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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

Sociology and Social Policy

**'For ever, for everyone'? Patterns of volunteering: The case of the National
Trust**

by

Naomi Harflett

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES

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**‘FOR EVER, FOR EVERYONE’? PATTERNS OF VOLUNTEERING: THE
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by Naomi Jane Harflett

Formal volunteering, through an organisation, is frequently associated with providing benefits to individuals and to communities. However, surveys consistently show that participation in formal volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender. This research seeks to expand upon existing theories which have identified that participation in formal volunteering is shaped by the possession of human, social and cultural capital, by applying Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, capital and field to the study of volunteering in the National Trust. Drawing on over 12,000 responses to a National Trust volunteer survey, and 50 semi-structured interviews with volunteers and paid staff, this research explores the relationship between different types of capital and volunteering.

To date, the perspective that formal volunteering requires the possession of resources or capital has not been integrated with literature which recognises that volunteering can be a form of work or leisure. Interviews reveal that people volunteer for the National Trust as a replacement for the positive aspects of paid work in retirement, as a way of gaining work experience, for pleasure and enjoyment, and as a way of participating in heritage or the countryside. Explanations for the inequality in participation of formal volunteering can be improved by recognising that volunteering is a form of work or leisure, which requires capital to perform, and which produces further capital. While formal volunteering is often promoted as a way to tackle social problems, in practice, the case of the National Trust suggests that volunteering can exacerbate social inequality by enabling those with resources the opportunity to gain more.

This thesis argues that Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, capital and field, and the work and leisure perspectives on volunteering, can be applied to extend existing resource explanations and improve understanding of why participation in formal volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender.

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Declaration of authorship

I, Naomi Harflett, declare that this thesis entitled “For ever, for everyone”? Patterns of volunteering: The case of the National Trust’ and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:

Date:

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Abbreviations

CAB – Citizens Advice Bureau

CSV – Community Service Volunteers

ESRC – Economic and Social Research Council

IVR – Institute for Volunteering Research

PTA – Parent teacher association

RSPB – Royal Society for the Protection of Birds

RSPCA – Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals

TSOL - Total social organisation of labour

Introduction

Formal volunteering, that is volunteering through an organisation, has been associated with providing benefits to the individuals who volunteer, to the communities that people volunteer in, to organisations that involve volunteers, to recipients of the organisations and to the economy (Davis Smith, 2000; Rochester, 2006; Rochester et al., 2010). However, national survey data shows that participation in formal volunteering varies according to socio-economic status, level of education, ethnicity, age and gender (Low et al., 2007; Communities and Local Government, 2011). In particular, surveys in the UK and other late modern societies consistently show that people with high levels of education, high occupational status and a high income are more likely to volunteer than others (Pearce, 1993; Musick and Wilson, 2008). The benefits associated with formal volunteering have led to calls from past governments, researchers, the Commission on the Future of Volunteering and funders to address this inequality and make volunteering inclusive and open to all. It is in the interests of policy makers, researchers and volunteer-involving organisations to understand more about inequality in volunteering. This research expands upon existing explanations to increase the understanding of why participation in formal volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender.

Although the links between certain socio-demographic characteristics and participation in formal volunteering are well established, there remains a lack of explanation for them. The most prominent explanation looks at the relationship between the possession of resources or capital, and participation in volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997a; Wilson and Musick, 1998; Musick et al., 2000; Wilson, 2000; Musick and Wilson, 2008). Wilson and Musick argue that volunteer labour, like any other labour, requires resources that are not evenly distributed across the population (Musick and Wilson, 2008). They argue that volunteer work is (1) productive work that requires human capital, (2) collective behaviour that requires social capital, and (3) ethically guided work that requires cultural capital (Wilson and Musick, 1997a). In particular this work has emphasised the link between the possession of social capital

