothing to do. They all just stood watching him. There was a massive divide because they didn't want to come over and play. You could tell they clearly did but there was just no one to make that first move because it was all just they're the group and whoever makes the first move is like a traitor sort of thing . . . So no one wanted to be the first to join in with us for the fear of siding with the students sort of.

Dean, University, A

Well, a lot of them sort of have the… it's hard to break down the barriers at first because you… one of the biggest hindrances is that all their mates are in the background sort of laughing and joking at them because they're talking to students.

Jamie, University C

There was one dominant group who, from what behaviour I witnessed, I would class them as more bullies, and then there was the other group who you could tell just wanted to, to get on with it and wanted to get a new start. But they were certainly affected by the dominant group and it just seemed to hinder any real progress for weeks. . . We had, um, one guy who came in who, who was just really obnoxious. . . and you could see by his personality that he was also affecting the other participants. He was a persistent problem so in the end we just made sure that he was on a different activity to other people that he was affecting, and eventually, in fact, he just stopped coming, because he realised what a pain he was being, and I think he got his ego bruised a few times by some of the coaches.

Vicki, University E

Yes, like, well, as you get to know the groups I find, like, that I try to gain more respect of the really disruptive ones to start with, because if they seem to be on your side then everyone seems to follow. So once they're, like, into the session then everyone gets involved, and they all seem to run smoothly without any arguments, or any shouting or swearing.

Charlotte, University C

Secondly, such cultural and psychological forces of symbolic violation served to unsettle some volunteers, fostering conceptions of resentment and difference, ultimately hindering social integration. Such concerns and anxieties are captured below:

> Yes, the new volunteers. The volunteers that haven't had experience with this kind of group, they're all pretty nervous, and, um, they do sort of… they make it quite obvious, but, because of that, like, the Street League[39] clients will walk over to them, sort of thing, and, like, take the mick out of them sometimes. And if it puts them down quite a bit, then they need to learn to, like, take it on the chin. But at the same time, like I said, those Street League kinds could probably… they do lack a bit of respect as well.
>
> Stuart, University C

> But I do think there are, there are a few perhaps who still see a little bit of a divide; who still look at you as students and… I mean, I've played football a couple of times with them, where you know, they'll kick you up the backside when you're playing football and they won't… do you know what I mean, they'll say sorry to somebody else when they've knocked them, but they won't say it to you.
>
> Simon, University A

> It's all right now but, like, at the beginning they, like, just would have go at me or be swearing at me, like, no, I don't want to do that, it's not what I'm into and that, kind of, thing, then I'd be, like, agh! And that would obviously knock my confidence. . . And in one of the groups there's one really disruptive lad, really aggressive, and, like, until I felt, like, I knew how he was going react, I didn't really want to do too, like, too much.
>
> Charlotte, University C

> Oh, no, I feel I've got to be very careful what I say like, because I mean, as I said to Alan, I says, look, I says, because one of them had a problem with me. . . But like he's one of the hotheads of the group, you know. It's just I came in and, uh, gave sessions with them and he didn't like that and he didn't like the change like.
>
> Rory, University E

Here, the data illustrates that the convergence of two unrelated social groups, students and clients, has led to an inversion of structural positions in which the value of economic and academic/intellectual capital has been supplanted by the emphasis placed upon social and cultural capital as these are the species of capital which the clients, the majority group, have an abundance of. Students struggle to forge relationships with clients in the early stages not because they lack social and cultural stocks of capital, but because the capital that they hold is not as recognisable, and therefore not as valuable and desirable to clients. Therefore, clients are more inclined to associate with, and vie for capital which they perceive

[39] A programme that delivers football and education to some of the most disadvantaged young people (16-25 year olds) across the UK (Street League, 2011).

holds the greatest currency within their native social sub-field. Moreover, those clients who hold the position-takings exhibit symbolic violence towards both the students and fellow clients in an attempt to maintain the system of power relations that are most congruent with their own interests, as evident across the SUNEE project.

7.4 Struggles and Challenges to Autonomy

To reiterate, collectively the client groups significantly outnumbered student volunteers on the majority of SUNEE programmes, therefore the client sub-field held the dominant representation at the outset of many of the programmes. Throughout this chapter struggles between the 'hard to reach' clients and student volunteers are both implied and explicitly documented as both sides attempt to impose the behaviours, actions, values and (rule) structures that hold meaning to them. A key struggle frequently outlined by student volunteers was the challenges they faced when attempting to implement structure into the sports activities and other programmes, for example incorporating distinct components of a training session such as a warm-up section, skills section, tactical section and a conditioned game. The resistance that they faced, and commonly succumbed to in the early stages of the programme was that the clients only wanted to play competitive games, 'competition' being the operative word. Student volunteers comment that in the beginning the client groups wanted to, and did their own thing with scant regard for the 'requests' and 'commands' of the volunteer coaches and helpers. In time, the student volunteers and coaches were able to have more input into the structure of the sessions and were gradually taken more seriously, receiving increasing compliance from the client groups. Student volunteers commented that the compliance they received was reasonably parallel to the level of rapport that they had built with clients, a trend steadily increasing over time and that will become evident throughout the remainder of this chapter. Cited below are two

examples illustrative of the struggles student volunteers experienced when attempting to implement structure within the sport sessions:

> I think there's the case of, we just want to play the game. We don't want to do anything else. We don't want to do anything that's going to be particularly fitness based. We don't want to do anything that's going to make us out of breath. We want to have a fag[40] break every 20 minutes… most of them would refuse to do a warm-up and sit on the sides and say, I'll come and join in when you start the game. And you could tell them until you're blue in the face that this is a warm up, it'll help you in your game, you'll play better, you'll have less chance of injury, etc. etc. etc.
>
> Simon, University A

> A lot of them just want to play a game. They just think football's about playing a game and nothing else, no structure, no nothing. . . So, the first couple of weeks, I think, once we'd got to know them, we just played a couple of games and get to know each other and then we started structuring, like. And we was doing skills and basics the first week, shooting the next; um, dribbling, defending or something the, the next week. So, we tried to structure it like that so they got different skills each week. . . But they just don't want to do drills. . . They don't enjoy doing the coaching work, which I put across to them as much as possible, it's about the coaching as well as playing games. . . I'll try and just introduce something where they all agree to do coaching. And we've tried it, we've tried it every week; we've tried to say, you know, put your hand up if everybody agrees to do coaching and a game. And they've said they would and then the next week they won't. Um, and we've just got to try and keep trying, and trying, ah, just things to try and get them more involved. . . But it's, it's, it's hard because some of them just don't want, they just want to play a game. It's hard because a lot of them either storm off or they just sit out and not bother playing. You can try, try and get them back in but some of them just don't want to know.
>
> Jack, University B

Such struggles are not surprising as Bourdieu (1993) states that sport presents an eternal site of struggle between agents who seek to impose the legitimate function, format or practice of the sporting activity. Bourdieu (1995) goes on to suggest that the conflicts and struggles occurring between the student volunteers and the client groups drive the autonomy of the current sub-field as both parties express that they value the 'game', the cause in which they are competing in, and that they believe in the value of the stakes. It is these conflicts and disputes that help to produce the belief in the value of the game and that ultimately underpin the *illusio*. The novelty here is that struggles played out through the SUNEE project do so between groups from heterogeneous social spaces, all of which become an

[40] A 'fag' is slang word for a cigarette.

accepted part of the 'game' and are incorporated into the *doxa* – it now 'goes without saying' that the integrated participation of the two diverse groups is mutually inclusive. Bourdieu (1995) adds here that conflict and struggle precede agreement, agreement on the preserved or transformed structure of power relations and the species of capital which are therefore perceived as the gold standard, agreement on the format of the sports programmes and activities and who has the authority to dictate those procedures. Therefore it can be stated that the SUNEE project appears to initially exaggerate the struggles between the student volunteers and the 'hard to reach' client groups as implied by the data thus far. However, as Bourdieu (1990a) is at pains to point out, struggle and conflict suggest a tacit acceptance for the rules of the 'game' by the groups and individuals involved as well as the belief in the 'game', and the value of its stakes or the species of capital currently active within that field or subfield.

Moreover, Bourdieu (1983) suggests that to affect change and transformation within a field then its degree of autonomy must be weakened. A field's autonomy is constantly under threat from encompassing fields, namely the economic and political fields (Bourdieu, 2004). In the case of the SUNEE project, the autonomy of the social field comes under threat from a number of different fields – stakeholders in the project who represent political, economic and higher education fields. Bourdieu (1983; 1996) suggests that the effect of such external forces upon the field would be to inflict a partial loss of autonomy upon it due to the imposition of various heteronymous conditions, such as sanctions or the incentive of rewards. For example, clients must sign a contract agreeing to adhere to a code of conduct and specific rules if they are to continue to participate on their designated programmes. The following passages illustrate how client behaviour and their retention on the programmes became influenced by external stipulations or rewards:

> Well, if I compare what they're like now to what they were when they first met me, I think there is a marked difference… newer members who've turned up, for instance, who were initially sceptical of me, because they knew I was a student and I wasn't a client… um, I think with the introduction of Street League, these tend to have been filtered out a little bit because there's a few more… now there's contractual agreements they have to adhere to and sign in order to continue. I think those people think fine, I'm not going to play up anymore.
>
> Simon, University A

> Because they think that if they turn up for the day they're going to get a token[41] no matter if they take part in the event or not. So what we're trying to do, we're trying to say, look, if you turn up, you take part. If you don't take part, you're not getting a token.
>
> Rory, University D

> Just some of them are only here because they, at least in the beginning, they're here because they have to be to fill in so many hours a week as part of the terms of their probation or whatever, or because they just want to play football. Now, we are starting to get to the stage where they know when they come to a programme that they're going to have to go through a full session, that's part of it and they also get a game at the end. But, you know, they have to go through a full structured session first.
>
> Craig, University E

> I think a lot of them hate doing the warm-up; they just want to play a match. Um, but Brett makes them do an hour's sort of training, whatever he does, the drills and stuff like that. Um, this sort of disciplines them, um, makes them learn that they're not going to get their own way unless they adhere and contribute something, which is through the drills, and then they'll get something back, which is, um, the match at the end. It's a case of if you don't do the warm-up, if you don't do the drills, don't come back kind of thing. It means too much to them not to do it.
>
> Dominic, University A

These constraints and influences imposed upon the 'hard to reach' groups served to facilitate the integration of, and enhance the relationships developed between the clients and student volunteers by promoting adherence to the programme. On the other hand, student volunteers must accrue a set number of hours of volunteering on the project in order to qualify for the free coaching qualifications paid for by the SUNEE project. Many interviewees attributed their initial motives for regularly

[41] Tokens are incentives that are given to clients when they attend a SUNEE session. Amassed tokens can be traded for free kit or equipment.

volunteering to the external system of incentives offered by the SUNEE project to recruit student volunteers:

> Yes, so basically because I wanted to do my football coaching badges[42] and therefore, Team University A said if you do a little bit of volunteering, we'll pay for it. Also, what they've got this year is a lot of the [college sport] clubs have now got commitments that they have to do - I can't remember, 50 hours of volunteering or something, as a club every year. You know, I mean, it's written down in their contract – I presume for their funding or something, for funding reasons, they have to do 50 hours and um, you know, because people are really reluctant to do it.
>
> Simon, University A

> The system at University B works that you… it's on merit, basically. So if you do five hours, you get so much off your membership next year. If you do 12 hours, you get free kit and you get a bit more off your membership, you know, that kind of thing. And as you get to, I think it's about 30 hours in a year, you then get to the point where you can get level-one coaching qualifications paid for. Obviously, I've done a lot more than 30 hours this year, but then I've also received a scholarship for them.
>
> Gareth, University B

> The reason I volunteered was mainly a selfish one, like, for CVs and qualifications and that, that, kind of, thing and experience.
>
> Charlotte, University C

The varying degrees of heteronomy imposed by the external forces acting upon the SUNEE participants evoke a crisis of habitus upon the social agents involved with the programme (Deer, 2003). This is because social integration strategies such as the SUNEE project, which have proven popular in recent times, foster socially differentiated environments which offer a stark contrast to the systems of relations typically found in mainstream society. Bourdieu (2004) states that such environments serve to weaken the autonomy of the specific field that they represent by becoming deeply immersed in social relations which foster rich interaction between agents of varying social positions. Under such conditions the locus of the habitus becomes unsettled as agents of typically unconnected systems of social relations become juxtaposed. It is in this instance that Bourdieu is keen to

[42] National Governing Body accredited coaching qualifications.

stress that 'habitus is not the fate that some people read into it', stating that he places such emphasis on the inertia of habitus as 'most people are statistically bound to encounter circumstances that tend to agree with those that are originally fashioned in the habitus', and are therefore not likely to have opportunities to gain access to novel social conditions and experiences which might reshape or rehabilitate the habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:133; Noble and Watkins, 2003).

According to Bourdieu's framework, the SUNEE project elicits a disruption to the social field, at least in respect to the groups participating within the SUNEE project, partially threatening its autonomy. Although social intervention and outreach strategies perhaps present a novel concept for application within a field based framework, such adaptation is possible. To recap, Bourdieu outlines that struggles for legitimacy are confined within sub-fields or regions of fields, between systems of similar relations such as social classes or groups; intra-class struggle typically functions to sustain the autonomy of a field. However, the SUNEE project invites the convergence of differentiated systems of relations, instigating a shift which Bourdieu would argue is likely to weaken the autonomy of the social field. According to the dynamics of Bourdieu's field framework, the integration of a small number of volunteers with a majority client group presents the possibility for change. Bourdieu (1996) states that new entrants to a distinct social space or system of social relations and similar dispositions, are most lacking in the specific capital, the currency required to occupy a distinctive position within that social set of relations. It is these new entrants, newcomers, or the student volunteers in this instance, who are initially deprived of the specific capital, and who exist by subconsciously or consciously asserting their identity and ultimately imposing their difference upon on those around them (Bourdieu, 1996).

To this effect, the student volunteers become known and gain recognition from the client groups, imposing novel modes of thought, conduct, and expression (Bourdieu, 1996). As a consequence, there is a break with current modes of thought, a critical break with the *doxa* as the ordinary is no longer taken for

granted, and a crisis of habitus ensues (Bourdieu, 1985; 1995; 1996). Maton would argue that the student volunteers represent the 'profane threatening the sacred' (2005:694); the sacred meaning the symbolic structures of legitimation imposed by the position-takings among the 'hard to reach' clients. As Bourdieu (1996) suggests, a field does present a system of possibles despite its inherently deterministic nature, it is a structure of probabilities, a game of chances, profits and losses. Bourdieu goes on to emphasise that competition for such stakes generate gaps in the field, 'structural lacunae', areas of opportunity which occasionally appear and are accessible to those of a compatible field position and habitus (1996:239). Bourdieu (1996) highlights that no matter how restrictive or suppressive the structures that serve to inhibit the transformation of an agent's position, there is always a margin of objective freedom that is attainable, and the seizing of such opportunities is dictated according to an agent's subjective dispositions. Via successful interaction in the game, or in this case the SUNEE project, agents may naturally gravitate to a lacunae that might have opened up, a place offering them a foothold with which to subvert the established distribution of capital. The following passages highlight this by illustrating how the relationships between the clients and student volunteers gradually began to change and develop:

> [At first] I felt that they were a bit, very standoffish with me to start with , I think, because I'm, like, I'm one of the only girls on it as well, so I think it was, like... especially with the Street League lads, it's a football programme, and you're a girl, like, but I'd just done a few coaching things, so I think, like, to start with it was as if they didn't think I... it was pointless being there because I was a girl and, you know. . . they won't give you any respect at all until, like, in their terms you've, kind of, earned their respect. So, like, after a few sessions they were like, you're not too bad, like.
>
> Charlotte, University C

Oh, yeah, we had, we had a tournament. It was actually – I was helping out with a side dribble where you get, you drop the shoulder, come back inside and I was explaining to them why you dropped the shoulder. It's not just controlling the ball with the outside of your foot; it's actually dropping the shoulder to make them believe you're going in one direction and then changing direction. And I had one of the guys who normally cause problems wanting to play football and get involved in the tournament. I was showing him the dribble and eventually got him doing it properly, well it was almost right. And he was like, oh, right, right. We had the tournament the next week and this guy came in, he run down the left, dropped the shoulder, came back inside and scored a goal. He just goes… I did what you told us, he goes, it works. So it is, you do see them come back with stuff like that; they're excited, oh, yeah, it works, it works! And then they start to listen to you after that, start to realise there's something to what you say and show them.

Craig, University, E

I'm a qualified referee and I referee them [the clients] in the tournaments. Some of the lads [clients] are on the refereeing courses so they'll always be coming and asking me questions about it and about why I made certain decisions… also because some of them may be unfit or what have you. . . whenever they're picking teams, you're always one of the first to get picked because they want you in the side. So they definitely look up to you. They see you as someone who can help them out.

Dominic, University A

They gain respect for you through the training.

Kim, University E

There's like one lad, I think because whenever we tried to get him to do sports, kind of thing, he just wasn't really interested, he was more interested in, I think it's kind of the macho man kind of outlook, kind of thing. He wanted to get bigger, he wanted to look the part kind of thing, and a lot of lads in general do kind of think that way, they do want to, they want to get bigger, you know, they want massive arms and all of this kind of thing. I've actually took time out kind of thing, to personally kind of teach him how to lift weights and stuff, and he does take on board everything I've kind of told him. And I think I did kind of help him, and he, every time I see him in the gym now, he's kind of, he's asking for different tips and what else he can do, kind of thing. It's good, I think it's helped him as well because whenever he goes in now, he's a lot more chilled out, kind of thing, he's not on edge kind of thing, and when he's in there no one is going to shout at him kind of thing, he's just going to be spoken to as a human being, really. So I think that's helped him a lot.

Tom, University C

The passages above were framed in a temporal context by the interviewees as they report how their relationships with clients progressively developed over time. Here students infer that as their coaching knowledge and ability gained increasing recognition from clients due to the realisation of how such support and expertise

could benefit and develop them, the volunteers were able to gain improved position and respect amongst the 'hard to reach' groups.

According to Bourdieu (1995), it is those who occupy the subordinate positions that are most likely to turn to strategies of subversion and/or transformation. Although the examples provided here do not necessarily imply a contrived attempt by the student volunteers to 'subvert the legitimate order' in Bourdieuian terms, they do however suggest an unconscious shift towards structural lacunae that appear to have opportunely arisen. The examples provided directly above demonstrate that 'hard to reach' clients were beginning to recognise and acknowledge the assets, or forms of capital with which the student volunteers were endowed and the potential gains to which those clients perceived that they could accrue from interacting with the students over time. It is this perceived value of what the student volunteers have to offer the client groups which draw the groups together, the ensuing socialisation and integration stimulates reciprocal exchanges between the students and client groups, and promotes a degree of transformation of that particular social space.