and volunteering, arguing that people of high socio-economic status are more likely to volunteer because they have greater social ties and networks, and so expose themselves to being asked to volunteer (Wilson and Musick, 1998; Wilson, 2000). While Wilson and Musick's research has been invaluable in identifying a link between the possession of capital and participation in volunteering, it has some significant limitations – in particular the inability to explain why the class, ethnicity, age and gender of volunteers varies between organisations and between fields of volunteering activity. Furthermore, while the benefits of volunteering are well recognised, to date theories which focus on the capital *needed* to volunteer have been kept distinct from theories which focus on the capital *acquired* through volunteering (e.g. Putnam, 2000). This thesis is structured around identifying and addressing three key factors which limit resource models: a lack of recognition of the importance of the context of volunteering, an overemphasis on the role of social capital, and an underlying assumption that volunteering is primarily a form of help or act of altruism.

This research therefore seeks to understand more about inequality in participation of formal volunteering by addressing the following research questions:

1. To what extent can the possession of capital, by volume and by type of capital, explain patterns of participation in formal volunteering?
2. What is the explanation for the variation in the class, ethnicity, age and gender profile of formal volunteers between organisations, and between fields of volunteering activity?
3. How are the resources or capital needed to enable formal volunteering, related to the capital or resources *gained* through formal volunteering?

Theoretical and conceptual approach

Two distinct approaches are used to address these research questions. Firstly, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field are applied to broaden the concept of capital used in resource models. Informed by the forms of capital identified by

Bourdieu (1986), I extend the capital referred to in the 'resource model' and argue that social capital (social contacts and networks), economic capital (financial resources), human capital (education and work-related skills), symbolic capital (position, affiliation, prestige or reputation) and cultural capital (cultural preferences, tastes and practices) can all contribute to enabling volunteering. In particular I argue that the possession of cultural capital, in the form of cultural tastes and practices, which has so far been neglected in volunteering research, can make an important contribution to explaining inequality in patterns of volunteering. The 'resource model' of volunteering can be further improved, and provide a better understanding of patterns of volunteering, by incorporating Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field. The concept of habitus, which identifies a link between social origin and the possession of capital (Bourdieu, 1984), provides an improved explanation for the relationship between class, ethnicity and volunteering. The concept of field, which recognises that the value of capital depends on the field in which it operates (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), can contribute to explaining why the social profile of volunteers varies by organisation and by the field of activity of the volunteering. Secondly, I draw on volunteering literature which recognises that volunteering can be conceptualised as a form of work (Taylor, 2004) and a form of leisure (Stebbins, 1996). To date, the discourse on volunteering, work and leisure has been kept distinct from the research which looks at the links between volunteering and social resources (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2010, p442). Work and leisure of all types require capital to participate. I argue that recognising formal volunteering as a form of work or a form of leisure which requires capital, provides a better explanation for inequality in volunteering than conceptualising it solely as a form of giving or an act of altruism.

As well as providing an explanation for the patterns of participation in volunteering, these two approaches also help to recognise and understand the inequality in the outcomes of formal volunteering. Participation in formal volunteering can produce social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital for the individuals who volunteer. While formal volunteering is often promoted as a way to tackle social problems such as social exclusion, unemployment and lack of community cohesion, in

practice, volunteering can exacerbate inequality by enabling those already in possession of capital or resources to benefit from the opportunity to gain more. These two approaches underpin the central argument of this thesis – that inequality in volunteering can be explained by recognising that volunteering is a form of work or leisure, which requires capital to perform and which produces further capital.

By applying Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field therefore, this research bridges the gap between literature which acknowledges that volunteering can be work or leisure, and literature which recognises that participation in volunteering requires resources. Applying these theoretical and conceptual approaches addresses the limitations of the 'resource model' and improves understanding of why participation in formal volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender.