7.5 Shifts in the Social Field

Student volunteers largely comment that in the early stages of their time working on the SUNEE project they experienced difficulty gaining trust from the client groups and breaking down barriers, and either stating or implying that they felt a sense of resentment or disdain from many of the clients. To aid explanation of the distance and segregation to an extent imposed by the client groups upon the student volunteers, Bourdieu's (1984) framework of field would suggest incongruence in both the volume and composition of species of capital between the groups, whilst indicating also that social agents are amenable to those of similar distinctions due to a comparable stock of capital. It can be postulated that the 'hard to reach' clients did not recognise or value the yield of capital brought to the

programme by the student volunteers and instead felt opposed or threatened by it. However, over varying periods of time, and depending on student and type of client group, the volunteers indicated that they gradually gained recognition and acceptance from the majority of the clients that they were working with on their given programmes, to the point that many student volunteers felt that they had built solid working relationships and even friendships with many clients:

> Yeah, definitely, they've definitely grown fond of us and us to them, they see us as partners, it's not just, oh, these are the university people, they actually say they want us to be involved in their games and practice as equals with them instead of outsiders.
>
> Mike, University D

> We're just learning, like they're learning as well. Um, we've definitely gained interpersonal skills, um, sort of communication skills, for communicating with a wide range of people. Confidence as well, um, going down into a session with 20… like, some of them are big, beefy lads with sort of tattoos. You're getting on well with, um, a range of different people, um, from different backgrounds.
>
> Dominic, University A

> Probably, like, seeing the lads enjoying it, like, getting more confident each week and, like, I've made friends now that I would never have made before, like, we are going to keep in touch with them to see how they're getting on in life. So we're going to be seeing them around the uni so it will be nice. I think I've got more confident as well because before I wouldn't dare go and talk to them but now, like, I really look forward to seeing them, to see what they've been up to.
>
> Jess, University D

Such trends reported by the student volunteers suggest that the dynamics of the SUNEE project evoked shifts in the social field via the recognition, accumulation and/or conversion of a variety of forms of capital. For Bourdieu (2002), capital is accumulated labour grown and developed by and between social agents and groups. Taking materialised or embodied forms, this accumulated labour translates to currency active within an individual's social world.

Of the three core categories of capital Bourdieu outlines, the cultural and social species of capital are particularly pertinent to the dynamics of the SUNEE project. Bourdieu (1986) acknowledges three key strands of cultural capital, to which we

can observe his notion of the embodied state here. Embodied capital refers to the incorporation of one's culture, the social world around them, and the cultivation and internalisation of what is recognised as valuable and appropriate within one's social environment. Bourdieu (2002) states that embodied capital is a product of time, effort, it is a personal investment. This form of capital sheds light on the dispositions and moorings of the habitus, yet it also implies potential for social and habitual adaptation. To reach an embodied state requires a labour of 'inculcation and assimilation' into, and of one's social environment, a process which endows an agent with the specific cultural competence to exist within that social space (Bourdieu, 2002; 283). Therefore, in time, the realigned social trajectory influenced by the SUNEE project has shown signs of adapting the embodied states of both student volunteers and clients alike by subtly manipulating modes of thinking, personal characteristics, and manners and so on. The following passages highlight how client recognition of familiar and similar embodied traits of a number of local student volunteers facilitated the development of a rapport between the two groups:

> I think, maybe being from up here, I had things in common with them such as sport, knowing the local town, we all support the same football team, they all have an interest in sport. Normally I'd have discussions about what was on Sky Sports News, a bit of interaction there, and just social aspects, we'd normally have discussions about social aspects and having a general laugh, I think that gets you that trust, he seems all right, he's like one of us.
>
> Mike, University D

> There's… I think there's one or two of us who are fairly, um, local, obviously north-east… um, I'm only from a local area, so I know… I get on well with them, like. Um, but there's one or two… there's a lad from the North West and a lad from Humberside, there's a lad from London. Um, I definitely think they respond to you better because you're from the North-East. Yes. … um, I think if you shot a brainy, posh upper class southerner in there, then they'd probably, um, have a bit of banter about that. They always, um, wind the lad up with the, um, cockney accent and stuff like that. Um, there's a lass from City B who they get on well with. I think they definitely respond to you better if you're from this area and you have a knowledge of the background, and then you can have a bit of football banter with them. Most of us support local clubs. I definitely think it helps, coming from the North-East.
>
> Dominic, University A

> They're normally all right, obviously, because I'm, like… I'm local, and I've got a bit of a Geordie[43] accent and stuff. Obviously, they took very well to me. Like, one of the other lads, Aaron, he's from the North West, so he's got a different accent, and he gets a bit of lip… he gets a bit of grief off them sometimes. . . So, um, yes, I mean… because pretty much all of them are… they've all got a passion for sport, and, obviously, I love my sport. I study a sport degree, I did all sport at college. Um, I've only ever worked in sport and leisure, and so I absolutely love it, and, obviously… especially the Street League, all the lads want to do is play football. And they're all a group of lads and they all support City B, and I'm a Geordie lad, so I happen to share that with them, and we can always have a laugh about it and stuff.
>
> Stuart, University C

Bourdieu's (1990; 1993; 1995) insights into sport and physical culture imply that the field of sport overlaps with a number of other fields, perhaps most obviously with the social field. Moreover, Bourdieu (1995) stresses that all individuals who are involved in a field must have in common a number of fundamental interests. In light of the evidence cited above, the SUNEE project provides an environment where 'hard to reach' clients and student volunteers can explore and discover a variety of sports and social related themes in which they have a common interest or to which they share similar traits which may draw them closer to each other, fostering prosocial interaction and the exchange, accumulation or conversion of capital. For Bourdieu, the vehicle of sport provides a further mechanism with which to arouse the unconscious observation and analysis of the habitus of other social agents. To elaborate, social structures are embodied according to Bourdieu (1989; 1990; 1993), and the tastes, attitudes, behaviours and values inculcated in individuals by the positions with which they occupy in the structure of relations and the cultural traits espoused by that social locale are reflected in both their social and sporting actions.

Therefore, and as indicated by the responses of the interviewees above, sports based outreach programmes such as the SUNEE project open up a multitude of further opportunities, physical or dialogical, to facilitate social learning and integration as well as the subsequent shifts in capital. Moreover, a constant thread throughout this chapter has been the close relationship between the habitus and

[43] A 'Geordie' is a person born and raised in the North East of England, yet who is more locally associated with being a native of Newcastle upon Tyne.

the type of capital with which it confers power. Bourdieu adds that cultural 'capital is marked by its earliest conditions of acquisition' (2002:283), a statement which tallies with a number of student volunteers who indicate above that they gained recognition and acknowledgement relatively quickly from many of the clients seemingly because they possess a variety of local/regional personality traits, characteristics, knowledge and interests. For example, such traits as their 'accent', 'knowing the local town', 'support local clubs', and being a 'Geordie' aided the student volunteers in gaining the clients' favour. Such characteristics and traits have been hewn over time and engrained with the social and cultural markings of the student volunteers' roots, recognisable and demonstrative of meaning appreciated and valued by many of the 'hard to reach' clients. This evidence is further illustrative that embodied cultural capital is operational here within the SUNEE project, serving to cut across preconceived social distinctions and divides to convey commonality and foster integration.

Moreover, social capital describes the relationships and networks of connections that people can tap into by virtue of their social position and the volume of capital that they possess (Bourdieu, 2002; Zarycki, 2007). Social capital is characteristic to a social formation and implies membership to that group, offering mutual knowledge and recognition. Bourdieu goes on to emphasise that social capital always functions as symbolic capital because it is 'governed by the logic of knowledge and acknowledgement' of a given system of relations (Bourdieu, 1986: 257). Social capital is therefore used to create and reproduce a useful network of relationships which will yield the material or symbolic profits which are perceived to be currently active within a given social space (Bourdieu, 1986). Student volunteers implied that the various programmes of the SUNEE project fostered efforts to establish relationships by, and between both students and clients:

> There's a couple of guys there who basically when they first showed up obviously had… they seemed like not really… well they just showed up and played football, basically. But then after we got talking to them week after week they wanted, they came to us about qualifications, basically, of doing their level one football (qualification). And basically one of them came and, er, got talking with Peter, and that and then Peter, said, well, I'll tell you what, I'll observe you basically, look at your behaviour and then we'll see how it goes and then maybe I'll put you through it, maybe. And then obviously he shaped up. His manners was brilliant, everything. And then Peter, obviously put him through his level one. And as I say, in there just recently there a guy, um, can't think of his name but people call him Rocky. But, er, he's a similar story like. He's quite a rough lad and everyone, all the team seem to respect him. He's like the leader, I think, in a way. Um, basically like he seems to have changed round, like I see him often in the gym now as well. He's totally changed in a way that he has, he wants to do more things basically with his life so I feel like it's changed him round a good bit, to be fair.
>
> Scott, University C

> For me, I've seen clients who have been very reluctant to engage with coaches, students, with the programme, and in a year, year and a half to actually get some qualifications and then become coaches.
>
> Rick, University D

> Oh, yeah, that was one belief and just the respect as well. I keep on coming back to this point. It is severely lacking initially when they come and we have to build up, build up, build up and it really… it depends on the coaches as well, like you have to be strong enough to demand it, to demand it, to demand that they give respect themselves to the people as well. I mean at this stage we can through with the guys messing around, causing problems and go, come on, just think about it, you are letting yourself down. And before that they wouldn't care less, but you see that their respect is starting to build up. And so I think respect for themselves and for others and the belief that they have the ability to go on and do this sort of stuff. I go back the mentor again. I mean he came to us in a programme, just wanted to fill two hours a week doing something because he didn't have anything else to do. And now we have him as a qualified referee; he's a mentor, he goes out at the weekend and he referees kids' games. He does, he comes in, does some university games as well and he has the belief that he can actually do it now and he can progress on, realising that, well, I've done this step, I can move on to the next one and the next one.
>
> Craig, University E

Furthermore, Bourdieu (2002) would suggest that such relationships are the products of either conscious or unconscious investment strategies implemented to *get on* and develop usable connections within the SUNEE collectives. Echoing Bourdieu's (2002) ideas, student volunteers indicated that the SUNEE programme was able to nurture subjective feelings such as respect, gratitude and friendship through the exchange of both dialogue and physical play/sport – acts of institution

which served to engender and enhance social capital between students and 'hard to reach' groups in the neutral sport setting:

> It's been pretty amazing and it's really, like, it's just added a lot to my life. I don't think they [the clients], they'll ever realise that or know it, but, like they can… if you're having a bit of a rubbish day, oh, I need to go to this volunteering group. They come in, in such high spirits even though they've spent the day in the bus station, or, you know, wandering around the city's park, it's just like, well, if they can be happy about what's going on then I definitely should be.
>
> Ruth, University A

> It definitely feels good, like, after how tense it was at first, then, how good it feels like when the lads want to turn up after, like, two or three weeks or if they have a bad session and then they do come back the next week. And they're like, you alright? Yes, I'm good thanks, how are you? Kind of thing... like, I respected that.
>
> Charlotte, University C

> But I think at the end, when they came to us, to the guys, to Jonny and his helpers from the Debating Society and to us, the gratitude was, I think it was something beyond just, you know, thanks for coming to watch me. It was you know, thanks for the whole project. Particularly, a couple of them were, you know, oh, thanks, thanks, so much… But I got the feeling from the way that they thanked us at the end that it was a bit more than just, thanks for coming. Um, it was more a case of, you know, thanks for putting the whole thing on for us.
>
> Simon, University A

> I think when they see how we get on with each other, me and Jess, then them, sort of, does, sort of, rub off on them and it does make them act positive towards you and have more respect for each other and I think when they're, like, working with us, it is giving them respect for different people, like, they might have never met before. . . and I think they've had to change because obviously two women involved which they've never had that before, so I think they have had to change, like, and I feel that the lads, come on lads, there's girls here, watch your language, and then the older lads will tell them, all right, there's girls around and stuff and even when they're cracking a joke, some of them, some are really rude. Not what you want to hear but then they realise we're there and they're, like, sorry, I totally forgot. But I think it's probably because they're not around, never been around females like this before.
>
> Alison, University D

> It's a bit of respect, um, for the people that are helping you, um, which I think is… some of them… like, one or two of them that told me about when they've been in schools, they reckon they've got no respect off the teachers. I think if you give them respect, they'll give you it back, so I think they've definitely learnt to respect people. Um, appreciate that you are there to help them; um, that it's not just a tenner for two hours, get a free cup of tea and have a mess about. Um, and they definitely appreciate you're there. Um, we've definitely learnt to get on well with each other. Um, I think a lot of them have, um, seen the positive aspects that this sport project brings; um, responsibility and especially things like teamwork and team bonding.
>
> Dominic, University A

The responses illustrated here are characteristic of traditional sport philosophies espoused past and present through school sport systems and military physical training according to Bourdieu (1993). Bourdieu (1993) adds that when sport is used in this way as a social training modality it has the ability to be character forming, inculcating participants with sporting virtues and moral ideals such as team work and fair play, values similar to those which appear to be instilled during the SUNEE programme and which are symbolic of those values which are encouraged in the outside world. To this end, Bourdieu (1993) hints that the rules and standards active in sport, particularly initiatives such as SUNEE, have the potential to transcend social differences and distinctions on and off the sporting field, if the same rules and standards can be transmitted and observed across the diverse groups who are willing to accommodate such structures.

Moreover, data provided by the student volunteers suggests that the SUNEE project has the potential to evoke shifts in the social field via the conversion of a variety of forms of capital. Such trends are in line with Bourdieuian theory which implies that all fields possess a measure of indeterminacy despite the deep-rooted reproductive power relations which fields typically operate under. Change however, is partly inhibited by the habitus, the embodiment of one's collective which ultimately sets an individual's social boundaries (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The main problem impeding change here is that people tend to exist within specific regions of a field, specific class groups, and homologous systems of relations and are rarely provided opportunities for mixing socially beyond one's sub-field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The SUNEE project however, promotes the integration of individuals from distinctively separate subfields and social factions,

providing experiences capable of gradually rupturing the dispositions buttressed within the habitus. For Bourdieu states that to rupture deep rooted modes of thinking ‘a conversion of one’s gaze’ is required to assist them to ‘cast a new gaze’ upon the social world (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 251). The habitus is described as being ‘creative and inventive’ but only within the limits of an individual’s social structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:19). The SUNEE project offers both student volunteers and client groups’ sustained exposure to novel social stimuli which have the potential to recondition and adapt the habitus to a certain degree and develop a connectedness to inform and alter social practice and perception. Such notions are validated by the responses below:

> I think this has definitely benefited myself, like attending and participating in sessions like these, I just find it's opened my eyes really, because you kind of take for granted, everyone is single minded to a degree of what people go through, and taking part and actually meeting people who are in these situations, you have to open your eyes and you have to be open minded as to why and how they are affected by this and how you can help them to not be affected. So I think just personally, it's just contributes to personal skills really, I find it's just made me more confident in coaching and more confident in a kind of situation where if I did meet someone and they were, you know, um, they weren't in the best of positions, I think I would be able to kind of speak to them and kind of help them out, and not have the negative attitude and not look down on them. I would consider how they're feeling and, you know, I would try and help in a situation rather than just brushing them aside and just thinking nothing of it.
>
> Tom, University C

> For me, it's changed my perceptions of people because, I'll be honest with you, before this programme started, I was with the majority of people, like people who take drugs, people who go to jail, I don't really have time for them. But now getting to know them as human beings, some of them have been... I wouldn't say wrong place wrong time, but have done things, which they've regretted, and now because of this fantastic training, they really want to grasp it and they can change themselves.
>
> Rick, University D

> I think it is important, especially going to university here. Like this actually drives me mad going to university with some of the people here, because they’ve been wrapped in cotton wool, if you ask me. So, I think it is important. And I think it is important for some of those people to do the volunteering to be perfectly honest with you, because I think, having been to a private school, having been to a private school for my final two years, I realised some kids who go through private education don’t quite realise there’s a world out there, even when they’re 18 and leave school. They don’t quite realise that there’s a world outside of the bubble that they live in and I do get the feeling that, that is the same at the university. So I think for me, um, that’s been really good socially, gaining the social skills.
>
> Simon, University A

> I was worried when I first, first started here, because I didn't know what they were like and, um, like, being Indian myself, I thought they might be racist and stuff like that, but it's not the case, really, they were, like, quite welcoming and quite nice. . . I didn't have any problems. That was a positive thing. There didn't seem to be any negative aspects about it, really.
>
> Janith, University D

> I've learnt that everyone with disabilities could do it, but this, doing the project, has showed me that they have every potential to do exactly the same as any other child. They shouldn't be discriminated against because they're disabled, especially children with, like, behavioural problems and, um, and learning difficulties. Like, that is classified as a disability and autism and things like that, but they're… physically they can still do everything the same as an able-bodied child, whereas when you have, like, um, the blind children, the deaf children, the wheelchair users, they… physically… have an impairment compared to able-bodied. So, you have to be… you have to work your sessions around that. But, they again can still do it; it just takes them that little bit longer. So, I've learned to… I've learnt to be a lot more understanding of different people and obviously of the hard to reach. I've learnt that you can't stereotype people into categories because everyone's different. People want… people want to change. People want to be given these opportunities and through SUNEE they're given that.
>
> Jasmine, University E

Here the student volunteers highlight that the novel social conditions and experiences espoused by the SUNEE project can shape and rehabilitate participants' dispositions and perceptions. This evidence captures the dynamism of the habitus and its capacity for modification (Noble and Watkins, 2003). Despite the conservative and deterministic emphasis that Bourdieu typically places upon the habitus, he iterates that as 'an open system of dispositions' it is constantly affected by the subjective experiences that it is exposed to (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:133). Bourdieu adds that most people are largely confined to their social subfields, a scenario heavily shaping and shaped by their habitus – a trend that serves to reinforce and perpetuate the broad social structure. However, the SUNEE project promotes the convergence of members from separate subfields, subjecting the habitus to novel social conditions and experiences which enable the 'conscious reworking of the dispositions within the habitus' and as a consequence creates the possibility of change by 'equipping the habitus with a far greater agentic function' (Noble and Watkins, 2003: 133). To this end, the unfolding dynamics of, and experiences provided by the SUNEE project reveal that the habitus is more than just the passive construct many scholars understand it to be, with student volunteers

illustrating the potential of such sports outreach programmes to create novel subjective experiences which are capable of remodelling the habitus and transcending the systems of relations by promoting social integration and inclusion amongst diverse groups.

7.6 Conclusion

Chapter Five revealed that the majority of students that were interviewed volunteer on the SUNEE project in order to gain work-related experience, enhance their coaching portfolio and to develop their transferable skills with the ultimate goal of boosting their prospects of employability or selection in what they perceive as a competitive jobs and professional training markets. This chapter argues that in participating in SUNEE and sustaining their involvement in the project for an extended period of time, student volunteers develop a confident perception that their prospects of employment both outside of the scheme and away from their degree programme are enhanced. This chapter applies Bourdieu's framework of field to convey this argument by illustrating the development, conversion and transfer of various species of capital in and between student volunteers. The chapter goes onto demonstrate the interrelated nature between the key concepts underpinning field theory by highlighting the ability of distinct forms of capital to draw diverse individuals together in a process which serves to reveal the dynamic side of the habitus and its capacity for adaptation. This process further benefits the volunteers as their experiences provides them with a subjective understanding of these 'hard to reach' client groups with which to more accurately and fairly shape their perceptions of, and attitudes towards them, and also enable students to develop strategies of approaching, coping and integrating with them. Student volunteers largely subscribe to the belief that this not only helps ready them for the paid jobs market but may also signal to potential employers, who assay and review job applications and applicant profiles, that these individuals are able to 'hit the ground running' and are unlikely to be overawed by related scenarios.