A case study: Introducing the National Trust

The research questions are explored through a mixed methods case study of volunteering in the National Trust. The National Trust, a registered charity, is a UK heritage and conservation organisation which was founded in 1895. The National Trust has a core purpose of protecting historic buildings and open spaces in England, Wales and Northern Ireland for the benefit of the nation. The National Trust currently protects more than 350 houses, gardens and monuments, 709 miles of coastline and 255,000 hectares of countryside, and has over 4 million members. This research is part-funded by the National Trust, as part of an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) CASE collaborative studentship.

The National Trust is a significant UK volunteer-involving organisation with a long history of volunteer involvement. In 2012-13 70,494 people volunteered 3,770,630 hours for the National Trust. The economic value of the volunteer contribution in 2011-12 was estimated to be £33,615,422. The National Trust involves a wide range of volunteer types and roles. Almost half of National Trust volunteers volunteer regularly in property-based house, garden, coast or countryside roles. Other volunteering

opportunities include working holidays, employer-supported volunteering, National Trust group volunteering, group volunteering through partnerships with external organisations, unpaid internships, work experience, and family volunteering. The National Trust is governed by a small Board of Trustees and a 52 member Council. The director-general, Helen Ghosh, the executive team and support staff operate from a central office. Overall responsibility for volunteering currently comes within the volunteering and community involvement team, based at the central office. Individual properties are run by property-based professional staff and supported by volunteers. Day-to-day management and recruitment of volunteers is co-ordinated at individual properties with support from regional volunteering and community involvement consultants.

Reflecting the core purpose of protecting buildings and spaces for the benefit of the nation, the mission of the National Trust is “for ever, for everyone”. Despite this inclusive mission of being “for everyone”, National Trust volunteers lack diversity in terms of their class, ethnicity, age and gender. Eighty-four per cent of volunteers are aged 55 or over, 99 per cent are white, 65 per cent are educated to degree level or higher, 90 per cent are homeowners and 62 per cent are female¹. They are significantly more likely to be white, older, retired, highly educated, homeowners and female, than both the general population of England and Wales² and other formal volunteers in England and Wales³. This distinctive social profile makes the National Trust an interesting case study of class, ethnicity, age and gender patterns of volunteering.

The research questions have been addressed by using quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative analysis of 12,876 responses to the 2011 annual National Trust Volunteer Survey and a further 4,462 respondents to a supplementary

¹ Based on the National Trust Volunteer Survey 2011. It should be noted that while the National Trust Volunteer Survey 2011 provides a good representation of regular house, coast and countryside based volunteers, due to survey distribution method, other types of volunteers (particularly episodic, casual or seasonal volunteers) are under-represented. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

² Based on 2011 Census for England and Wales (Nomis, 2013)

³ Based on Citizenship Survey 2009-10 (Department for Communities and Local Government and Ipsos MORI, 2011)

survey designed to extend what is known about the profile of volunteers, have been combined with the findings from qualitative semi-structured interviews with 40 volunteers and 10 members of paid staff. Volunteers were interviewed at three sites – a large country house and garden, a small urban property, and a coast and countryside area. In addition working holiday volunteers and unpaid interns were also interviewed. Throughout this thesis I draw on the findings from this mixed methods research to address the research questions in order to understand more about inequality in formal volunteering.

Thesis overview and chapter outline

Chapter 1 considers some of the important questions explored in volunteering literature – what volunteering is, why people do it and who participates. I set out how this thesis will address some of the common assumptions made about what volunteering is, in order to understand more about who volunteers. I provide an overview of patterns of volunteering in England and Wales, and in order to understand why there is a call for volunteering to be inclusive, I review the evidence of the benefits associated with volunteering. I review the existing theoretical explanations for the patterns of participation in volunteering, in particular focusing on the ‘resource model’, and highlighting its limitations.

Chapter 2 sets out the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for this research. I introduce Bourdieu’s concepts of capital, habitus and field and the literature which argues that volunteering can be conceptualised as a form of work, and as form of leisure. I present my argument that these two approaches can be integrated to improve understanding of inequality in volunteering by recognising that volunteering is a form of work, leisure or both, which requires capital to perform and which produces further capital.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology adopted for the research. I outline my epistemological approach, ethical considerations, and reflect on my role as a

researcher. I detail the quantitative and qualitative methods used, sampling strategy, site selection, limitations and methods of analysis.