To further summarise this argument through Bourdieu's framework of field, as the SUNEE programme introduces diverse social groups to one another it instigates struggles within this space of play, conflicts and competitions in which new players compete relationally, that is, student volunteers and clients compete for different forms of capital. When the student volunteers and clients come into the programmes and maintain their participation in the programmes they begin to socialise and integrate. The convergence of the socially disparate groups increases the species of capital in play and therefore expands the total volume of capital present. As discussed earlier, such social convergence threatens both the autonomy of subfields and consequently fields and also provokes a potential break in *doxa*, a break in the game. To this end, the programmes of the SUNEE project offer both students and clients opportunities to improve their position, to enhance their stock of capital and perhaps broaden their composition of capital. This means that due to the greater volume of capital available within the project, with some varieties new to, or lacking in students, the volunteers were provided with novel opportunities with which to accrue and/or develop transferable and interpersonal skills. Links can be drawn here with the arguments made in Chapters Five and Six as the obtaining and/or cultivating of skill-sets may contribute to the fulfilment of core psychological needs which in turn help to offset the challenges experienced by student volunteers during liminality.

As this 'marketplace' expands, the dominant or formerly dominant positions (de facto leaders) within subfields may feel threatened, that their position in the system of relations they had grown accustomed to were now vulnerable as there was now new forms of capital 'up for grabs' and new opportunities available for the subservient to vie for. Bourdeiu and Wacquant (1992) suggest that the new players or viable forms of capital available in the SUNEE programmes may serve to discredit or weaken the dominant form/s of capital on which the dominant clients relied, those clients who had orchestrated symbolic violence and displayed the greatest opposition to the presence of the student volunteers. Such a scenario forces the dominant clients to adapt, to alter their strategies to attempt to acquire or convert

capital to the newly current capital on offer so as to attempt to remain a legitimate competitor or else risk fading away or even quit the programme altogether.

However, Bourdieu (1984) suggests that depending on the species of capital competed for or gained, an agent's volume of capital can be positively or negatively impacted. It is likely that the cost of conversion for an agent who has had their former position directly overturned might be steep and difficult to recover from, as implied by some of the data presented by respondents. It can be argued that levelling the playing field as it were, by weakening the influence of the direct poles of the social field in the case of the SUNEE programme and injecting it with the potential to acquire, enhance and convert capital enabled the student volunteers to break down barriers with the majority of the client groups, socialise, integrate and build solid rapports, understandings and friendships. As a consequence of the struggles elicited on the SUNEE project, both students and clients are effectively 'swapping' or 'trading' capital, as well as fostering the reciprocal understanding of each other's norms and values. A dual point is made here; first, that the struggles played out on the project equip students with the assets and experience that they perceive will facilitate their transition into related work contexts, potentially making them a more attractive proposition for recruitment; and secondly, that the capacity for relatedness fostered over the course of the project supports volunteer retention, once more connecting with the arguments developed in Chapters Five and Six.

Ultimately, the dynamics of the SUNEE programmes serve to promote inclusion as Bourdieu (1984) would suggest that the learnings and acquisitions of the two diverse groups represents a shift not only in the project itself, but in the social field as a whole. According to Bourdieu's concept of field, the benefits and rewards for both the student volunteers and client groups who have participated in the programmes for a sustained period of time stretch far beyond the SUNEE project, professing that due to a series of homologous shifts the social versatility accrued and developed by these two diverse groups can be projected through a myriad of different fields and subfields (Bourdieu, 1984: Lane, 2000).

8

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored the social processes acting upon and experienced by student volunteers during their participation on the SUNEE project. By adopting a qualitative approach this study has examined the development of student motivation over the course of their involvement with SUNEE and the features and mechanisms at play within the project which have served to either facilitate or forestall volunteer commitment to and satisfaction from it. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the arguments made across them, before each research objective is specifically addressed and drawn together to fulfil the research aim. This chapter will also consider the limitations of the thesis and make constructive recommendations for future research on this topic as the study turns to place emphasis on the features within such projects which can be harnessed to promote volunteer retention beyond the external incentives on offer. The final consideration paid by this thesis will be to the potential attrition and vitality of student volunteering in the current SUNEE project in the future.

8.2 Putting it all together - The Arguments

In Chapter Five the argument made is that Deci and Ryan's Self-Determination Theory (SDT) can be utilised in sociological research such as that undertaken here and can be applied to identify, index, track and explain the development of student motivation to volunteer over the course of their participation on the SUNEE project. This thesis acknowledges that the SDT framework is a motivational construct developed in the field of psychology, but contends that it possesses the conceptual rigour and versatility for application within sociological investigation. Predicated on

four psychological sub-theories and further reinforced by its extensive empirical base, the SDT is both a proven and credible research apparatus. Typically investigated under controlled settings and using methods associated with the natural sciences, the themes consistently observed in SDT research provide strong parallels with those emerging from the 'Straussian' approach to grounded theory applied to the analysis of the data emanating from the current study. SDT has not been utilised in sociological fieldwork before now. In conjunction with the SDT framework, the argument developed in Chapter Five substantiates the general adaptation of student motivation – over the course of their participation in the SUNEE project – from a more extrinsically orientated status towards an internal perceived locus of control and an inner state which is more conducive to flow-like experiences. Additionally, in taking advantage of the psychological needs framework of autonomy, competence and relatedness that underpins SDT theory, interviewee responses are critically analysed to reveal the mechanisms which underlie these motivational transitions.

In Chapter Six it is argued that on entering the SUNEE project, students arrive into a social milieu that scares and unnerves them, however the processes of liminality and communitas that encourage them to continue volunteering beyond the initial challenges that they face. To elaborate, liminality can be understood as a tri-stage initiation process, inducing a psychological crisis in the student volunteers as they are separated from what is routine and familiar to them, subsequently orientating themselves with the attitudes and values espoused by the client groups, before becoming reincorporated and accepted into the collective group. Therefore, liminality can be described as a rite of passage, an ordeal which challenges the 'neophyte' and helps drive their persistence in the short-term period after initially engaging in the project. This transitory process of liminality serves as an antecedent to the emergence of communitas – the sense of togetherness and camaraderie that develops between students and 'hard to reach' clients at times unique to the individual. The rise of communitas marks the point at which mutual recognition and respect is established between the students and the 'hard to reach' clients as social bonds are formed and accepted volunteer roles emerge within the group. It is this

bond of friendship combined with the recognition of volunteers as coaches/leaders amongst the client groups which promotes students' long term commitment to the project.

Building on Chapters Five and Six, Chapter Seven argues that the sustained participation of volunteers in the SUNEE project enhances students' skills sets and increases their confidence in their own potential employability beyond higher education. The chapter uses Bourdieu's framework of field as a lens to demonstrate this bi-product of volunteering, contending that the distinct and disparate forms of capital possessed by students and the 'hard to reach' clients actually serves to draw these two diverse groups together. In effect, students and clients trade and convert different species and volumes of capital, in turn boosting their social, interpersonal and practical coaching/leadership aptitudes. During this process of reciprocal development the subjective experiences accrued by students facilitates a deeper understanding of these 'hard to reach' groups which in turn destabilizes the habitus. As the integrity of the habitus is compromised, student attitudes, perceptions and behaviours undergo a reconditioning which enhances their social versatility, increasing further their perceived employability particularly within related and client facing careers/jobs.

8.3 The Research

The overall aim of this thesis has been to explore the social processes acting upon and experienced by students during their time spent volunteering on the SUNEE project. To fulfil this aim, four research objectives were pursued. Here, each research objective will be specifically addressed and drawn together to unravel and understand these social processes.

The first research objective asked 'why do people take-up volunteering?' and was mainly addressed in Chapter Five. This chapter identified that the majority of

students volunteered on the SUNEE project in conjunction with instrumentalist motivations rather than out of a desire to perform a social good. These motivations included making social contacts, ego satisfaction, an access a route to participating in the 2012 London Olympic and Paralympic Games, and to satisfy assessment criteria in order to obtain module credits on a degree programme – drivers which demonstrate extrinsic regulation according to Ryan and Deci's (2000a) SDT continuum. However, the most commonly cited motivation for students was to enhance their employability in the jobs market by gaining relevant experience and transferable skills, and to acquire a range of qualifications to build their coaching profiles. These extrinsically and career motivated students exhibited an awareness of a competitive jobs market and the pressure that this perception exerts. This finding falls in-line with Beckett's (2011) assertion that these young people who volunteer their time to projects such as SUNEE typically see themselves as requiring significant experiential investment in order to stand out from others to gain access and become established in their desired careers. Despite this overriding trend for interviewees to volunteer for such instrumentalist purposes, there was a small number who stated that they got involved with SUNEE because the cause of the project was congruent with their prosocial and personal values such as wanting to help others, or alternatively because of the genuine satisfaction they received from coaching sports, characteristics of motivation which reflect integrated and intrinsic regulation respectively. Therefore, the findings presented in Chapter Five demonstrate that students take up volunteering for reasons which span the full gamut of the SDT continuum, yet are largely concentrated at the identified regulation anchor which represents the conscious valuing of an action as it is congruent with one's personal/career goals.

The second research objective wanted to investigate beyond the initiators of voluntary action and to 'explore some of the reasons why volunteers continue to take part in non-paid activities' and was addressed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. This thesis finds that the reasons that motivate individuals and sustain their participation in voluntary activities are complex, dynamic and often multifaceted. Many of the interviewees conveyed that the testing nature of the project served to

maintain their interest in and drive towards their voluntary roles. These students typically described that working with the 'hard to reach' groups presented a combination of challenges beyond simply developing their coaching ability, such as communicating with diverse groups and perhaps most importantly, earning the respect and recognition from these clients as their coaches and sports leaders. The difficulty of this task was heightened in those volunteers with minimal coaching experience. In relation to this, as students began to experience glimpses of achievement and progression as the clients either grew more receptive of them or became more attuned to what they were trying to do, volunteers reported receiving a thrill or buzz from such improvements, an intrinsic reward that they sought to replicate. In connection to this gradual sense of achievement and enjoyment, the volunteers frequently inferred that the continual development of their skills and competencies also spurred them on. This sense of development elicited an ostensible motivational confluence for the volunteers as it served to marry a personal sense of accomplishment with a desire to enhance their employability. This perceptible sense of progression along this learning curve served as a potent mechanism of volunteer retention. In addition, the majority of student volunteers comment that their relationship with the client groups has grown considerably since their inception in their respective programmes, openly stating that they see members of the 'hard to reach' groups as 'friends' or 'mates' and that together they 'act on a family level'. The close bonds developed between these two diverse groups have been found within this research to be one of the strongest factors influencing student commitment to the project. As a further by-product of this level of relatedness between clients and students and the understanding that they have forged together, a number of interviewees have either implied or explicitly stated that they have come to attach personal value and importance to the roles and responsibilities that they perform as volunteers which has cultivated in them an integrated sense of obligation to these 'hard to reach' groups and the project as a whole. Therefore, the forces that govern volunteer commitment are often evolved from those that initiate the voluntary action, proving to be complicated in nature and rarely reducible to a single independent factor.

The third research objective stays with the theme of sustained volunteer commitment and sought 'to understand the changing contexts and mechanisms that shape volunteer participation'. This research objective was also addressed across Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Chapter Five reveals the changing nature of students' motivations to volunteer on SUNEE over the course of their involvement in the project. By applying SDT to track participant motivational status it was generally observed that students' motivation demonstrated increasing internalisation and self-determination over time, a gradual shift which was commensurate with their increasing level of commitment to the project. In accordance with Ryan and Deci's (2000a) SDT framework, student motivation was found to develop proportionately to the satisfaction of their needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness. To explicate, students were confronted by a combination of novel challenges when presented with the opportunity to coach clients from a diverse range of backgrounds, tests, which for the majority of volunteers proved to be at an optimal level of difficulty from which they and their sense of competence eventually thrived. To provide students with progression, programme supervisors/SDOs would promote them within the volunteer hierarchy and/or give them more responsibility when they were deemed ready for it – this helped to maintain their need for competence and promote their autonomy and self-endorsement by removing controlling or inhibiting factors such as supervision or role restriction. However, the need for relatedness caused students a great deal of anxiety at the outset as an initial rapport with the clients proved elusive. Significantly, and within the context of the SUNEE project, the satisfaction of autonomy and competence were heavily dependent on the cultivation of relatedness between these two diverse groups. The mechanisms of liminality and communitas, as reported in Chapter Six, enable a greater understanding of this trend.

The process of liminality represents a break from what is familiar and routine, forcing students adapt to and understand the attitudes, behaviours and values of the client groups. Throughout this 'initiation' process the clients subject the students to verbal abuse, overly physical behaviour on the sports field and general

insubordination as they 'figure them out' and put them through these 'tests of approval'. At some point during this process communitas emerges in which a solidarity and camaraderie develops between the student and clients. At this point the student gains the respect and recognition from the 'hard to reach' clients and the volunteer's role as a coach/sports leader is acknowledged. Shortly after this occurs, communitas declines and the student becomes incorporated and accepted into the group. At this pivotal moment, this increase in relatedness facilitates the student's role as a coach/sports leader amongst the 'hard to reach' groups which in turn contributes to their need fulfilment for autonomy and competence. In the case of the SUNEE project, this thesis also draws a distinction between the need for relatedness compared to those for autonomy and competence, finding that in a social context student volunteers receive satisfaction of needs for both autonomy and competence in achieving relatedness and social connectedness.

Moreover, many of the interviewees reported that the enjoyment that they came to derive from participating on SUNEE was what made them return. These students referred to the project as the 'highlight' of their week and as a 'mix of feelings' that 'you don't get very often'. This finding further connects the concepts of liminality and communitas, and the fulfilment of student's psychological needs as it evidences the phenomenon of autotelic or flow experience. Flow refers to an optimal experience, a highly enjoyable yet fleeting state that occurs following unusually high participation within a system of action more complex than an individual encounters on a day to day basis. Opportunities to experience this addictive state are potentiated when intrinsic motivation and the satiation of the needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness overlap. As flow is realised this positive psychological state has been postulated to be an antecedent to communitas.

The final mechanism, as discussed in Chapter Seven, by which volunteer retention has been understood stems from the difference and diversity exhibited between the 'hard to reach' groups and the students. By using Bourdieu's theory of field as a lens through which to view the unfolding social dynamics across the SUNEE project it can be observed how the distinct forms of capital brought to the table by these

two disparate groups work to draw them together and promote their socialisation. For students, an increase in the stocks of social and cultural capital that they may have been low in, as well as increases in their level of human capital through their coaching experience, directly equates to a perceived enhancement of their employability. As the student volunteers gain a better understanding of the client groups, cultivate their skill-sets and grow their stocks and compositions of capital, such subjective meliorations may contribute to the fulfilment of core psychological needs and help to offset the challenges posed by liminality. Therefore, to answer this research objective, a triumvirate of interrelated socio-psychological mechanisms have been found to influence volunteer participation, with the success of each of them dependent on the fulfilment of the needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness.

The fourth and final objective was 'to understand some of the challenges faced by student volunteers in their SUNEE activities' and this was emphasised within Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Although the outcomes of the social and psychological processes undergone by the student volunteers were largely positive, the transitions that took place prior to these developments were far from straightforward and evoked deep anxiety and uncertainty in these neophytes. The greatest challenge that confronted students was an initial lack of relatedness with the 'hard to reach' groups and, as mentioned earlier, this factor also impacted negatively on volunteers' needs for autonomy and competence in the early stages of their involvement on the project. Many students reported that they experienced unfriendly, intimidating and even confrontational behaviour from some clients, behaviours which provoked anxiety and also fear amongst some students. This lack of relatedness felt by students coincided with liminal phenomena and represented the ritual of status reversal as outlined by Turner (1967). During this process of status reversal all social distinctions and social barriers are removed as the 'hard to reach' groups proceed to degrade and put down the student volunteers. Those volunteers who remain on the programme earn the trust and respect of the clients and prove their merit as coaches/leaders. This experience of liminality is particularly testing as students report being subjected to name calling and

numerous other forms of verbal abuse, overly physical sporting behaviour and a general show of defiance to their requests. This falls in line with the symbolic violence and struggles outlined in Chapter Seven that students had to contend with. As the volunteers were in the minority on the various SUNEE programmes, students implied that each collective group of clients presented an individual/s who emerged as a leader, members who presented the greatest stocks of capital amongst the 'hard to reach' groups. In a bid to maintain their position of power and maintain the composition of the various types of capital amongst the client group these individuals would attempt to outwardly demonstrate both their difference and non-compliance towards the student volunteers and attempt to influence other clients to do the same. Distinct and resistive acts of communication or 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 1977b; 2000) were used to impose and reinforce the systems of meanings, thought and perception that the 'hard to reach' had grown accustomed to in an attempt to sustain the perceived socio-cultural gulf between the two groups. Eventually, the majority of the 'hard to reach' groups acknowledged the cultural and social capital held by the students and the opportunity for the conversion, transfer and/or trading of capital facilitated the socialisation of these two groups. Therefore, the majority of student volunteers experience an unfamiliar and extremely challenging inception to the SUNEE project and introduction to the 'hard to reach' groups which is brought about by a lack of relatedness and a perceived lack of commonality, socio-cultural factors which, when reversed, provide students with the platform for gaining group membership as well as practical and professional development.

Each objective helps to elucidate the complex and interrelated social processes which are imposed upon and experienced by student volunteers as they undertake their sports leadership activities on the SUNEE project. Answering these research objectives helps to chart the reasons that move students to take up volunteering as well as to understand the motivational forces that govern their retention, guide them through the difficult times and allow them to thrive in the good ones.

To summarise these key findings, the majority of students interviewed had an

ultimate job aim and volunteered on the SUNEE project to enhance their employability and ready themselves for the future jobs market. During their participation in SUNEE students face challenges which scare them but they stick with the project to overcome these tests, to learn and to develop. In enduring these ordeals they are assisted by the support they receive from fellow volunteers as well as the support that they come to gain from the client groups. In overcoming these challenges student volunteers experience a thrill, a buzz, which keeps them coming back. Therefore, this thesis contends that the features which serve to unnerve students are not necessarily detrimental to their development or retention to the project as they incorporate social processes which elicit positive and prosocial effects. However, these processes are not an exact science and as reported within this thesis, can have negative consequences for volunteer motivation and retention with some students commenting that volunteers are often thrown in at the deep-end and whilst most students succeed others drop out of the programme. These weaknesses can be offset and turned into positives providing that these volunteers are monitored, managed and supported appropriately. The key point here is that there must be an 'optimal balance' in the challenges presented and the responsibilities allocated to these student volunteers. What follows is a series of recommendations for designing and managing motivational climates within similarly set-up projects that depend on the contributions of volunteers.

8.4 Recommendations for Future Motivational Management on Volunteering Projects

On the whole, the majority of students that were interviewed stated that their volunteer experiences were largely positive, indicating a general internal shift in motivation towards the right of the SDT continuum. However, several events and themes revealed within the current research emerged as potential threats to intrinsic motivation and self-determination. What follows, and threaded through a

brief summary of the key findings emanating from this strand of the present research, is a series of recommendations with which to inform both the future management of volunteer motivations both generally and in similar projects to that of SUNEE.

Firstly, many of the students that were interviewed admitted that they volunteered on the project to attain tangible external rewards such as coaching experience or qualifications in order to help them work towards personal/career goals. Despite this lure of incentives, these participants typically reported that their motives grew increasingly internal over the course of their involvement and in many cases they came to derive intrinsic enjoyment from volunteering. This motivational development coincided with student volunteers continuing to help out on the project beyond the attainment of their prior and extrinsically orientated goals. Reflecting on this motivational process, Simon suggests that the dynamics and experiences presented within the SUNEE project possess the quality to develop and enhance volunteer motivation once recruits are actively engaged in the programmes; however, Simon goes on to highlight the important role that the provision of discipline/career related incentives plays in guaranteeing volunteer recruitment:

> Obviously from my personal experience, I didn't go into the volunteering wanting to do volunteering, I went in it through the football coaching and I know one of the guys who's just started now in the same position so, it's one of those things where yes, I mean, should say well, tempt them into doing it by getting football qualifications or getting other things. I mean that's not really the point I suppose; you would like to think that you're doing volunteering because you want to do it, but I think there's no reason why you can't try and encourage people with incentives to do things and then they realise that it's a good idea.
>
> Simon, University A

Here, Simon refers to incentives as a hook to interest potential volunteers and once they have been recruited he implies that the volunteer experience provided by SUNEE does the rest in terms of facilitating positive motivational adaptation. Gagné and Deci (2005) warn that it is essential to strike the right balance when it comes to using rewards systems and presenting extrinsic contingencies as there is a risk that

intrinsic motivation may be undermined. To guard against a shift towards an external perceived locus of control extrinsic rewards must be minimized and represent some degree of alignment to the individual's personal goals. This is because rewards that are unrelated to personal goals, such as money, undermine the intrinsic interests of the individual (Deci, Koestner and Ryan, 1999). In addition, if the facilitation of intrinsic motivation is a goal, and if rewards are to be used then the nature of the activities needs to offer competence promoting feedback and therefore provide a challenging stimulus in order to counteract any cognitive dissonance aroused by the prospect of extrinsic reward (Deci, Koestner and Ryan, 1999).

Leading on, a consistent feature inferred across interviewee responses was that the student volunteers thrived on 'optimal challenges' (Ryan and Deci, 2007). The majority of students that were interviewed typically inferred that the opportunities provided for them within the project did present them with such challenges. As illustrated by the data, it is imperative that students perceive a skills-challenge balance wherein the prospect facing them pushes the boundaries of their abilities, yet are not overwhelming or unattainable (Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). The challenges perceived by students were commonly linked to either the need for competence or relatedness, or a combination of the two.

Many interviewees imply that in order to sustain and develop a sense of competence it is important that they receive opportunities for progression in terms of gaining increasing responsibility in order to maintain a skills-challenge balance. Many students reported that such progression was supported and perpetuated by a tapering of supervisors/SDOs' input into the sessions and allowing the volunteers to take a more active role within the programmes that they were involved with. As supervisors/SDOs gradually reduced their own involvement within the sessions this shift in control enabled student volunteers to emerge as leaders within their programmes. Apportioning greater responsibility to help volunteers to fortify their sense of competence by eliciting effectance promoting feedback in students served to reinforce their sense of accomplishment.

Allowing students to take the lead also proved to be autonomy supporting – giving volunteers a say in the decision making processes provides them with a sense of ownership of the sessions, and as a result empowers them (Pelletier et al., 2001). Literature in the field of self-determination suggests that contexts which provide strong supports for autonomy are crucial to the promotion of intrinsic motivation. This is because it is a sense of autonomy that facilitates the integration of behavioural regulation (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). As supervisors and SDOs take a step back, the freedom bestowed on student volunteers to initiate their own practice implicates them in their own decision making processes. Such feelings of choice and control, which coincide with a sustained period of accomplishment, drive a student's sense of autonomy, triggering an alignment to their intrinsic goals. This positive internal process causes the integration of student volunteers' project related goals, roles and accomplishment with their sense of self. This motivational development will consequently impact on the teleonomy of the self, as the student volunteers establish congruence between their personal goal hierarchy and the accomplishments and challenges imposed through participation in the project, opportunities which not only foster intrinsic motivation and promote well-being but are also symptomatic of episodes of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975b; 1988).

Furthermore, phasing out and removing the presence of supervisors/SDOs and giving selected students a more prominent role also sends out positive messages to the entire volunteer cohort as it illustrates that opportunities for progression do exist and should be aspired to. For this process to occur however, clear lines of communication and effective volunteer monitoring and management by supervisors/SDOs are necessary. Conversely however, students that reported a lack of progression or responsibility hinted at a potential skills-challenge imbalance which was causing their motivation to stagnate or dwindle.

Shifting focus slightly, the vast majority of student volunteers indicated that the satisfaction of their need for relatedness contributed vastly to their enjoyment during the programme and also their commitment to it. Volunteers attributed this sense of relatedness to the forming of relationships between volunteers and staff,

volunteers and clients, or both. However, according to many interviewees, the prospect of volunteering on the project can be a daunting one and the lack of relatedness between the students and clients in particular presents a significant challenge and an instant barrier to positive motivational development. In addition, several students have reported that the task of instigating some sort of relational base with clients is made increasingly formidable when volunteers are not formally introduced to the clients by supervisors/SDOs on entering the project. This situation has been shown to induce anxiety, dampen confidence and in some cases cause the alienation of students which, as a consequence, has led to volunteer drop out. To prevent this situation occurring, a number of students have suggested that it is vital project managers and supervisors have a policy to introduce new volunteers to the client groups as soon as they arrive on the programme in order to prevent or compensate for an initial absence of relatedness. Below, Stuart highlights the importance of building relatedness between the diverse groups early on and suggests that opportunities for relationship building activities running prior to or concurrent with the project would provide an effective means of familiarisation and bonding:

> I personally think it would be good if things like the courses, like a team building day out with the clients… I think, if we could possibly do that with the clients, it would be absolutely excellent, and I know the clients would love to do something like that, and they'll get to know a lot more about us. And I think it would be a lot easier to work with the groups. And you'd get people volunteering a lot more if they got a chance to know them before the course started.
>
> Stuart, University C

Stuart's suggestions for team building events are consistent with recommendations offered by many of his fellow student volunteers. In addition to Stuart's point, a large proportion of interviewees infer that the initial lack of relatedness felt between students and clients impacted negatively upon their sense of competence, exposing the interdependency that these two fundamental needs frequently exhibit. To elaborate, common problems encountered by students were that they did not know how to communicate effectively and safely with clients, particularly in

the early sessions, and also that they were unsure how to defuse actual or potentially volatile situations that arose on various occasions. In such scenarios a deficiency of actual and perceived competence hindered students' development of relatedness with clients whilst this initial lack of connectedness highlighted a simultaneous absence of competence. Although the majority of interviewees reported that their feelings of competence and relatedness did improve and develop markedly over the course of their participation in the project, there were also those volunteers, typically new recruits, whose motivation and confidence were vitiated to the point of terminating their involvement in the project. However, in order to protect initial levels of motivation and prevent decline, Joey suggests that the provision of specific training for students prior to entering the project in areas such as communication and conflict resolution would give volunteers the tools to form a strong relational base in the early stages of their involvement in the programmes:

> Maybe students aren't going to want to come for a meeting where they sit around for an hour talking about what to expect, but maybe some more opportunities for training, which aren't formal coaching qualifications, but techniques on how to defuse situations, on how to like just even just really basic things like communicating with people who you wouldn't normally communicate with, even if it's just to say to people, don't, don't patronise people. I mean, it's all in the book that they give us, but just have half an hour where you're told face to face.
>
> Joey, University A

The provision of such training opportunities would help not only to boost and reinforce volunteers' sense of competence but also lay important precursors for developing relatedness with the client groups. Once proximal relational supports are established, student volunteers imply that their feelings of competence were enhanced (Ryan and Deci, 2000a). This trend can be attributed to the effectance promoting feedback which students frequently inferred that they received from a sense of acceptance by the client groups and the attachment of belonging within those groups (Ryan and Deci, 20007). To this end, the sense of both security and connectedness that develops amongst participants due to the satisfaction of the need for relatedness facilitates the assimilation of group norms, values and goals to

their sense of self which in turn promotes intrinsic motivation and well-being (Ryan and Deci, 2000b).

Moreover, as the provision of supports for the fundamental psychological needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness have been shown to facilitate intrinsic motivation in student volunteers, the establishment of such conditions is also highly conducive to episodes of flow. Interestingly, McGinnis, Gentry and Gao (2008) posit that flow may be an antecedent to communitas (as discussed in chapter Five). The mechanisms responsible for this connection are twofold. Firstly, flow is a transcendent state which reveals the participant's true self to not only themselves but also to others which helps to reduce any personal or social inhibitions and exposes the irrefragable genuineness of that person (Celsi, Rose & Leigh, (1993). The experience of flow also instils the self-confidence to engage in communitas generating social relationships (McGinnis et al., 2008). McGinnis et al. (2008) found flow to be more important in establishing enduring involvement in an activity or project than communitas due to the deep joy and exhilaration derived from such optimal experiences. It is this 'addictive' quality of flow which motivates participants to seek to replicate these very experiences through associated activities (Celsi et al., 1993: 12). Therefore, McGinnis et al. (2008) advise that from a motivational perspective the provision of an autonomy supportive environment combined with opportunities to develop competence take precedence above the establishment of relational support due to the strong volitional, hedonistic and challenge seeking nature of intrinsic motivation and flow.

8.5 Original Contribution of the Thesis

This thesis makes a number of original contributions. First, the main original contribution of this thesis was to use the SUNEE project as a prism with which to understand the social processes that students experience on the SUNEE project and how these experiences influence their motivational status. In order to do this, Deci

and Ryan's (1985) SDT framework was blended with Turner's (1969) concepts of liminality and communitas, and also Bourdieu's theory of field, to examine the socio-psychological conditions, mechanisms and forces which govern students' voluntary action. Thus, the principal contribution of this dissertation is that it provides a robust framework through which to identify, interpret and develop student motivation to volunteer.

Second, and in undertaking a grounded approach to data analysis, this research has tested the rigour and compatibility of Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self-Determination Theory (SDT) for application within the sociological investigation of student volunteers' motivational development during their participation throughout a sport-based outreach project. Originally conceived within the field of psychology and implemented using natural science methods, the SDT framework has demonstrated the conceptual versatility and efficacy to be imposed upon social research. Moreover, the SDT has been applied to a range of contexts and motivational clients, including work volunteering, elite performance sport and adherence to physical activity to name but a few, but it has never been utilised to assess and index student motivation to volunteer in such sports based initiatives or indeed the motivational patterns of volunteers in sport in general. Therefore, it can be argued that the SDT was fit for the purpose it was tasked with in this study.

An additional contribution of the thesis is that it compiles a series of recommendations emanating from the data that might prove effective in facilitating motivational development as well as increase the satisfaction and well-being of volunteers who operate in similar voluntary settings and organisational structural set-ups such as that of the SUNEE project.

8.6 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

One of the major limitations of this investigation is that the findings around the motivational development of student volunteers were not recorded on a longitudinal basis. As the tracking of motivation, or indeed any variable, over time requires the documenting of temporal influences in attitudinal or behavioural responses to specific condition or scenario, then one-off assessments of individuals' experiences over an extended period of time weaken the reliability of longitudinal analysis. Using one-off interviews to track adaptations in motivation over time are problematic as tapping into one's long term memory renders the possibility that the respondent may piece together disaggregated fragments or projections of memories creating distorted accounts of past events, or that their past experiences are positively or negatively influenced by their present emotional and psychological state (Hurst, 2008). To this end, a principal recommendation of this thesis is to test this motivational framework (SDT) across a quantitative longitudinal study of student volunteers. To temporally examine the motivational processes in relation to sustained volunteer engagement and attrition, guidance can be taken from research conducted by Cuskelly and Boag (2001) and Cuskelly, McIntyre and Boag (1998) into the organisational commitment amongst volunteer sport administrators; and also, Crain, Omoto and Snyder's (1998) study into the volunteer process of those individuals who provide support to AIDS victims. In these studies longitudinal research designs were adopted, administering questionnaires in either three waves over the space of a year (Cuskelly and Boag, 2001; Cuskelly, McIntyre and Boag, 1998), or four waves over a six-month period (Crain, Omoto and Snyder, 1998). Crain, Omoto and Snyder (1998) offer a more intensive research design in which they collect data from their participants prior to volunteering, then immediately following their formal training, a third time when they have been actively volunteering for three months, and a final time following six months of volunteering. However, both of these sets of research choose a largely quantitative methodology by opting to use questionnaires and this limits the degree of in-depth data that can be accrued in order to examine intricate markers of motivational development. Markland and Vansteenkiste (2007) also display a tendency towards

questionnaires when applying SDT to exercise-based investigations; however they also advocate the addition of daily or activity follow-up diaries for participants to log their experiences regularly and therefore document any temporal changes and influences in motivation. This could offer a useful aid to future longitudinal qualitative-based study into volunteer motivation, although a caveat to bear in mind is that self-report devices may not be filled in precisely during or after an event or they may evoke socially desirable responses.

Future research into the area of student motivation might also consider adopting a mixed qualitative method and include focus groups or participant observation. As mentioned within Chapter Four, additional methods were considered in order to support the in-depth interviews; however, difficulties accessing certain participants and subsequent time constraints conspired against the expansion of the implemented methodology. An extended period of research therefore would have ideally produced a mixed methods approach incorporating focus groups to complement the semi-structured interviews. Nichols and Ojala (2009) advocate the use of focus groups in conjunction with in-depth interviews when researching volunteers as the interactive and collective nature of the method is likely to bring about reflection of a topic with which participants have a shared knowledge and which is capable of stimulating insights that one-to-one interviews might be unable to do. In addition, focus groups provide a social event which invites and involves open discussion on a common experience or interest that can evoke 'consensus or clearly defined disagreement' on the subject matter (Ralston, Downward and Lumsden, 2004: 18; Frey and Fontana, 1993; Kreuger, 1998). Use of a such a research technique would have, on the one hand, facilitated both a comparison and understanding of students' decisions to start and continue volunteering and also of the reception they experienced from the clients as well as the social barriers they encountered; yet, on the other hand, Morgan and Kruger (1998) warn that a limitation of the focus group dynamic can lead to an overemphasis on negative aspects of the discussion topic when a balanced and constructive account is sought. Furthermore, future research may benefit from participant observation. To elaborate, the research may choose to participate or observe sports-based

outreach sessions which place disadvantaged and marginalised groups with beside student volunteers. Using this approach would help to build an accurate picture of the social reality that volunteers face in order to compare and contrast with interview or focus group accounts yielded from a scenario disconnected with 'in the moment' experiences. The weakness of the focus group approach is that analysis of real-time events is based purely upon the subjective interpretation of the researcher who is emotionally and psychologically detached from the percipient/s under study (David and Sutton, 2011).

Furthermore, this thesis is unable to offer definitive data on student attrition or drop out from the SUNEE project. This weakness stems from the fact that none of the research participants had dropped out of the project up to the point of interview and the official statistics on project outputs, performance and impact that had been recorded by project staff illustrate only an influx of new volunteers year on year, thus overlooking student volunteers who had come of the register. The only exit data that the project holds is of undergraduate students who have graduated and left the university – and this does not illustrate the demotivation of those that 'drop out'. A recommendation for future study would be to enhance the volunteer records system by more tightly tracking students and implementing short 'exit' interviews, correspondence or questionnaires to establish the cause of their drop out and validate the demotivational characteristics against the blended SDT framework. One further dimension within this is that there lacks within the data any record of numbers of students who were offered taster or voluntary opportunities to get involved with the SUNEE project but who immediately rejected the chance to do so. This would help to provide insight into what motivation type these individuals occupied, what salient factors these percipients thought was lacking or absent within the volunteer opportunities presented, and also which strategies project managers could employ to entice these students to get involved.

In order to strengthen the position of this research, it would be prudent to assay a wide range of employers' perspectives on the role that volunteer opportunities and placements can play in providing students with specific and 'desirable' skills and

experiences that may enhance their suitability and/or readiness for a designated internship or vocation. Surveying a range of graduate and non-graduate employers would provide a useful sample with which to do this as it would allow the researcher to gain an understanding of what attributes and experiences, if any, offer the potential to raise one undergraduate student above another in the job stakes; and also, what students may need to do whilst at university to place themselves on a par with individuals who have exited education at post compulsory or further education levels for positions in which a undergraduate degree is not a prerequisite. In pursuing such data, conclusions could be drawn as to whether students' perceptions that their volunteer efforts might boost their employability actually offer a tangible reality.

Moreover, the findings emanating from this thesis are based on a case study of a small number of universities in the North East of England and draw a sample of forty student volunteers from the five universities in this region (eight per university). Although this study contends that a relationship exists across this sample that can be generalized throughout the population from which it was drawn, the restriction of this study to a single region of the UK may raise questions as to its wider generalizability nationally and internationally. In order to test the rigour of the findings brought to light in the current research as well as that of the conceptual triad blended and utilised within this inquiry similar volunteer-led projects around the UK could be examined and evaluated against this framework. For example, the Olympics-related Higher Education project known as Creative Campus which runs in the South East of England would be a logical starting point for further research (HEFCE, 2012). The Creative Campus is supported by the Higher Education Funding Council for England's (HEFCE) Strategic Development Fund and is a student volunteer-led project charged with bringing young people together from diverse backgrounds through the medium of creative and performing arts (HEFCE, 2012).

The previous point opens up an additional future recommendation for advancing the current research, for example to test whether the findings in this study apply to

the motivational forces and social processes experienced by student volunteers in different sports or perhaps community or performance sport set-ups, by those operating in non-sport settings or indeed whether these trends are substantiated by volunteers who are not students in both sport-specific and non-sport-specific contexts. Switching tack from the operational-structural set-up and type of volunteers found on the SUNEE project, the Camp America phenomenon presents an opportunity to challenge the current findings and frameworks against a for-profit organisation which requires its participants to pay to get involved in, but also remunerates or pays those participants a small, flat-fee (Camp America, 2012). The Camp America opportunity is perceived as an opportunity to broaden young people's life experience and boost their employability (Griffith, 2008).

As a further recommendation and to gain an alternate perspective to that of the student volunteers, conducting interviews with the 'hard to reach' clients would help to reveal whether the socio-psychological mechanisms at play for the volunteers are actually a two-way process. Investigating client experiences and their perceptions of their encounters and relationships with student volunteers would allow the researcher to ascertain whether members of the 'hard to reach' groups undergo similar liminal events, how they adapt to and deal with a series of new volunteers due to the staggered nature of personnel recruitment, and if they display inferences of camaraderie and communitas. In the same vein, garnering the experiences and perspectives of the 'hard to reach' groups of their time spent on the SUNEE project would, if they were consonant with accounts of student volunteers, help to substantiate claims made within this research about merging social fields, the exchange of a variety of forms of capital and the potential adaptation of SUNEE participants' habitus. If such data was congruous then conclusions as to the ability of the SUNEE project as a vehicle for social inclusion could accrue further credibility.

8.7 A Final Consideration

The unemployment rate in Britain currently sits at 8.4%, its highest level since 1995 (Allen and Mead, 2012). During the final quarter of 2011, unemployment for those aged 16-24 years old stood at just over one million – the highest number recorded since 1986/7 (Osborne, 2012). Since the official start of the economic downturn in 2008, unemployment is rising fastest among 18-24 year olds who have degrees (Curtis, 2009). In 2009, the unemployment rate for 18-24 year olds rose by 5.8% to 18% in the period since the onset of the recession, and the proportion of unemployed graduates in this 18-24 age category increased by 3.5% to 20.3% of all unemployed young people in this bracket, within this year (Curtis, 2009). Of all students who graduated in 2008, 20,000 were unable to find work and this represented a 44% increase on the previous year in which 14,000 students went without work (Curtis, 2009). These trends showed little sign of abating in 2011, with 25% of 21 year old graduates leaving university with a degree only to become unemployed, joining the 1.04million unemployed 16-24 year olds in Britain at this time (Stewart, 2012; Osborne, 2012). Current indications are that this situation is only going to become increasingly exacerbated due to the British economy falling into decline again on the 24th of April 2012, marking the UK's first 'double-dip' recession since the 1970s (Elliott, 2012). Perhaps most alarmingly for the students who volunteer on the SUNEE project, it is public sector jobs which appear to be getting hit the hardest, with the sector experiencing a cut of 270,000 jobs in 2011 (Stewart, 2012). As Stewart (2012) further highlights, these cuts reduced the total public sector workforce to 5.94 million in 2011 and reflected a loss of 71,000 jobs from the education sector and a reduction of 31,000 from the National Health Service. These figures make for grim reading for students. The majority of students who volunteer on the SUNEE project do so in order to gain work-related experience and boost their employability. The majority of these extrinsically motivated students aim to pursue careers in public sector roles such as teaching, sports development and working for the police. Therefore, the cuts to public sector jobs are likely to prove especially disconcerting for these students. Student voluntarism

is the mainstay of sports-based projects such as SUNEE and the concerns mooted here are that if these individuals become disheartened by the current state of the jobs market and begin to perceive such work-based learning as a futile endeavour, then what are the potential implications for the sustainability of the SUNEE project and the well-being of the 'hard to reach' client groups if these extrinsic motivators disappear?