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 the findings from my research on volunteering in the National Trust are used to address the three factors I have identified which limit resource models of volunteering. Chapter 4 focuses on the importance of the context of volunteering. Using Bourdieu's concepts of field and capital I show that the profile of National Trust volunteers can only be fully understood by examining it in the organisational and field context it occurs in. Firstly, I emphasise the importance of the organisational context by exploring how the organisational culture, history, priorities and strategies have an impact on who volunteers. Secondly, I show that recognising the fields that the National Trust operates in – the fields of heritage and conservation, tourism and the third sector – and identifying the dominant forms of capital in these fields, can add to understanding the social profile of National Trust volunteers.

Chapter 5 challenges the emphasis of the role of social capital in resource theories through a detailed exploration of the capital used to enable volunteering for the National Trust. I show that economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital, as well as social capital contribute to enabling volunteering for the National Trust. In particular, in the case of the National Trust I show that it is human capital in the form of education and work-related skills acquired through middle-class experiences of work, and cultural capital in the form of cultural preferences and tastes acquired through white, middle-class leisure participation in heritage and the countryside, that are key to explaining the very distinctive white, middle-class profile of National Trust volunteers.

Chapter 6 addresses the underlying assumption that volunteering is primarily an act of altruism by focusing on the relationship between volunteering, work and leisure. I show that in the case of National Trust volunteers, volunteering is experienced as a form of work, leisure, or both, and cannot be separated from an individuals' experience of other forms of work and other forms of leisure. People volunteer for the National Trust as a replacement for the positive aspects of paid work in retirement, as a way of

gaining work experience, for enjoyment, and as a way of participating in heritage or the countryside. I also show how, in the case of volunteering in the National Trust, it is clear that it is those with resources who benefit from the opportunity to gain more.

Chapter 7 concludes by considering the wider implications of the findings of this research beyond the National Trust. I reflect on implications for policy, for organisations aiming to diversify their volunteer profile, and for the way researchers think about, and study, volunteering.

Chapter 1: Definitions, patterns and consequences

The subject of formal volunteering attracts a great deal of attention both in policy and research. Questions about what volunteering is, what role it has in policy and service provision, how it can be managed, understanding who volunteers formally and why, and the outcomes of volunteering have drawn attention from a broad range of disciplines including sociology, psychology, economics, non-profit studies, leisure studies, management and social policy. Detailed reviews of volunteering literature can be found in Musick and Wilson (2008) and Wilson (2012), and a broad overview of volunteering in the UK can be found in Rochester et al (2010). This chapter focuses on some of the fundamental questions in volunteering research – what volunteering is, why people do it and who does it. I start by looking at the definitions of volunteering and explain my rationale for focusing my research on the study of formal volunteering. I then focus on who participates in formal volunteering and why this matters. I look at the more intricate patterns of participation in formal volunteering and highlight that, although there are some consistent overall patterns, who volunteers also varies by the field (the particular area of activity) of the volunteering. I consider why the question of who volunteers is important and interesting by reviewing the literature on the benefits associated with formal volunteering, looking at who is calling for volunteering to become inclusive, and their rationale for doing so. Finally, having outlined the inequality in participation of volunteering, and the reasons why this causes concern, I review existing theoretical explanations for the patterns. In particular I focus on Wilson and Musick's theory of volunteering (1997a) which suggests that certain resources or capital are needed to enable volunteering. Although the model makes an important link between the possession of capital and volunteering, I highlight its limitations and how my research develops this model further.