In sum, there are a number of reasons students volunteer on SUNEE. However, the majority of these students initially volunteer in order to pursue an ultimate job aim, viewing SUNEE as a vehicle through which to enhance their employability and prepare themselves for their intended careers. During their participation on the project students encounter challenges which unsettle and scare them, yet the majority of them persevere and overcome these tests, and in many cases continue to volunteer beyond the attainment of their initial, job-related objectives. Students choose to persist and navigate their way through these ordeals, in the early stages, due to a desire to learn, develop and prevail in the face of these challenges. As they negotiate their way through these uncertain and testing times, the volunteers gradually come to gain the assistance and support, as well as increased compliance and recognition from the 'hard to reach' client groups - experiences from which the students receive a thrill and an excitement which helps to spur them on further. It is the sense of friendship and membership generated during this process between the two diverse groups that promotes longer term student volunteering on the SUNEE project. Therefore, this thesis contends that the features which serve to unnerve students are not necessarily detrimental to their development or retention as they incorporate social processes which elicit positive and prosocial effects. To conclude, the incentives offered by SUNEE appeal to the extrinsic orientations of students and serve as a hook to acquire their voluntary services. However, following their inception into the programme, the social processes acting upon and experienced by these students facilitate the internalisation of their motivation to volunteer and influence their continued participation on the project. This thesis has contributed an interpretation and model for understanding these processes, and as a result offers a framework with which to harness specific features and conditions active

within sports-based outreach projects in order to manage and develop the motivation of those volunteers who do so much to sustain them.

Appendix 1

Interview Questions – semi-structured

The interview guide below sets out a series of questions in the schedule that are to be loosely stuck to during the course of the dialogue with the research participants.

Questions will be derived from the following aims:

- To assess progressive student understanding of the mechanisms which act to provoke and perpetuate social exclusion (for example, a lack of social capital or a breakdown in social support networks);
- To assess evidential factors and attitudes exposed to the students which may serve to either inhibit or facilitate their application of taught social and leadership theory, to actual practice;
- To evaluate the 'professional' skills the students acquire and develop through experiential learning, including 'networking', 'interpersonal' and 'inter-relational' skills;
- To assess how such experiential learning opportunities influence students in determining future career choices, as well as which factors sustain their commitment to sports development; and
- To monitor and evaluate students' self-evaluation and critical reflection as to what they perceive themselves to have learned, as well as the practical skills and alternative methods they believe they have acquired.

Questions:

- ❖ First of all, could you just say a bit about: your involvement in the sessions; the roles and tasks you perform as a volunteer; which specific groups and sessions you have worked with, and how long you have been volunteering on the project for?

Part A – Social Perspectives

Theory:

Bourdieu suggests that people tend to inherit and acquire skills, values and qualities from their environment and those around them; for example social skills, physical skills such as performing sports, gardening and building, educational achievement etc. Therefore, an individual's immediate environment can affect the level to which they develop different types of social and cultural attributes and also limit the range by which they can enhance and progress them. Certain constraints or drivers of gaining these skills may include available financial support, social support, role models, qualifications etc. Therefore, an individual's access to such factors may influence their social standing, recognition, inclusion and ultimately their sense of belonging causing them to become detached from mainstream society.

For the following set of questions please consider such factors as social skills, trust, values physical and academic skills, social support networks, financial support etc.

- Generally speaking, what factors/mechanisms do you consider cause peoples exclusion from coaching/sports activities?
    - And, do you think your opinions are influenced by the voluntary coaching work you have participated in?
- To what extent do you think that the 'hard to reach' groups/individuals that you have worked with previously lacked certain forms of capital[44]/skills/values?
    - If so, what skills do you feel they lacked and why? Consider a lack of socialisation or a breakdown in social support networks.

[44] 'Capital' can refer to social, cultural, physical and financial 'assets' bestowed onto individuals from their environment and by their related social actors.

- Do you feel that it is easier for these 'hard to reach' groups/individuals to attend the sessions and cooperate with people that they perhaps would perceive to be in the same boat as them / from similar backgrounds and mind-sets?

    - If so, how do you think /what do you think / what factors do you believe could be introduced that would help and enable these groups/individuals to better integrate with mainstream citizens/groups/society?

- Do you think socio-economic factors play the primary role in those individuals' marginalisation? If so, why? If not, why?

- What type of characters/facilitators do you think these groups previously lacked or have perhaps been unable to identify with and thus preventing them from the more accessible socially inclusive activities such as youth and school sport?

Part B – The Coaching Experience

- Can you describe any specific factors or attitudes which you have experienced from the 'hard to reach' groups which either served to inhibit or facilitate your leadership and coaching?

    - And did you have any effective measures of dealing with this negative behaviour?

- How do you feel you created/delivered a positive climate in your coaching?

- In what manner did you present yourself by which you could develop an effective understanding with your group/s?

  Consider your: - Manner

  -Language and terminology used

  - Level of formality

  -Body language

  -Intonation

  -Persona

- How long did it take you to build confidence and trust within in your group as well as feel comfortable and relaxed about your coaching, delivery and interaction with your group/s?

    - What specific factors aided or hindered this aspect?

- What do you believe were the key tools you used to promote inclusion?

- Where there any particularly prominent responses you experienced regarding any specific methods, techniques and behaviour used/adopted? Positive or negative.

- Did you encourage a mastery or performance climate? Why? And, how did you deal with an individual who persisted in doing opposite to what you asked?

- How did the 'hard to reach' groups/individuals respond to:

    - Encouragement;

    - Being given responsibility (i.e. when taking demonstrations);

    -Working with partners; and

    -Problem solving?

- How do you think you might have promoted community involvement and citizenship in these groups throughout your coaching?

Part C – The Volunteer Experience and Beyond

- Why did you choose to volunteer?

- What do you feel you have learnt?

- What do you feel the client/user groups have learnt (i.e. social and interpersonal skills, trust and reciprocation)?

- Do you feel that you could have identified and related to these groups and individuals as, or more effectively through a vehicle other than sport?

- What do believe these individuals require to flourish in a social setting?

- Has your experiences affirmed or influenced your desire to pursue a specific career path in coaching or sports development?

Appendix 2

Selected Interview Transcripts

Transcript 1 – Charlotte, University C

Speaker key
IV Interviewer

CH Charlotte, University C

IV If I could just start off by getting you to tell me how long you've been volunteering with SUNEE for, which client groups you've worked with um, and what roles you've performed on the programmes to now?

CH So far, okay. I come in last Summer, um, and I've done, um, some of the, ah, like, the coaching with the, I don't know what they're called, rehabilitation from the prisons and the homeless and that.

Time volunteered. Summer to Summer.

Client group

IV StreetLeague?

CH Yes, StreetLeague. I really enjoy that actually it's my favourite bit. I've done the street league days and then I've done, um, just a few, like, on and off coaching sessions with the homeless. It's the same groups of people really, I haven't really strayed away from that, I haven't done any kids or anything like that.

IV Okay. Um, what do you generally do?

CH Yes. Well, to start off with I was, like, a background to, like, the main leaders and after three or four sessions I got, like, the chance to do, like, take groups off to the side, do my own bits of warm-ups and coaching drills and then, so I'm getting there; I'm starting to lead some sessions.

IV Um, from a social perspective, what activities do you consider generally cause and exacerbate social exclusion?

Anxious about being shun by clients

CH Um, If I'm coaching a session with these people I'm more worried about feeling excluded. But, people that you could say, um, are like, slower, because with the groups we work with there are a couple, like, obviously have learning difficulties, so we'll, like, take them aside and try and do, like, specific activities with them, but then integrate them with a group as well. Any physical disabilities or the ones that you would put down as, like, the loud ones or trouble makers, if you get an activity that they enjoy then they don't feel excluded, but I think that if, like, a lot of the time if they're shouting up you can shove them to the side and they like, they feel excluded. And that causes them to, like, overreact badly.

IV Okay, so what kind of backgrounds do you think they tend to be from?

Clients don't like being told what to do.

CH How do you say that politically?

IV Don't worry, just tell it how you find it.

CH Like, the poorer backgrounds that kids... when they've been at school they haven't had, like, the help they need and they've in turn not got jobs. Ah, not paying... I don't know, their way through, in a horrible way to put it. But, I don't know, they tend not... It's the lads mainly that just tend to not be bothered how anyone else of thinks of them, obviously being brought up, like, as in that, kind of, run down background. I can't believe I said that.

IV That's fine. Right, what kinds of skills and values do you think these... especially the lads on the street league, what kinds of skills and values do you think they lacked previously or maybe still now?

CH Definitely their communication skills especially with, like, new people they don't know. Um, trying to get a proper conversation out of them about what they want and what they want to learn or what... They know what, kind of, what activities they want, like, they know they want to play football, they know they just want a kick about, um, but I don't think they can put it across a lot of the time, they just seem, like, scared almost, like, in case you say no and then it's just, like, I don't know an awkward situation. Um, what else? Um, like, when you... There was one session where we had to get them to, ah, sign some consent form things and a lot of them we had to read it out, and, ah, like, print their names for them and things as well.

Awkwardness between clients and students at times due to clients not wanting to ask or not knowing how to ask for things. Eye-opening moments for the students: working with illiterate adults. Liminal experiences with diverse social groups.

IV Okay. And in terms of maybe trust, respect, manners... Are they polite to you?

CH Oh, yes. Um, definitely, um. Ah, I think it's unfair to say that none of them have manners or are not polite, because, like, in each group there are four or five that are and obviously want to change their lives and sort their lives out. But, then there's the, um, few in each group where they won't give you any respect at all until, like, in their terms you've, kind of, earned their respect. So, like, after a few sessions they could be oh, you're not too bad, like. And then you find again, like, if you. I think I found, I made the mistake of going straight in and being like do this, do that and without their respect they weren't, like, at all interested and it was definitely a bad idea, for those lads anyway.

Clients are perhaps unfamiliar with authority figures or structured formats of activity where one individual is a clear instructor/leader. Made more difficult by Charlotte being an unknown quantity at this time. Charlotte, coming from mainstream systems, intuitively expects the position of 'coach' to be respected.

IV Okay. At the beginning when you started and the new ones came through during the actual programme, how did they take to you as students and how did they take to the original clients? Did they prefer to go on with them, gel more quickly or did you find they maintained a distance?

CH I felt that they were a bit, very standoffish with me to start with , I think, because I'm, like, I'm one of the only girls on it as well, so I think it was, like... especially with the StreetLeague lads, it's a football programme, and you're a girl, like, but I'd just done a few coaching things, so I think, like, to start with it was as if they didn't think I... it was pointless being there because I was a girl and, you know. . . they won't give you any respect at all until, like, in their terms you've, kind of, earned their respect. So, like, after a few sessions they were like, you're not too bad, like.

Charlotte had to overcome two barriers: a) being a relative unknown to the groups; and, b) she felt that because she was a girl in what the male clients perceived as a male sport, she faced a dual challenge in gaining their respect. However, once she had gained coaching qualifications and demonstrated what she could offer the clients, they gradually warmed to her. The type and volume of capital she brought to the table helped improve her standing with the group.

IV Do you think socio-economic factors play a major role in their attitude?

CH Yes. It was, like, with getting the equipment, footballs and everything for turning up to so many sessions, you know. Like, we don't turn flash or out, but, you're still wary of wearing certain things that like, they, like, might think sets you apart from them, you know?

IV Um, and what do you think could be introduced to enable them to better integrate into mainstream society? What else do they need?

CH I don't know. I think the whole, like, the SUNEE project needs to get bigger because it's obviously at the minute getting to certain, like, types of groups in different areas. And once... I think it's like word of mouth. So if it gets around and, like, more people know about it, it's not looked down on, kind of, like the clients, as in some, kind of, like, charity thing and I think they'll definitely go for it more, because they seemed to be getting involved more now.

Stigma puts people off and perpetuates social exclusion.

IV Do you think it's that, kind of, their pride that they don't want to be helped, but they do want something to do?

Project offers a diversionary form of sports-based

CH Yes, definitely. Yes, they're all bored and that's what's given them, like... One of the lads I actually had a conversation with and he said that he only comes because he's bored and otherwise he gets himself into trouble and then he's, like... But, I think the whole idea of being, like, oh, I'm being made to do this because I'm low class and because I get in trouble is definitely, like, is what they don't want but it's something annoys them... As long as you make it fun and it's, like, something that they enjoy doing. And I think, like, with the competitions and stuff when they, like, they get given, like, tokens for free kit and that. And when they're getting their free kit it's something to show off about to their mates as well, so.

Clients are concerned about being labelled and bracketed as a problem group or charity case. Preceded by their reputation. This connects with work by

IV So you think, um, that they see us as, like, more privileged than them? And, is that a problem?

CH Definitely at the beginning I felt like that was something I was most wary of, like, that they thought that I was looking down on them. Because, like, the first few times that we all went in for kits, so, ah, I felt more that I was... If I was standing there in, like, a full uniform and, like, trying to make them win things to get kit, it was as if I'd already thought I was better because I was in that kit, if you, kind of, get what I mean?

Client-student relationships perhaps inhibited early on by clients' perceptions that students automatically think negatively of them.

IV Yes, right. And what types of characters do you think these groups have lacked having in their lives in the past?

CH Um, I don't know, I don't think you can say positive role models, because there are always plenty of them in the papers and that, like, footballers and that. But, um, I don't know, like, it's horrible to say but, like, a sturdy home, I don't know, it's very stereotypical isn't it? But, when they're growing up and that, if they've been made to play, like, play out on the street or whatever and get in trouble and never... I don't know, if the community's not stood by them at that point, so maybe... Like, I definitely think that there should be more things like this when they're a lot younger, like, going through schools or whatever. I don't know, it just seems like this is a last resort at the end, it does work, but it does seem like it's a last resort I think.

Hints at a lack of structure and absence of appropriate support systems to guide them. Lack of community connectedness. The reproductive nature of social structure.

IV Is there a couple of well, individuals from different cultures as well and how do they intermingle with the core group generally?

CH Um, there has been and there was, like, three or four and they just seemed to group together and it was two separate groups. And there definitely seemed to be tension, I mean, when I first started I thought it was, like, tension that had already been in the group. But, the leader who was on at the time said that it was, like, some, like, neighbourhood thing anyway between the cultures. Um, but he was very keen to get them to, like, integrate during football to try to make sure that it was helping out in the community as well, but when I was there it was obviously going to be a really hard task, because it didn't seem to be going anywhere.

Building relationships between students and clients is one thing, fostering connectedness and facilitating bridging capital between culturally diverse client groups is another matter entirely. And, dos it weaken volunteers' positions to go between the two?

IV Um, right, do you think that individuals such as the clients on StreetLeague are set in their ways or do you think they can change and improve their attitudes and their situation? From your perspective as a volunteer.

CH Um, I think all of them could learn and improve and, like, it's a starting point to get them all to change, but I think a lot of them, not aren't ready, but don't... at this... like, they've got their friends and like that at the minute. And there are only a select few in each group which are ready and want to, like, say they want to turn their life around at that point. As in us helping them a lot, I don't... I see it more as, like, the proper leaders that seem to help them and we're just there to, I don't know, do the coaching and the things that we can do rather than have any, like, proper changing effects, I don't think I feel qualified for any of that, I don't know, you get a bit scared.

IV Your coaching experience...What kinds of attitudes and behaviours have you experienced from the group that maybe have inhibited your coaching and made things difficult for you?

CH Yes. Um, like, most of my coaching experience before this was with young children, so I've obviously had to try to, like, adapt that and I find it, when either I'm talking or if I'm trying to explain something and... because a lot of the time they don't seem to understand what I'm trying to say, so I'm having to go over and over and over it, and then it obviously, like, whittles down on the time for the actual drill. And with some of the StreetLeague coaching sessions, we only get, like, four or five goals, like, the equipment and, like, a lot of things I like, like, shooting drills and stuff is obviously, like, them spending a lot of time running and getting the balls back and that. Um, what else? I had something else then. No, I've lost it. Um, oh, yes. If in the middle of the session one of them is proper disruptive, then I get thrown, like, with, ah, coaching, like, I'm getting, like... when I started, if someone, like, was just playing up and giving me grief, then I'd get thrown and, like, seem to them that I didn't have a hold on the group, which is why I was glad there was someone else.

Initial challenges to students' coaching and leadership such as establishing methods of conveying information and instructions that clients understand, and also dealing with unruly behaviour from persistent troublemakers. Liminal events and experiences.

IV Um, over time have you, kind of, developed any measures of dealing with that?

CH Yes, like, well, as you get to know the groups I find, like, that I try to gain more respect of the really disruptive ones to start with, because if they seem to be on your side then everyone seems to follow. So once they're, like, and they're, like, into the session then everyone gets involved, and they all seem to run smoothly without any arguments, or any shouting or swearing.

Consistent theme: targeting ringleaders. Struggles to weaken autonomy of the sub-field.

IV Um, how do you feel you're creating a deliberate positive climate through coaching?

CH I, like, at the end of a session I'd ask the lads what they've enjoyed and, like, see what they want to do the, like, following week, like, every week they're all, just want a game, just want a game but, like, what skills they like doing and if it's something that they enjoy then, like, there are no bad attitudes, like, well, limited bad attitudes throughout the session, kind of.

IV How do you tend to present yourself, body language, what you wear, terminology you use, how you speak to them?

CH I definitely tend, like, to, like, if it was a, like, when we did our coaching, um, like, qualifications and that with, um, technical language, we were always taught to use it, like, but I don't think the lads would like that. I think that makes me feel as if I'm looking down on them, so I stay away from that. I always wear, like, some kit but not, like, massive overload. And, um, my body language I've learnt now... At the beginning I was all crouched over as in nervous, but now I think I'm better, I think I don't care anymore.

Developing her own coaching personality and adapting to the dynamics of the programme/groups.

IV Um, great okay. Um, how long would you say it took you to build confidence and trust within the group towards you and how, as you said, did you feel confident actually coaching them?

CH Ah, for me, I know some of the lads, like, were fine with it straightaway, but I think because I was a girl as well, I found it quite a bit harder. It's all right now but, like, at the beginning they, like, just would have go at me or be swearing at me, like, no, I don't want to do that, it's not what I'm into and that, kind of, thing, then I'd be, like, agh! And that would obviously knock my confidence. . . And in one of the groups there's one really disruptive lad, really aggressive, and, like, until I felt, like, I knew how he was going react, I didn't really want to do too, like, too much. So, like, it was a good five or six weeks before, like, I felt. I think I came... Well, I hope I came across as confident after that, like. But, I didn't feel, like, I could do a lot of the things that I really wanted to do, like, some of the more complicated drills or some of the messing around things until, like, we were halfway in. Then I was definitely, like, when I felt like I knew how...