1.1 What is volunteering?

Within volunteering literature the difficulties of defining volunteering are well recognised (Sheard, 1995; Cnaan et al., 1996; Davis Smith, 2000; Rochester, 2006; Ellis Paine et al., 2010; Rochester et al., 2010). The Helping Out survey which questioned adults in England about their volunteering and charitable giving in 2006-07 defines volunteering as "Any activity which involves spending time, unpaid, doing something which aims to benefit someone (individuals or groups) other than or in addition to close relatives, or to benefit the environment." (Low et al., 2007, p10). The Commission on the Future of Volunteering and the Volunteering Compact Code of Good Practice use a similar definition: "an activity that involves spending time, unpaid, doing something that aims to benefit the environment or individuals or groups other than (or in addition to) close relatives." (Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008, p5, Home Office 2005, p4). The Citizenship Survey which questioned adults in England and Wales about their participation in volunteering between 2001 and 2011 defines formal volunteering as "Giving unpaid help through groups, clubs or organisations to benefit other people or the environment" and informal volunteering as "Giving unpaid help as an individual to people who are not relatives." (Communities and Local Government, 2011, p141). Highlighting a lack of clarity in the definition of volunteering Cnaan et al (1996) carried out a review to identify the key dimensions common to most definitions. They identified four key dimensions: free choice, remuneration, structure and intended beneficiaries. Within each of these dimensions they identify further categories which range on a continuum from 'pure' (the narrowest definition) to 'broad' (the widest definition).

The first of Cnaan et al's key dimensions, common to most definitions, is free choice. Most definitions agree that volunteering should be an activity which is undertaken by free will, and draw the line at coercion or compulsion, such as community service or activities undertaken mandatorily within the education system (Sheard, 1995; Dingle, 2001; Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008). However, there is a blurred line between free will and compulsion or coercion. Volunteering as a result of an

employer-supported volunteering scheme, school work experience or an unpaid internship which is necessary to secure employment, all include some degree of obligation, coercion or necessity (Rochester, 2006; Rochester et al., 2010).

While all definitions agree that volunteering is unpaid, remuneration or reward which is not a wage can take many forms: travel expenses, meals while carrying out the volunteer activity, gifts, social events, living allowances for full-time residential volunteers and educational scholarships or fees (Rochester, 2006; Rochester et al., 2010). Community Service Volunteers (CSV) in the UK offer full-time volunteering opportunities which cover accommodation, food and a weekly living allowance (Community Service Volunteers, 2014b) and Voluntary Services Overseas cover costs of flights, accommodation and an allowance equivalent to local wages (Voluntary Services Overseas, 2014). Accepting low paid jobs in order to do good has been considered as “quasi-volunteering” (Wilson, 2000). At the other end of the spectrum volunteering opportunities abroad which are increasingly common among people taking gap years (Simpson, 2005) can require substantial sums of money to participate.

It is widely accepted that beneficiaries of volunteering do not need to be individuals but can include abstract notions of the environment, the arts, the community and society (Davis Smith, 2000; Dingle, 2001; Low et al., 2007; Communities and Local Government, 2011). Rochester et al (2010) highlight that a requirement to produce public goods or deliver public benefits would exclude a substantial amount of voluntary activity which takes place in clubs and associations, and self-help and mutual aid groups. Wilson (2000) and Musick and Wilson (2008) suggest that activism, which works for collective benefit, should be studied with volunteer work. It is also acknowledged that volunteering is of benefit to the volunteer as well as the intended beneficiary. One of the three criteria for defining volunteering in the United Nations toolkit (a practical guide for assisting countries to measure volunteering as part of the International Year of Volunteer 2001) was that “It brings benefits to a third party *as well as to the people who volunteer.*” (Dingle, 2001, p9, emphasis added).

The final of Cnaan et al's dimensions common to definitions of volunteering is that of structure. The categories that Cnaan et al (1996) identify within this dimension are formal (within a structured organisation) and informal (help to friends and neighbours). Most key UK definitions including the ones used by the Citizenship Survey, the Helping Out survey, the Volunteering Compact Code of Good Practice, and the Commission on the Future of Volunteering include or recognise informal volunteering as a form of volunteering (Home Office, 2005; Low et al., 2007; Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008; Communities and Local Government, 2011). The United Nations toolkit states "It would be a mistake to insist that volunteering can only take place through an organization of some kind" as it "would exclude a great deal of mutual aid as well as the vast amount of unmanaged help that goes on between neighbors and friends." (Dingle, 2001, p9). However, there is not a consensus on this. Some definitions very clearly exclude informal volunteering (e.g. Sheard, 1995), and Musick and Wilson argue that it is not appropriate to consider informal help as volunteer work as it is too easily confused with a generalised exchange network or cycle of reciprocity. They stipulate that volunteering is organised voluntary activity, and the fact that it is organised is important (Musick and Wilson, 2008).

It is common in volunteering research for researchers to assume implicitly that volunteering is understood to be formal without stipulating that this is the case (for example Musick and Wilson, 2003; Tang, 2006; Caputo, 2009; Morrow-Howell et al., 2009; Nesbit, 2012). While I believe that both formal and informal volunteering should be included in a definition of volunteering, my research focuses specifically on the study of formal volunteering, through an organisation. The experience and outcomes of volunteering formally and informally, I would argue, are qualitatively different, and the fact that formal volunteering occurs within an organisation is important. While helping out formally or informally could involve similar activities – for example visiting an elderly neighbour, or visiting an elderly person through an organised befriending scheme – the reasons, meanings, experiences and consequences of each can be very different. Someone visiting an elderly person through a befriending scheme

may be doing it for work experience, to provide some structure to their time, or to meet other volunteers. Becoming a befriender through an organisation may involve going through an application process, induction, being supervised or managed, having a defined role, and being subject to a criminal record check. A formal volunteer befriender can put their experience on their CV, benefit from the status of being a recognised befriender, make friends or connections with staff and other volunteers in the organisation and be protected by the organisation if things go wrong. Recognising that informal and formal volunteering are different is particularly important in the endeavour of understanding inequality in volunteering. Research indicates that informal volunteering is more common in deprived neighbourhoods, certain geographical regions, within Black and minority ethnic groups, and amongst young and disabled people (Lukka and Ellis, 2001; Williams, 2003a; Williams, 2003b). I would argue that the resources needed to enable formal volunteering, are unlikely to be the same as those needed to volunteer informally, and importantly that the resources derived from informal volunteering are unlikely to be the same as the benefits derived from formal volunteering. It is important that a distinction is made between whether research is focused on formal or informal volunteering – referring to volunteering when the study is on formal volunteering serves to ignore the activities of particular groups of the population. The focus of this research is on formal volunteering, and references, findings and conclusions about volunteering from this point onwards throughout this thesis will refer to formal volunteering unless specifically stated otherwise.

Although some of the definitions of volunteering put forward by volunteering researchers are quite broad and encompassing, this does not necessarily reflect the common perception of what volunteering is. Cnaan et al's study asked members of the public whether they considered various scenarios constituted volunteering. They found that those who met the 'pure' levels of the four dimensions of volunteering outlined above were most likely to be perceived of as volunteers – those who volunteered out of free will, through a formal organisation, to help strangers and received no remuneration at all (Cnaan et al., 1996). The commonly held view of