Reiterates difficulties and repeats example of a particularly disruptive element. Then goes onto describing the point when she started to feel more confident in her coaching of the clients. Coming unstuck and out of liminality.

IV So, despite these early challenges, how did you, er, try and promote inclusion?

CH I don't know. It's never at the front of my mind is it, I mean. I try, like, whenever we're picking teams or anything we always just, like, mix everybody in and I never exclude anyone and I never let them choose their own teams. If there's anyone that's obviously, like, lagging on the sideline then you have a quiet word. And, um, there was one time that there this was this lad that came, he quite a lot younger and didn't seem to know anyone, and I had a quiet word with one of the, ah, like, the lads that was, like, a key player amongst the lads, like, the in gang or whatever, and he was, like, chatting to him and stuff. So, I don't know.

IV Um, generally how do they respond to things like encouragement, um, or working with a partner, a bit of responsibility, you know?

CH Yes. Well, as soon as I give them responsibility as long as I've got that trust in them and I think they respect me as well, then it, like, it massively helps. Because, like if they feel, like, that they can tell people what to do then I think that they feel like they're coming on in the sessions and have more confidence and that. What was the beginning of the question again?

IV Um, just how do they respond to different types of issues like encouragement and stuff?

CH Um, there was one time where I'd, like, I think it came across as if I was a bit, like, not patronising but, like, yes maybe a bit patronising and they all backed off, like, for a good ten minutes or so until I could get the session back on track, but.

Reflection.

IV Okay. Do they like praise generally or not?

CH Um, as long as it's not patronising, yes.

IV Not patronising, yes of course. Um, and what, kind of, drills and things do they particularly enjoy? You mentioned that they just want a big match basically…

CH Yes or the ones that have got obvious rewards, like the shooting ones or, like, a tackle box, kind of, thing where if they can see that someone's won and someone's lost then they seem to enjoy that more, as long as they're winning, again.

IV And how do you think you might promote community involvement and citizenship through your role in the programme?

CH Yes, like, the manners and the politeness and every... like, doing everything in a positive manner as well. So, like, one of the lads was asking the other week, oh, can I bring four or five of my mates down and that, kind of, thing, just, I don't know. It's like you're saying with the other lads or whatever, because I'm the only girl but, like, being able to interact and, like, if when the other lads come down and mess around as well, if we have, like, a big game or whatever, they all seem more involved and, like, it's something they do to keep away from, like, it's like as if this is a different, kind of, world to when they go home, it's, like, all a different, like, situation, I don't know.

IV Okay, so just about your volunteer experience. Why did you choose to volunteer and how did you hear about it?

CH Um, like, through Team University C, I heard it, like, emails and that and you know when you see something and you're like, oh, I might do that, but then you, like, put it off and then... The reason was mainly a selfish one, like, for CVs and qualifications and that, that, kind of, thing and experience. But, like, now I'm on it I feel like I want to take it further if you get what I mean, like, just as like a volunteer summer job or whatever, just to keep involved because it's, like, seeing their

progress and that I do what I can to, kind of, support that next year, but yeah, it's a good programme.

Motivational transition from type III to I; eliciting initial motives to achieve instrumental ends and enhance her employment prospects, and subsequently shifting towards and

IV Did you expect that?

CH No, I expected to hate it. When they told me about the client groups and that, I thought I'd absolutely hate it, especially because I've got limited experience in football and that, so.

Charlotte describes how her feelings have changed and hints at her original perceptions of / reservations about the client groups.

IV Has it grown now?

CH Yes, definitely. I mean, I didn't have a great time early on, er, but it, like, they grow on you. Definitely.

IV Um, right, what do you feel that you have developed and what did you think you were going to expect to learn from the project?

CH I think I expected, like, to learn about how to deal that kind of clientele. And I think I have but, like, in completely different ways than I thought I would, like. I was definitely wary, um, of the clientele, but, like, once you've gained their respect and that you can, like, doing the sessions is easier, and, less of a stress really. Um, I don't know, like, my coaching as well, I think it's come on. Like, being able to... like, going from kids to these lads and then, just, I don't know, like. As well as, like, their individual skills it's, like, how to react to, like, different situations, like conflicting situations. If two of the lads are getting into, sort of, like, a bit of tiff, and being able to, like, just calm the situation and move everyone away.

Gaining respect, gaining control, and developing as a coach. Gaining an improved understanding of diverse social and cultural groups.

IV Yes. How much more do you think you have benefitted from this group to working with mainstream kids?

CH I think it's, you see a different kind of development, like, um, being able to, like, because you can tell that week that they actually come and they enjoy it, and it's something that they're doing that's different to what they'd normally do and they want to take things from it. Kids accept like, coaches, like being coached, it's not as straightforward here, if you get what I mean?

Clients are not as receptive to being coached/instructed as mainstream children might be. Mutual learning process.

IV Um, and what do you think they've learnt?

CH Hopefully, like, it seems like a confidence issue with a lot of them. So a lot of them seem to, like, come from backgrounds where they don't want to interact with anyone that's not in their, like, core group of mates or whatever. But, like, a think a lot of them are developing confidence, not just in the football but in, like, being able to interact and getting back into the community and, like, cutting down on their drug habits or whatever and...

Habitus. Insular social networks. Lack the ambition, means or know-how to branch out.

IV What kind of relationships do you think relationship do you think that you have developed with them?

CH I'd hope to say, like, it's, like, an ongoing development, one of trust as a mate, like. They put respect in you and hope that, like, they can trust you.

IV Do you think, um, developing these relationships, do you think that's going to help them be friendlier to the rest of their peers and to people generally?

CH Hopefully you think, like, because we do a massive thing on, like, politeness and manners and, like, we have the, um, oh, I can't remember what it's called, um, the fair play awards, like, throughout the game, so, like, hopefully encouraging, like, their manners and the less aggressive attitude and things, hopefully it will, but I don't know, I guess it takes a while to see, doesn't it?

IV I'm sure. Do you think you could relate and identify with groups through a better vehicle than sport?

CH Um, I don't... I think anything else, like, um, for example if you were, like, putting them through, like, a labour course, like, making them build walls or whatever, it would be good, like, for them to get into the community in that way. So if it's, like, back at school kind of thing. I think when they're playing football it's, like, messing around with their mates as well as integrating everything else. I guess there would be things, but I think to get to the larger number of client type base, there's not enough things going through. Something like football or sport is something you have to go through, I think it's a big mainstream way of doing it.

IV What do you think then, that these guys need to flourish in a social setting?

CH Um, I don't know, I just, kind of, hope, like, some of the lads that are... that were the worst at the beginning are just getting there and, like, wanting to be involved in more, kind of, things as well, asking about different projects or can we try different sports and that kind of thing. So I don't know. Hopefully moving them on into other things.

IV And have your experiences confirmed or influenced your career path?

CH Hopefully. It has influenced the fact... because I always just assumed if I was ever going to go into a coaching or a teaching role I'd want to do it with younger children, whereas I have enjoyed this so much more than any coaching I've done with kids before in, like, a community support role, like. Maybe if I was going into coaching it would be a community support role I'd want, I think.

IV Okay. Um, almost there... What aspects of the programme or the student/client dynamics could be improved on, just for the effectiveness of the programme?

CH Um, I don't... I'm not sure on how they bring the clients in, but it only seems like they're getting groups together and not, like, I've hardly seen any different, like, cultures and things in my sessions. I think that needs to be looked at. And, I don't know, different sports I think would be, like, rather than just a StreetLeague, like, getting other things involved as well, like, rugby... maybe not rugby, it's a bit violent, can you imagine? But, different things and things for girls as well, the girls that are on the streets as well or whatever, just, see if you can get them involved in some, kind of, just gym sessions or something of the same nature.

IV And as a volunteer did you just, kind of, get thrown in there or would you have liked to have, like, an hour seminar of what to expect beforehand?

CH I had, um, like, ah, just a conflict training thing, so it was just, like, um, and what to do if somebody, like, hits you or something. So that at the beginning scared me a bit, but, um, no I think, yes, definitely, like, a couple of hours on, um, especially dealing with and being integrate people and including people, I think that would have definitely helped, so.

IV Well, to finish then. Can you think of just one thing to add that sticks in your head, good or bad, that you're going to take away with you or that just sticks in your mind?

CH Um, like, It definitely feels good, like, after how tense it was at first, then, how good it feels like when the lads want to turn up after, like, two or three weeks or if they have a bad session and then they do come back the next week. And they're like, you alright? Yes, I'm good thanks, how are you? Kind of thing... like, I respected that.

IV Thank you very much, Charlotte.

Gaining respect from the clients after persisting beyond the put downs and verbal abuse of previous weeks. Marker of post-liminal reconstitution.

Transcript 2 – Nile, University D

Speaker key

IV Interviewer
NILE, University D

Volunteered for a year with the (formerly) Second Chance group.

IV If I could you just start off by asking you to just say, um, a bit about how long you've been helping on the SUNEE project, which groups you work with, what you do, um, just the jobs you perform on the programme?

NILE Yeah, well, for the past year now I've been working with the Second Chance group, and it's a placement through the uni. I come down on a Wednesday, a Wednesday and a Friday both, because we're doing this, uh, level one course now. So it's mainly Wednesday morning, between 12 and two. Um, the numbers vary; it's different each week, and it's just basically people who either, they've had difficulties, homeless, um, repeat offenders; just basically playing football with them, or coaching: um, sometimes it's badminton, sometimes it's football outside, sometimes it's circuit training, we're just basically coaching them through it. So sport gives them a way of, uh, change their life around, and then give them a better opportunity for future prospects sort of thing.

IV Okay. So, generally speaking, what factors do you think cause and exacerbate social exclusion, in your experience?

NILE Um, I don't know; maybe it's parents' influence: just the way they've been brought up; not bothered with an education because their parents haven't got one. They just, they get, do what they want when they're younger, and there's no drive to make them succeed in anything, so they go on a downward slope sort of thing.

They've got nothing to aspire to; sense that this is their lot. Lack of capital.

IV Has that been reinforced by the time you've spent with the lads you've been working with?

Lack guidance from important support systems. Perception that without a decent education then there is nothing legitimate for them.

NILE Sort of, yeah, you can sort of tell; um, they sometimes make comments of how they've not got any qualifications or they've dropped out of school sort of thing. So you sort of know that they've had a bad experience in the past sort of thing or not been sort of brought up the way they should've been, so they've gone down the path they have.

IV Okay. Um, to what extent do you think that the lads you work with, or any girls

that you work with, um, have previously lacked certain skills and values, maybe social skills or values?

NILE Well, you can definitely tell like social skills, communication skills are a bit under-worked, so to speak. But, um, I, just in speaking to them, you can see that they haven't, as I said, keep referring to it in the past experiences and that, but you can just tell they're not, they haven't been … out and experienced things that the people have experienced, so they're sort of lacking in that area sort of thing, so… But this is definitely benefiting them and it's making them, it's bringing them off the shell sort of thing.

Closed social networks and limited opportunities for mobility. Lack of interaction with and learning about those who are different from themselves. Autonomy of their subfields.

IV Great. Okay. Um, do you feel that it's easier then for the hard-to-reach groups to attend the sessions and cooperate with people of similar backgrounds and mindsets, um, if they're sort of a peer group, really, um, than with you as students?

NILE When you come in out of university, they're a bit wary, a bit quiet. Some of them are more confident than others, so to speak, but, yeah, but after you get talking to them you sort of become one of them sort of thing in their eyes. They're not classing us as from university, just classing us as someone to play, play football with… someone to just have a laugh with, basically. The first couple of weeks I was just getting to know everyone, and then once you do, you just have banter with them, it's just, it doesn't take long to get integrated into the group at all. And as I say, they don't, I'm sure they don't even see us as people from the uni anymore; they just see us as people like themselves.

Perceived social differences between the diverse groups inhibited integration, at the start, between clients and students. However, a gradual transcendence of differences and an emergence of communitas occurs.

IV Do you think there's anything that could be introduced to sort of maybe speed up that ice-breaking kind of period, or…?

NILE Um, maybe if we started just, um, coaching them from the beginning, and we'll… Because we sort of took a backseat and let the guys that had been there longer do it… So we sort of just acted as though we're one of them. But if we sort of got introduced as more a… What's the word? …an authority figure from the beginning, maybe they would've started, uh, from the beginning, maybe respect you more sort of thing. Not that they don't anyway, but just to break the ice sort of thing faster. I don't know, I'm just speaking from the top of my head, but…

IV That's fine. Um, so what kind of characters do you think these people previously lacked which has prevented them from getting into maybe youth sports or sport in general, or caused them to go down the route they have?

NILE Exactly what I was saying: parent role, influence. I mean, as I said, a lot of them… I know from my parents' example, and, like being pushed through, like, school and not advised to do things, and pushed into doing sport, whereas these probably haven't; I'm just assuming that they've been left to their own devices to do what they want to do. Um…

IV Okay. Um, this next section is basically on your coaching experience. Um, so can you describe any specific factors or issues which you've experienced from the group or groups that's made you, your coaching or time with them easier or more difficult?

NILE Well, as I said, once we got used to, they knew who we were, they knew we were from the university, they knew what we were doing, and then they respected what we said, they'll listen… but at the end they'll do it, they'll understand that you're in an authoritative position over them and you're here to help them, so they'll listen to what you want to do. And it generally leads to them having fun anyway, so the next time they'll associate with that and they'll do it without arguing, or without questioning what you're doing.

IV Okay. Um, do you have any effective measures of maybe dealing with any sort of negative behaviour, or if they didn't want to do something, if they got distracted, or their attention went, just to get them back on track?

NILE Just have a chat with them, say that, um, if you're not interested we can maybe do something else, or just… Well, generally, most of it's focused around playing football, and that's the first sport for any, for all of them anyway, so they generally want to do it. Sometimes we'll go in the gym and, but they're normally given the choice what they want to do, and we either play football, do something, do a set of training or go in the gym. So they're generally doing what they want to do anyway.

IV Okay. How would you feel that you'd sort of created and delivered, um, a positive climate in your coaching?

Using the reward of football to get them to do other things. Allowing and facilitating them to play football helps to ingratiate the students to the clients. The use of football as a bargaining chip.

NILE Just basically around what we, what they want to do. As I said, we know that they like playing football, so we generally, we start it off with, like, say, circuit training with, maybe wind up playing football at the end if they go for that. So they know that they're going to do, and they enjoy playing it at the end, so they're quite happy if they know that they're going to get, getting football out of it.

IV Okay. So, in the beginning, when you started through to now, how do you present yourself, in what manner did you present yourself, and how has it

changed?

NILE When I first came in I would sort of be more professional, sort of representing the uni, try to be more like … a thorough coach sort of thing and strict… Well, not necessarily strict, but just acting the way I assumed they should, because I'd never really done coaching before. But once you get to know them, as I said, you become on a personal level and you're just having a laugh or joking around, just having a bit of banter, so to speak, with each other, just having a laugh, more, more than anything.

IV Good, okay. Um, how long did it take you, do you feel, to build sort of confidence and trust within the group that you're working with?

NILE Not too long; back to what I was saying, just the first couple of weeks was, um, I was just getting to know everyone, and then once you do, you just have a laugh with them, after a couple of weeks it doesn't take long to get integrated into the group at all. And as I say, they don't, I'm sure they don't even see as people from the uni, they just see as people like themselves.

IV So it's quite relaxed. You've mentioned that it gets better er, after a couple of weeks? What are those weeks like?

NILE It's a fair way back, but, they are wary, probably just working you out. Like, they're hard lads, they might of left a bit on you in football. But that's football. It's taken in good heart. George probably helps it on, he sets an example, gets a lot of respect off the lads.

IV How do you mean, example?

Clients testing students at the start, 'working you out'. Another example of a ringleader – this time he gains respect for dual reasons: a) alpha male and subordinate peers; and, b) a role model who has made strides in improving himself

NILE He's been in and out prison and is, he's trying to turn his life around. He has. But, they know he's hard, he's sort of the leader.

IV That's really interesting. Okay. So in your coaching what was the key towards you sort of promoting social inclusion?

NILE Addressing everyone, not leaving anyone out, just talking to them all, and being confident with them all, and just seeing who you are, having a, having joke with them, and just including everybody in what you're doing.

IV So was there any that kind of seemed marginalised anywhere, just on their own, while ou were coaching?

NILE There's obviously some people in the group that are quiet, yeah, and you just talk to them all, even if they just give you one-word answers. I mean, you just keep including them and just don't make them feel excluded from what you're doing,

and just integrate them into everything that you're trying to do. We act on a family level… all of them are family, to be honest.

'Family' indicates closeness: trust and friendship. A camaraderie consonant with communitas.

IV Okay. And you said that football's their main sport, so that's not a problem; they all want to play.

NILE No, no, they all want to play, they're all happy to play; and as I say, the ones that don't get to go upstairs in the gym with one of the guys or they go swimming.

IV Okay. Um, what were the particular methods that you used within your coaching, like from warm-ups to drills to games, and how did these kind of things go down with the group?

NILE Yeah, well, obviously, as I say, their, their priority is playing football, so that's what they want to do, but obviously we're going to do a warm-up and get them ready to play than just, um… We can't just go straight into playing football. But they know that they're going to play at the end, so they're fine, they do whatever we want; they'll listen and respect us. I mean, for the first couple of weeks we were just shadowing the guy, um, Jake, and they've got good respect for him, and because he did it we always go through the warm-ups and they're always fine to do it. They always say it's quite tiring, but they enjoy it, so it's always good.

IV So you say you've got like, you're quite friends with them now?

NILE Yeah.

IV Does that affect maybe, um, sort of taking notice of you sometimes or listening and doing what you say?

Repetition of 'family' emphasising the bonds between the groups. Stresses that just because they are friendly, it does not undermine their position as leaders.

NILE No, not at all. I mean, as I said, they know… Well, just because we act on a family level it doesn't mean that, they still know that we're here to coach them, so they still listen to what we say, and if we want to stop something or want to start something, they'll stop what they're doing and they'll listen to what we're saying.

IV Good, okay. Um, do you encourage a mastery or performance climate in your coaching? Um, mastery is kind of: if you make a mistake you don't, you don't get on their case, you just encourage them; um, performance on is: if they make a mistake, you make them do it again and again.

NILE No, it's definitely mastery, because their, their age and their ability levels are

completely different, and they're all doing similar things, so obviously some people are going to be better than others. I mean, some people have, um, had coaching at proper clubs for football, for example. There's one lad that had trials at several clubs when he was a bit younger, so he's obviously got a high ability. And there's some older guys that are, are not as fit and as agile, can't do the same things. So it's let them all do it at their own pace and just see what they can do, and just encourage them to do whatever they can.

IV Okay. So how, what kind of methods do you use to differentiate your, your practices?

NILE Just sort of, um… If we've got them in groups we'll sort of split them up so it's like sort of… Not necessarily; if we're doing circuit training, for example, put people of similar fitness levels together, just so it, no one stands out; and if people are finishing before the others, we'll just encourage them to carry on.

IV Okay. Um, how did the individuals respond to things like encouragement, maybe a bit of responsibility, things like that?

NILE Yeah, they respond quite well. I mean, they don't really need that much encouragement, to be honest, anyway; they'll all quite willing to come here and to do what… They love coming here, the guys; you must see how much it means to them, so they don't really need to be encouraged; and they just like doing what they do, so they all respond well, to be honest.

IV Okay. How do you think you might have promoted community involvement and citizenship in the time you've been here, the work you've been doing with them, you and the other students?