volunteering – that it takes place within large, professionally staffed and formally structured organisations, that volunteer roles are clearly defined and specific, that the activity takes place in the broad field of social welfare and that the motivation for volunteering is essentially altruistic – has been referred to as the ‘dominant paradigm’ perception of volunteering (Rochester et al., 2010). Rochester et al stress that the ‘dominant paradigm’ perpetuates a narrow stereotypical view of volunteering which serves to ignore a lot of volunteering that takes place beyond the field of social welfare, informally and in small grassroots organisations. As well as the public perception, the ‘dominant paradigm’ exerts a powerful attraction as a kind of ‘default setting’ for the discussion of voluntary action among practitioners, policy makers and researchers (Rochester et al., 2010). Evidence of the ‘dominant paradigm’ can be found in the way volunteering is discussed in policy documents (HM Government, 2011), by volunteering researchers (Wilson, 2000; Musick and Wilson, 2008; Li, 2013; Smith, 2013), by the Commission on the Future of Volunteering (Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008) as well as in public perceptions of volunteering (Cnaan et al., 1996; Lyons et al., 1998; Meijjs et al., 2003). While definitions may recognise broad parameters of what volunteering is, the commonly held perception by members of the public, policy makers and researchers is that volunteering is an activity that occurs within an organisation, in the field of social welfare, and is essentially altruistic. The ‘dominant paradigm’ assumptions can have an impact on how inequality in volunteering is understood, and throughout this thesis I show how it is important to challenge some of these assumptions, in particular by studying volunteering outside of the field of social welfare and by challenging the default assumption of altruism.

1.2 Why do people volunteer?

The question of why people volunteer has attracted a great deal of attention. Why people choose to spend their free time helping an organisation for no financial reward is an intriguing question. From an economic perspective, rational choice theory predicts that the decision to volunteer is based on a weighing up of its costs and benefits; an individual will only volunteer if the volunteering is a productive activity.

These benefits could include benefits to family or career (Vaillancourt, 1994), a “warm glow” (Rose-Ackerman, 1996) or acquisition of skills to increase future wages (Govekar and Govekar, 2002). The Volunteer Functions Inventory (Clary et al., 1996) identifies six categories of motivations or psychological functions for volunteering:

Values function – people volunteer to express and act on values important to the self (e.g. humanitarian values or altruistic concerns).

Understanding function – people volunteer as an opportunity to increase their knowledge of the world and develop and practise skills that might otherwise go unpractised.

Enhancement function – people volunteer to engage in psychological development and enhance their self-esteem.

Career function – people volunteer to gain experiences that will benefit their careers.

Social function – people volunteer to fit in and get along with social groups important to them.

Protective function – people volunteer to cope with inner anxieties and conflicts, and to protect the ego (e.g. to reduce feelings of guilt, to combat feelings of inferiority).

(Clary et al., 1996, p487)

It is argued that individuals will volunteer if they see volunteering as fulfilling one or more of the six motivational factors (Clary et al., 1996). The Volunteer Functions Inventory acknowledges that motivations can be self-interested *and* altruistic and that there can be more than one motivational factor. It has been recognised that the altruism-egoism dichotomy is artificial (Haski-Leventhal, 2009) and that altruism and self-interest are not mutually exclusive (Stebbins, 1996; de Jong, 2011). Despite this recognition, studies of the public perception of volunteering find that the higher the benefits or rewards to the person who is doing the helping (the volunteer), the less likely they will be considered to be a volunteer (Cnaan et al., 1996; Handy et al., 2000). Definitions of volunteering do not stipulate that volunteering must be altruistically

motivated to be defined as volunteering, and motivations literature recognises the multiple altruistic and self-interested reasons for volunteering. However, when volunteering is researched and examined as a phenomenon, discussion often reverts to the ‘dominant paradigm’ default perception of volunteering as a form of help, a form of giving, or an act of altruism. In recent work, David Horton Smith has devised the neologism “altruistics” to refer to all the phenomena of the field of non-profit studies including the study of volunteering (Smith, 2013). In a “sociological study of generosity in England and Wales”, formal volunteering is used as a measure of “altruistic behaviour” to measure generosity (Li, 2013). Wilson describes volunteering as “part of a general cluster of helping activities” (Wilson, 2000, p216), and the opening paragraph of the first chapter of the most comprehensive recent book on volunteering, begins “Volunteering is a form of altruistic behaviour. Its goal is to provide help to others, a group, an organization, a cause, or the community at large, without expectation of material reward.” (Musick and Wilson, 2008, p3). Conceptualising volunteering as an act of altruism is particularly problematic when we come to consider the question of inequality of participation in volunteering. Although this is not articulated, and is no doubt unintended, discussing volunteering as an act of altruism has the effect of implying that those who volunteer – who have a high level of education, high occupational status and high income – are more altruistic than those who have lower levels of education, lower occupational status and lower incomes. Furthermore, conceptualising volunteering as an act of altruism puts the emphasis on the giving involved in volunteering, and ignores the substantial and significant individual benefits or rewards experienced through volunteering. Throughout this thesis I add to the literature which challenges the ‘dominant paradigm’ assumption of volunteering being a form of altruistic behaviour by looking at two alternative ways of conceptualising it – as a form of work or leisure which I discuss in detail in Chapter 2.