NILE Well, obviously, just, um, emphasise on good communication between each other, and anything that's untoward, we'll bring it, like, clamp down on it straightaway, we'll tell them that it's unacceptable. So it just improves everything, from communication skills to confidence between them, to be honest, so obviously that's going to be good when they go out there and meet new people, speak to people, in whatever they need to do.

IV Have you noticed them sort of help each other and encourage each other more and more as time's gone on?

NILE Yeah, yeah, they've definitely built more of, like, a rapport between each other, and they get more confident in the group, and they're just, um, they're just more, more friendly, so… I mean, there's nobody that dislikes anybody that comes here, so they're all quite a good social group to work with, to be honest.

IV Good, okay. The last section is just your volunteer experience: firstly, why did you choose to do the voluntary work?

Needed to fulfil requirements of a placement for his course. This demonstrates external regulation (type I).

NILE Um, I needed to do a placement for my course. Like I say, I hadn't coached before; I wanted to move into leisure management, like gyms and fitness centres. This was easy to get on and I could work the hours round work and uni. They give us a few options: I felt it would be quite a good experience to work with these sort of people, because I didn't know what to expect and I, I just wanted to, it's sort of a test of my own ability, but it's been, it's been fine; just wanted to know what it would be like to, to work with this type of group sort of thing.

Working with these groups offered a new challenge.

IV Okay. Um, and what do you feel that it is that you've learnt and developed skills-wise and sort of, in personally?

NILE I've definitely become more confident, and I'm not, I came into this with some reservations about what it would be like, and it's been fine; and I've definitely grown in confidence and I've known… It's like this, these type of people are just the same as anybody else; they're just lacking a few interpersonal skills and just need to be shown sort of some direction in what they need to do, and everyone's fine. So that just opened my eyes to, yeah, first of all, how much it means to these to do this, and the positive effect that it has on them sort of thing.

Initial concerns and preconceptions. Nile has learned a lot about the clients which has dispelled certain misconceptions. Like he mentions above that the clients have not been able to interact with diverse groups, he emphasises that it has been an important part of his development.

IV Okay. Um, so what about the skills you have developed?

NILE Yeah, yeah. I mean organisationally, from week to week it doesn't differentiate that much in what we do, but it's always good to make sure that everyone's going to be included and there's always enough space, and just to make sure with that. You plan ahead so you know everyone's going to have a good time, and you don't want to leave anybody out, or you don't want to be caught short sort of thing on the time when you come in.

IV Okay. What do you think that the, um, the groups that you work with, what do you think that they've learnt?

NILE Yeah, I think they've learnt to trust, um, one another; I would say there's quite good trust in the group. They've definitely become more confident, definitely more able to communicate with each other. And they're just, like mates, pretty much, yeah, I would say that just everything, interpersonal skills, have benefited from the programme.

IV Good, okay. Um, we've already touched on this, but what kind of relationship do you feel that you've sort of built up with, with the individuals you work with?

NILE Got quite a good personal relationship with some of them; I mean, there's, there's a couple of them that we'll talk to and who'll come over to us and they'll stand talking for ages and just have a good, a good laugh with us sort of thing, whereas others, as I was saying, are more reserved, but we don't leave them out, and we'll talk to them as well. And everyone, as I say, everyone gets on with each other. We've got a good… I can't say there's one person that I don't like or I've got a bad relationship with or I'd avoid; I get on with everyone that comes here.

The development of trust amongst the group is a recurring theme. Nile reiterates that he has forged good relationships with the clients.

IV So they've warmed to you then?

NILE Yeah, definitely. As I said, they're like, um, as I said… They were working with this one lad, another student, before that they didn't want to and he wasn't, he was a bit, he didn't know how to handle this sort of group, so to speak, but we got briefed beforehand what they could be like, and, yeah, they've all got onboard and they've all been fine with us. But, as I say, now it's not even a question of worrying about, oh, how they're going to react to us, because it's more us just being on a friendly level with them and them respecting what we say and what we do, then it's fine.

Clients respond differently to different personalities/students. Evidence of issues with some volunteers and clients not taking to them.

IV Okay. Um, do you feel that you could have identified and related to these people through a vehicle better than sport?

NILE No, I think sport probably is a good, one of the best things to do to release from everyday life to them, and it gets them out and it gets them, it's in a group so it's going to improve all the skills that they need to improve to benefit them in the future. It's going to get them out the house, it's going to get them into groups, it's going to get them talking between each other, it's going to get them working together, it's going to get them working with each other, it's going to get them doing everything that they need to do. So I would say sport was probably the best answer. It's something they enjoy doing, for a start, which is always a bonus; and then, combined with all of that, it's definitely a good idea.

IV Going on from that, what do you believe that the individuals require to sort of

flourish in a social setting?

NILE Um, just how to apply themselves sort of thing, which they're learning all the time, and how, uh, things to say and things not to say, and how to communicate with other people, that aren't necessarily here, that they've never experienced before. And it's just, that's the sort of things they need to function outside of this environment in the everyday world; but they're definitely picking it up, and they're definitely improving, and they're definitely becoming more confident, so it's all beneficial, I would say.

Converging sub-fields and acquisition of capital.

IV Okay. Um, has your experiences affirmed or influenced your desire to pursue a specific career path in a coaching or sports element, or anything along those lines?

NILE It's definitely made me think twice about coaching, because I, when I came here I didn't really think that would be my career path, but I've really enjoyed it. And, as I say, it was only a university placement and now that's finished and I've carried on coming, purely because of how much I've enjoyed doing it. So I'm going to do it all through the summer; so, yeah, I would definitely consider a job in that, um, in that field, without a doubt. As I said, before I came I probably wouldn't have, but afterwards it's, I would say, yeah.

Evidence of motivational transition from type I to V (External regulation to intrinsic motivation). Initial behaviour heavily controlled by extrinsic requirements and shifting due to the pure satisfaction and enjoyment received from participation. This promotes retention and also leads to a reassessment of future career plans.

IV Okay. Have you had the opportunity to get any qualifications, coaching qualifications, from the work you've been doing with, on this project?

NILE Yeah, it's, like they have said, as you're volunteering, helping us out, if you want to do any level one courses, like, for example, we've just done football recently, and they're funded through the university. They're always offering to do, um, other qualifications in the future if any of the lads want to do any more level one training. So, yeah, it meant doing so many hours and then doing the course on top, but it was beneficial to me and worth the time once the placement was out the way.

Incentive of coaching badges. Nile indicates that the opportunity to do the football course may have been a factor in sustaining his participation once he had completed his degree module.

IV Great. Um, what aspects of sort of the student/client dynamic do you feel could maybe be improved upon, developed, to develop a better working environment in the future? Or is there anything you feel that could've been in place before you started which would've helped ease you into the sessions?

NILE If… Originally, I would've said that some sort of training would have been good, because I didn't know what to expect with them, because I thought, like, given the backgrounds it could be quite hard to socially integrate with them, but… Someone said, yeah, then maybe it's a briefing, because we literally were given like a two-minute talk, saying, oh, expect this, expect this, do this, and then… But, maybe if we were sat down beforehand… But when you get into it, it's always in the back of your mind that something might happen, but, it's part and parcel, you don't get that in life, and as I say, it's not really been too much an issue because everyone's fine with everyone.

Misconceptions prior to starting the project. The initial talk they had seemed to just make them more nervous than reassured. Debate as to whether prior training is a help or a hindrance, and if getting thrown in at the deep-end is an important to the learning experience.

IV Okay, good. And, finally, is there anything you'd like to add that sticks in your head, positive or negative, that's happened to you, or what you've seen that stays in the memory?

NILE Yeah, just how much it means to them; I mean, you can see it in their faces when they hear that, they don't want to leave and they're happy to be here. And they come out of their way; I mean, some of them come from South Shields just to come and play football and that. So you can see that it positively influences their life and that they love being here, so… That's off the top of my head: knowing how much of a difference we're making to them by putting the sessions on and allowing them to come here. Just definitely the enjoyment and how much it's benefiting them is a good reward for doing it sort of thing.

IV Okay, excellent. Cheers, Nile.

Rewarding experience – connects with intrinsic (type V)

Transcript 3 – Scott, University C

Speaker key

IV Interviewer
SCOTT Interviewee (University C)

IV So just, if you want to just tell me a little bit about how long you've been involved on the programme, the roles you've had and the client groups you've worked with.

SCOTT Basically, well, um, I work on Monday just at West End Community Centre and it's basically teaching, it's like the likes of young offenders, basically people that are on the dole, homeless and things like that, you know? And it's underprivileged groups, basically and we just take them for a football session for two hours. Um, we just usually do drills obviously to start off with for the first half an hour to an hour and then we let them play a match for an hour and, depending obviously on how they're gaining, we obviously have the regional tournaments and all that, really.

Client strands: StreetLeague, Homeless and young offenders

IV And for how long have you been doing that?

SCOTT Um, six weeks now so I have.

Length of time volunteered so

IV Okay. What kind of backgrounds do you think that these groups are from and what kind of factors do you think have contributed to where they find themselves right now?

SCOTT Well, there's a few… to be fair to the group, we've got talking to a few of them like, well, because we played with them for the first wee while so you got to know them a bit better. And like obviously some of them you can tell and when you ask them about it they're happy to admit that they're from, basically, a bad background and that they don't want to do anything, all they just want to do is, they just seem to want to play that football session, to be honest. Then others obviously come, they say that their parents are on their backs or that, the likes of college. Like some of them are doing painting and decorating courses and things like that. I'd say there's about a third that are from a better background than the other two thirds, basically, because there seem to be like they don't even want to do qualification. They just seem to want to play football, to be honest.

IV What kind of factors do you think cause and exacerbate social exclusion?

SCOTT Um, well, To be honest with you some of them are really like angry, to be honest with you. Like whenever… for example there was two new guys that came down and there was a few of them that just wouldn't accept them, wouldn't let them in, just kept giving them backchat. Like a few of them, one guy got hit in the

mouth – not on purpose, and it's just like they were calling them names and stuff so just not friendly, they're just in their own wee group, you know.

Insular nature of established client coteries. Animosity towards newcomers. Attitudinal and behavioural difficulties to coaching and relationship

IV And just, do you think they just don't like change and…?

SCOTT Yes. I think they'd just rather stay in their own circles you know because like in the beginning, whenever we mentioned about going to Lakeland sports centre on a Tuesday, the ones that were really interested, none of them wanted to really leave because the others didn't want to go. So there's basically their own wee group and they just didn't want to split from them for just one session.

Unwilling to stray from group

IV Do you think that's always been the problem, kind of just limited experience of people?

SCOTT Er, probably. I just don't think they've had anybody to really… A lot of them seem to, like, come from backgrounds where they don't want to interact with anyone that's not in their, like, core group of mates or whatever. . . They don't, they wouldn't respect anybody really outside their group so basically they don't want to change that.

Social exclusion; limited capital; influence of Habitus and symbolic violence

IV Okay. And so what kind of skills and values do you think they lack? Or lacked before they came on the programme and what has the programme given them maybe?

SCOTT Well, to be fair like, even communication-wise like, they wouldn't really… like whenever we started they'd be swearing and stuff like that like. Just basically bad manners like, manners. But like now they have a bit of respect for you like. They don't talk whenever you're trying to give your session because obviously they want to learn about something. I feel that they want to basically learn. Whenever you're trying to coach the football, obviously. Whenever you bring that in, they actually pay attention to you. They respect it because that's all they really want to do, is play – and you're giving that to them. And like you can see whenever they're playing in their football matches they're always happy. Yes, there's obviously a bit of anger and that but it sorts it out, to be honest with you. It's actually… it turns out really good, usually, the football, to be honest.

Student volunteers gaining status. Clients becoming receptive to coaching. Football as a potential conditioning device?

IV Okay. You said earlier that they're nice to you and things but they're just concerned with their own little groups, really. Um, how do you think getting into those little groups has changed or helped them? Has it brought them on a little bit? How do they treat the people in their groups?

SCOTT Well, they treat the other clients like their own friends, yes, they treat them all with respect. Obviously they have a good laugh with them and they joke around with them, basically. But like they treat each other really well, basically. And then, as I said, when them two new guys came in, they were a totally different group. Basically they just kind of like turned on the guys because like the two guys played in the opposite teams and they just were both just tortured, basically, to be honest with you.

IV Did they submit?

SCOTT No. They ended up leaving. They just came for one week and just didn't come back.

IV Okay. Well, what kind of things do you think you can, er, introduce to the group to prevent that or help that situation?

SCOTT That's very difficult… and I was talking to Joe, about it. Basically we thought, if we could maybe like move them down to a place like the Lakeland sport centre so we're taking them out of their environment and putting them in, so they won't be as confident, basically. But obviously none of them seem to want to do that.

IV So, you given it some thought and have discussed with others

SCOTT Yeah, it comes up quite often.

Clients have grown too comfortable in their current surroundings, considering it their territory. Scott and colleagues have given this thought prior to interview and think that transferring to a new centre may weaken group autonomy and create opportunities for integration of new clients. However, existing clients are loathe to move.

IV Um, you mentioned earlier that the lads wouldn't respect or they'd no respect for certain people. So, what type of characters do you think these groups have lacked in their lives?

SCOTT Well, see, well obviously some of them… whenever you talk to them, some of them say they don't even live with their parents so obviously they're living out by themselves so maybe it could be likes of maybe the mum, never cared for them, obviously, or their dad to basically show them what to do. But like, for example, there's two guys there that are, er, they're both brothers. Um, they're just mad, so they are. They just don't… they're the ones that wouldn't listen to you. They'd just do their own thing, basically. And apparently they live like, they just live together, so they do.

IV Do you think, um, programmes and interventions like this, working with people like yourself and the coaches, do you think you can change people who seem to be set in their ways, and improve them socially?

SCOTT Yes. I think we can. There's a couple of guys there who basically when they first showed up obviously had… they seemed like not really… well they just showed up and played football, basically. But then after we got talking to them week after week they wanted, they came to us about qualifications, basically, of doing their level one football (qualification). And basically one of them came and, er, got talking with Peter, and that and then Peter, said, well, I'll tell you what, I'll observe you basically, look at your behaviour and then we'll see how it goes and then maybe I'll put you through it, maybe. And then obviously he shaped up. His manners was brilliant, everything. And then Peter, obviously put him through his level one. And as I say, in there just recently there a guy, um, can't think of his name but people call him Rocky. But, er, he's a similar story like. He's quite a rough lad and everyone, all the team seem to respect him. He's like the leader, I think, in a way. Um, basically like he seems to have changed round, like I see him often in the gym now as well. He's totally changed in a way that he has, he wants to do more things basically with his life so I feel like it's changed him round a good bit, to be fair.

Clients starting to seek advice and information from volunteer coaches. The use of symbolic capital drawing the two together. The clients want something that they perceive the students can help them acquire.

IV Great. Okay. Um, in this next section I'm just going to ask about your coaching experience, um, so any specific attitudes or behaviours you've experienced towards specific methods you've used that they don't like or they do like?

SCOTT Um, well basically whenever we first started off we thought like we'd maybe start by treating them like real, basically footballers, in fact take like a coaching session we'd take at a club. But that didn't go down too well because obviously they just got distracted. Like for example warm-up without a ball. They just kept talking and messing around. You couldn't get a control over them. So then we introduced basically like just a simple warm-up all with er, we just gave them all a ball, dribbling around er, they liked tackling each other while they're dribbling, basically. And like that calmed them down a lot. It got, helped it get on a lot. But then the same as what it is in the main session. Whenever you did little things like practicing your control they had no time for that. They wanted to be like shooting or passing or something so basically we changed it round so it was like a one-on-one situation sort of thing and that, er, seemed to have a good effect on them.

IV Okay. How would you feel like you deliver a positive environment and climate in your coaching? So, how do you create a positive atmosphere?

SCOTT Oh. How do you? Okay. Well, basically we just go in. We don't, we try to always go in basically, obviously with a smile and stuff like that to try and… Because

like basically, if we came in obviously looking down at them and like we didn't want to be there, they're not going to really want to listen to us so obviously we come in looking with smiles, have positive attitudes, telling them what they can get out of the course, basically. Telling them that they can play in the regional tournaments and whenever, basically, whenever you brought in like the likes of the regional tournaments they all seemed to kind of perk up. Like for example there's one guy there who's getting sent down on the, he's getting sent down at a certain date basically, and he's just, all he wants to do is like play in a tournament before he leaves and that's all he keeps going on about every week and he just keeps looking forward to it. But obviously we're not sure if there will be a tournament before. But it seems to create a positive atmosphere whenever you… If you can kind of tell him the dates of when a certain tournament is, they'll obviously want to try to reach that because they've actually done well in them, so they have.

IV Um, In what do you speak and interact with the clients?

SCOTT Well, it depends, really, to be honest with you. Like some of them wouldn't really… you have to sometimes speak in the way that they kind of talk. Obviously not the swearing or anything like that but trying to get into sort of slang or lingo or whatever you call it that they use. Um, they seem to respect you more because like whenever the likes of me, whenever I use it, obviously I'm not from, um, England so they find it really funny that me trying to talk like a Newcastle person, which they carry on with you. So like they seem to… they're kind of letting us into their group because we're helping them, in a way. But it seems to be doing them a lot of good, I feel anyway. Just that it's, um… it's just the fact that… even Eddie, when Eddie, tries to speak like that… then they just respect him more and like kind of like let him closer in to them, basically.

Liminality – reconstitution. Learning the norms, codes and 'lingo' of the client groups. Facilitating the position and status of the students. Gaining respect.

IV Okay. Um, how do you deal with negative behaviour or any instances of them kind of pulling away from what you want them to do?

SCOTT Basically the best way that we found out that happened at the start. We kind of… not shouted at them but kind of let them know that they were annoying us and stuff like this but they seemed to have no respect for that. So basically what we found that worked best was kind of what they looked at as a leader. Because they kind of just followed the ringleaders, basically. Like the guy they call Whitey and the guy Rocky seem to be the two main guys. We found that if we got closer to them basically, and they wanted to, if they wanted to do this, everyone else followed. So whenever there was like someone messing around or anything like that, it was actually them that really sorted it out because they were just telling them to wise up if you wanted to do this, you know.

De facto leaders wielding capital and symbolic violence to defend their positions of orthodoxy. Bourdieu: filed and capital. Students attempted to get close to and gain the respect of the 'ringleaders' to establish some level of control over the group.

IV Okay. So what were the main tools you used to like promote inclusion and just get everybody involved? If there was one sitting on the sidelines that didn't want to do it, how did you bring them into the game?

SCOTT Well, usually, see, there was, there's obviously me another student and then Eddie, that was there and obviously whenever there's about 12 turned up and there's usually about three or four on the sides. But obviously they didn't want to join in in like the likes of the coaching session as such, er, because they just said they just didn't want to, they didn't, they had no time and like whenever we pushed them like the first week, they kind of just went away. So whenever they came back we tried basically not bringing them into the coaching session. Then the likes of a match we were like, oh, come on, play. And they were like, no, I'm rubbish or I can't kick a ball like. So basically we just kind of said to them, well, look, I'm rubbish. They're going to take the hand it to me so just come on in, have a bit of fun. Which, to be fair, a few of them did. And ever since then, whenever the likes of when you get now a few of them playing, the other ones will be like, yes, I'll join in. So we just kind of really bring them into the matches, make them feel confident, having a laugh with them basically, not, um, like taking the piss out of them, as you might say. But like just bring them in, having a laugh and like they seem to really enjoy it. Like we got, it happened actually on Monday. There was, er, two or three lads just sitting on the side and they just didn't want to play. And once they came on, like… to be fair, they weren't very good but everyone was just having a laugh with them, to be fair, no-one mattered standard, which was good.

IV Okay. Um, so how do they respond to things like, er, encouragement or responsibility? I mean just if you ever get them working in pairs or, um, problem-solving activities, things like that?

SCOTT Well, to be fair, there was a few… We did like a session that was basically just passing through the gate. That was them both working as pairs and like to start off with, the likes of… there was a few of them just didn't listen. They didn't know what they were doing so obviously we tried to have to keep repeating it to them just to encourage them and they were like, they were saying, oh, we can't do this, it was stupid and all this here. But we just basically told them… we then widened the gates a wee bit and like they just seem to… like they pick up on a lot, basically, whenever you… if you tell them basically that they're better than they are, they kind of perk up a bit and, um, yes, they seem to be able to actually do the task, to be fair. So they listen to you at least now.

IV And, how do you think that they learn from you and the other volunteers like subconsciously? How would you get on with each other and just how you treat them?

SCOTT Well, to be honest with you, I think we get on fine now. Before, we had a problem, as I said, because letting us in and such. But like now they, whenever we arrive they're happy to see us. They treat us like one of… well, they don't treat us like one of their gang but they kind of, they just let us, they bring us into everything. Like if they're knocking the ball about or something they'll bring us in and call us over. So like, you're kind of, we're getting somewhere with them if… But I feel like even next year whenever we come back that we'll get even closer with them because we've only been, we only started the sessions a little over six weeks ago. So we've come a long way with them in a short period of time.

Turnaround and integration after a difficult start. Rapport develops and the clients begin to include the volunteers. Scott indicates that he is eager to return to the project in the following term and is confident of further improvement – communitas.

IV Okay. So from there, how do you think that you have promoted community involvement, citizenship through the sessions?

SCOTT Um, well, to be fair, like we… We've tried to promote it basically but obviously, as I said, they won't let really anybody in, hence why we're trying to, er, take them out of their own little community but we haven't actually been able to really promote it. We've actually been trying to find different ways of trying to get in and that's what me and Eddie, always discuss. Like for them when they're, during the matches and that. It's just one thing that we just find hard to do is trying to get in to them, basically.

IV Okay. Um. Right, last section just on your, about your experience. So, why did you choose to volunteer? How did you hear about the project?

SCOTT Um, basically well, to be honest with you, it's one of my modules for this year and basically so I got, put my placement in with Team University C and they put me on this course. I'd heard about it in first year and never got round to doing it but now, since it's part of my module, I had to get it done. I've only got like 70 hours to do basically. But I'm wanting to basically continue after because I feel that you get so much out of it, not only for yourself but them as well. Like they just, they're comfortable, they obviously really like the likes of the company coming down, taking the time like to help them and help them improve in their skills, basically. It's important to like, maybe not finish what we started, but, um, to help them in moving forward so to speak.

Motivational transition from III to IV (identified to integrated), from meeting the requirements of a degree module to continuing to give the clients some consistency in their lives and aid their development.

IV When you started, what do you think they thought of you as students? Their perceptions towards you.

SCOTT I don't think they really liked us that much being there because obviously, I think, they got the impression that we thought we were better than them, sort of thing. But like after they got talking to us they found out who we really were and like we just got talking to them about even our pasts and things like that and they seemed to like settle down a lot because obviously you've trusted them to tell you things and things like that. And they seemed to, they've calmed down a lot from what they were, so they have, because they were a bit angry at the start, basically.

Clients did not necessarily take kindly to the students at the

IV Okay. Um, so what did you expect to learn at the start of the programme and what do you feel you have learned and developed?

SCOTT Well, to be honest with you, when I went into the programme I wasn't sure what I basically was going in for because obviously whenever we got told about it we were going into all the different communities that we'd been looking in at, um… So whenever I went into Winterton I really thought that I was going into a place that they weren't really going to listen to us, basically, or anything like that or I wasn't sure if we would achieve anything through… Because I didn't think they would have paid attention just from my own experiences at home. But obviously I couldn't let… them, I had to try harder with them, try with them. So, basically, whenever, um… sorry. Repeat the question, sorry.

Scott was sceptical about what could be achieved with the client groups before entering the project.

IV What did you expect to learn and what have you learned?

SCOTT Um, basically, obviously I expected to learn, or I expected them, to be able to teach them different football skills to help them obviously improve in football. Obviously I've felt that we've achieved part of them but other parts they just don't seem interested in, as I said to you. The likes of small drills like controlling the ball and things like that. They think that they're good enough at that but… So basically I felt we'd basically achieved half of our goals within our timeframe so far but we hopefully will try to edge them towards… Because obviously, as I said, they're giving us more respect so they're trusting us more. So maybe, we'll hopefully be able to get them other goals out the way by… well, I don't know when I finish, obviously.

Much more positive response than given in the previous answer.

IV You've already mentioned little bits of what they're getting from it but, er, what do you think they've learnt from the programme so far? You said that they gave you trust and respect. That's probably new for them as well. So just anything you can think of like that.

SCOTT Well, I feel that they gained a lot. They've obviously… well even… it's like being at school basically, like a class for them, coming to us because obviously it's

like a coaching session. Obviously they want to do it so, in a way, they gain a bit of organisation skills, I suppose; being able to come every Tuesday, every Monday, sorry. Um, they gain… like, as I said to you, they're gaining respect and, but also on top of that they're also have a chance obviously to do a qualification through this as well. So they can gain that if they want to do it, basically. And hence that's why we can't put it towards them, these are the sort of skills that we use. So like, as I said, there's some that want to be able to learn so like they kind of take it on board and they ask about different drills and that so we try to kind of bring them into it as well. So I feel they're gaining a good bit of knowledge about the sport as well because obviously we break it down and tell them about different parts of it, so…

IV Okay. Um, so what kind of relationships, if any, do you think you've built with the group?

SCOTT Well, there's a few now… To be honest with you, like I said, as a group, they're fine like for us coming in but there is a few that you get closer with, like talk to you. Like obviously they're just, I don't know if it's maybe because they live with their family, like it's just maybe a nicer family but, as I said, there's the two brothers there but they just don't really let you very close to them at all. Like they just don't give you anything. You try to talk to them and they don't really want to let you in unless… They're totally different when in a group, they'll talk to you and that. But when they're by themselves they're kind of by themselves, if you know what I mean… They're just, they just don't let you in, really, ever. But the other ones seem to actually be, they're starting to trust you more. They let you in obviously so I feel like we're getting a good rapport with them as such and like I feel like they trust me, basically. I can trust them, basically.

Themes of mutual trust and the building of rapport are starting to trend. The clients are opening up more and more in group situations.

IV Um, do you feel like you could have identified with the client groups better through a vehicle other than sport?

SCOTT Um, to be honest, with the group that we work with, no. I think, because we thought about maybe even maybe influencing or bringing them in, sorry, like maybe a different sport and a coaching session just to see what they'd be like but no. They seem just to all relate to basically football. That's all they want to do and it's basically, they look at it as nearly what they live for because a lot of them obviously are United fans and all want to go to the games. So, to be honest with you, I think, football's the best way and what we're doing at the minute seems to be working well.

IV Okay. So what do you think these individuals require to like flourish in a social setting? Um, if you've given them a base so far, what can you add to that?

SCOTT Um, I'm not a hundred percent sure on what we can add to it at the minute because of the fact that it's, we've only a short period of time. Like we haven't got

to know exactly what we can kind of, as such, get away with doing and what we can't, basically. Because, obviously, they seem to have strong… like they won't let us basically do certain things with them. Things that they don't want to do, obviously we can't do because they won't let us. Well, they will let us but they just won't listen, basically. So I'm not 100% sure on that, so, not on what we basically… we will be able to get from them, if you know what I mean.

IV What's the key elements that you think they need?

SCOTT Um, I just think they need to be able to welcome like other ones that want to come in from the likes of even their community maybe. Like as I mentioned them two people from Lakeland, they were from Lakeland so they were, they came down like. I think they just need to be able to… Once they'd be able to welcome more people in, obviously they're going to have more fun training sessions, there's going to be more people, obviously. So at the minutes there's numbers showing up between eight to 14, which… If they'd welcome more people, there has been a few people that have showed up but obviously they're not letting them in to, or even trusting them like by giving them the chance that they gave us, basically. I think, it's more the thought that since we're there to help them and the other people are just there to join in, you know, that they're just not, they just don't want to welcome them, basically.

IV Okay. Um, so, taking that into account, has your experiences so far confirmed or influenced your desire to pursue a career path in sport?

SCOTT Yes. Well, to be honest with you, after working with this, it's something… Like, I always looked at coaching basically as on a club level but like after doing this here it's kind of got me wanting to do this more as well. Like I want to obviously help give what I can, basically. And, um, I could see myself doing this obviously down the line once I get more qualifications, obviously to be able to take sessions like these it myself.

Scott's participation on the project has given him an appetite to pursue further opportunities with SUNEE and the 'hard to reach' and may be pursue similar activities in the long term beyond university.

IV Right. Last two questions. What do you think can be improved on in the sessions? Or to support you and your fellow volunteers?

SCOTT Well, obviously, well, from other, well, from West End's point of view like, the facilities aren't very good but the problem is it's not basically straight leagues programme. It's not their fault basically because they don't want to move out to better facilities. Like that's why we said as well, for Lakeland because the facilities apparently are so much better because at the minute we're playing on an Astro… like Astroturf, er… It's just one like big Astroturf like hockey pitch and, um, there's obviously goals just width-wise. The problem is, when it rains and that layer's just so slippery and the ball skids away. But that's obviously something that you can't improve or… So to improve it… I don't know. We find out there whenever… There is

a guy Davey from London that runs this or he works in, works with us and then it was me, a guy Trevor and Eddie. There was four of us basically there and when there was more people there they seemed to quieten it down basically and listen to you more because like we found like that was our best coaching session then Monday that we had. So as, that's all I could go by, as I say, maybe more people maybe helping out might actually help the programme work more smoothly, basically.

The programmes work more smoothly when there are more staff and volunteers present – this could be because the clients each receive a greater deal of support or because they feel there are more eyes on them. However, it seems to work and facilitates the work of the volunteer coaches.

IV Um, how many volunteers regularly participate?

SCOTT See, well, that's what I mean. Like there's usually two students and Eddie, on but, at the minute, obviously one of them students has football on a Monday so he goes a different day. So mostly it's just me and Eddie, so it's pretty hard to kind of, you know, get control of them as such whenever there's only two of you. But then obviously when them four people, when there's four of us there, they just seem to want to, they actually want to do more, basically, which was good.

IV Okay. Um, the final thing then, just, um, just if you could name one thing that just sticks in your head that you can take away from it, um, good or even bad that just always sticks in your head?

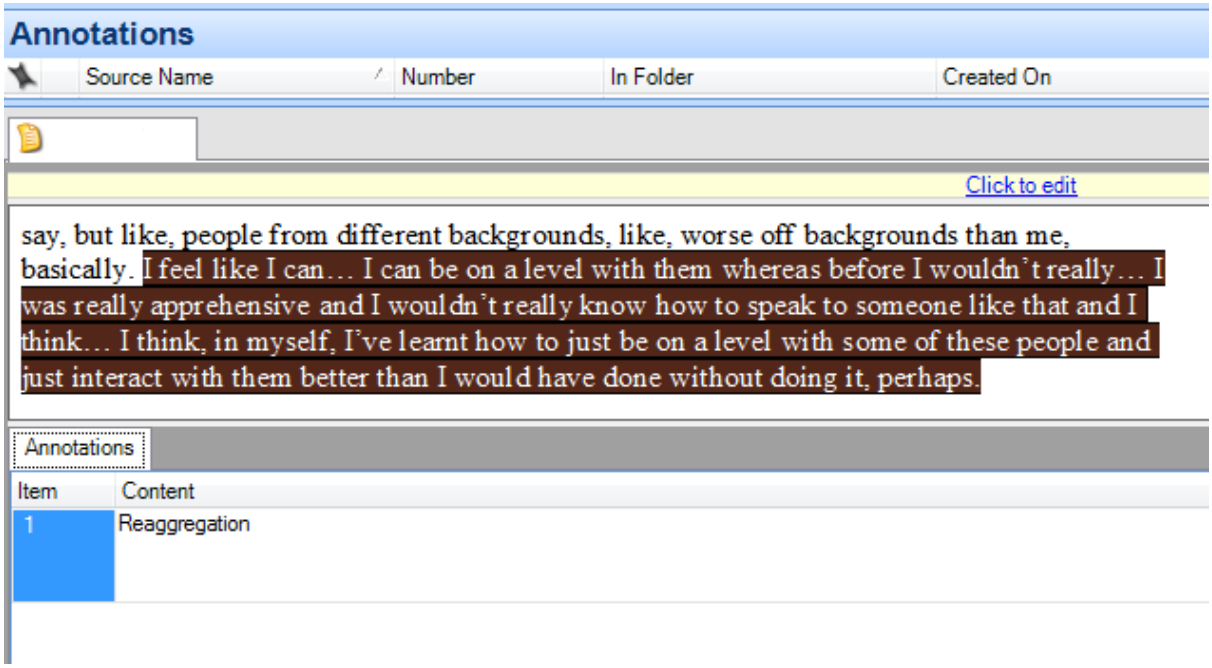
SCOTT Er, the fact that with these sort of ones you don't expect them to basically let you into their lives but obviously in such a short time whenever you're like playing football they'll actually let you in. Like some of them have let you into like their past basically and told you what they've done and what they've been ashamed of basically and why they wouldn't do it again. So, in a way, it's probably just the trust, them being able to trust you is something I've got to take out of this the most because obviously I couldn't, I didn't expect, it's one thing I didn't really expect to get much of whenever I first started this programme, in such a short period of time.

IV Okay. Thanks. A really good interview.

Highlight for Scott is that his experiences so far on the project have greatly outdone his expectations. Gaining trust, insight and an increasing social connectedness with the group has taken him by surprise and hints at some positive and prosocial development.

Appendix 3

Selected Nvivo Annotations



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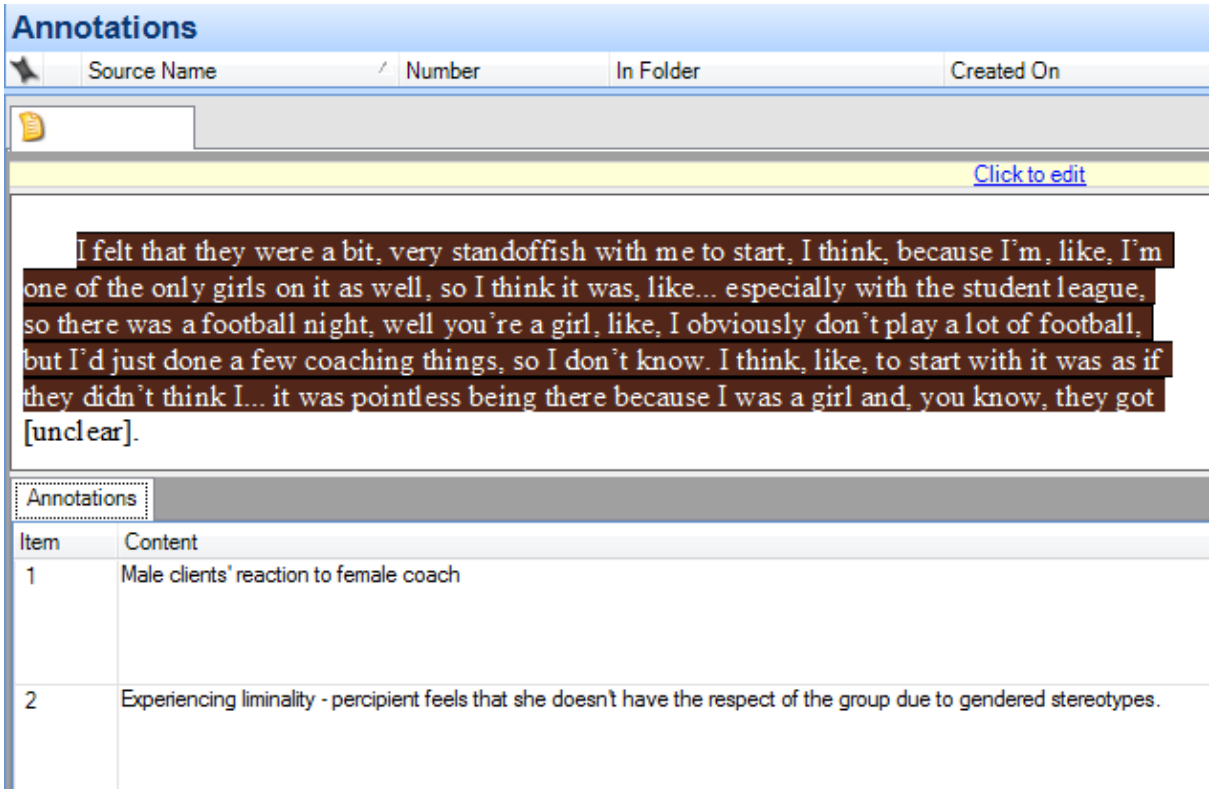
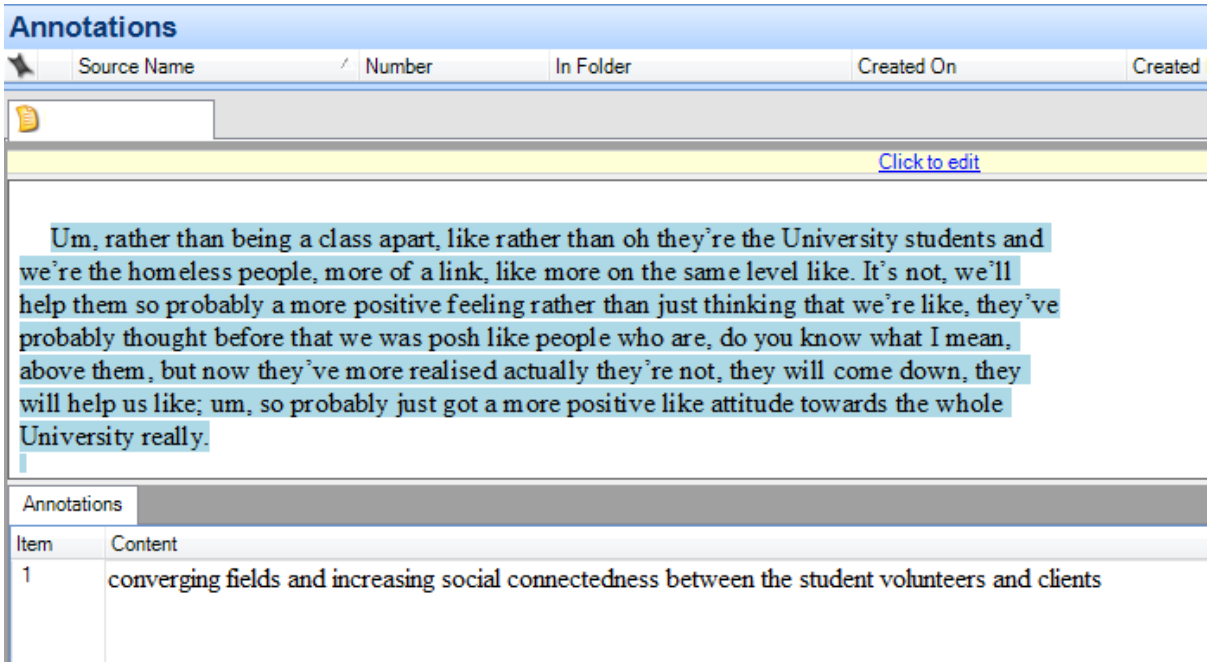


Charlotte, University C



Sheila, University E

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