1.3 What do volunteers do?

In 2009-10, 25 per cent of people in England and Wales participated in formal volunteering regularly (at least once a month), and 40 per cent had participated at least

once in the last 12 months (Communities and Local Government, 2011). Within this large group of people who formally volunteer are people doing a vast array of different activities, in different kinds of organisations and different fields of activity. The Citizenship Survey 2009-10 found that organising or helping run an activity was the most common form of regular formal volunteering, followed by raising or handling money, then leading a group or being a member of a committee. A cross-national study of the perceptions of volunteering in eight countries, found that serving a meal at a soup kitchen for the homeless was consistently ranked as most likely to be considered as volunteering across all countries (Meijs et al., 2003). A study of the perceptions of managers of non-profit organisations found that activities associated with hobby or sports club membership, or political participation were perceived by some to be a long way from what they considered to be volunteering (Lyons et al., 1998). In fact, as detailed in Table 1 the Citizenship Survey 2009-10 found that 54 per cent of people who volunteer regularly volunteered for a sports organisation, 42 per cent volunteered for an organisation related to hobbies, recreation or a social club, and just 19 per cent volunteered for a health, disability or social welfare organisation (Communities and Local Government, 2011).

Although the majority of volunteering occurs within a voluntary or community sector organisation, people also volunteer for public sector organisations, for example in schools and hospitals, and private sector organisations, for example in private care homes. The Helping Out survey found that 65 per cent of volunteers volunteered for a voluntary and community sector organisation, 23 per cent volunteered for a public sector organisation and 11 per cent volunteered for a private sector organisation (Low et al., 2007). Contrary to the 'dominant paradigm' perception of volunteering, the majority of volunteering does not occur in social welfare organisations. While most formal volunteering takes place in organisations related to leisure, recreation and interests, there is a tendency in volunteering research to focus research on volunteering within social welfare organisations (for example Taylor, 2004; Baines and Hardill, 2008; Hustinx, 2010b; Einolf and Chambré, 2011). By examining volunteering in a heritage and conservation organisation rather than a social welfare organisation, this research

Table 1: Type of organisation helped through regular formal volunteering

Type of organisation helped	Per cent
Sport/exercise	54
Hobbies/recreation/social club	42
Religion	36
Children's education/schools	34
Youth/children's activities (outside school)	30
Health, disability and social welfare	19
Local community or neighbourhood groups	19
The elderly	18
The environment, animals	18
Education for adults	17
Safety, first aid	12
Trade union activity	8
Citizens groups	8
Justice and human rights	7
Politics	5
Other	10

Source: Communities and Local Government, 2011, p97

goes some way to redress this imbalance. Throughout the thesis I emphasise the importance of recognising the heterogeneity of activity that volunteers are involved in, and the importance of recognising that volunteers are not a homogeneous group.

1.4 Who volunteers?

As I have highlighted, volunteering surveys show that people with higher levels of education, higher occupational status and higher incomes are more likely to volunteer formally than those with lower levels of education, lower occupational status and lower incomes. As shown in Table 2, the Citizenship Survey 2009-10 found that 35 per cent of those educated to degree level or equivalent participate in regular formal

volunteering, compared to 18 per cent of those with GCSEs grades D-E or equivalent and 15 per cent of those with no qualifications (Communities and Local Government, 2011).

Table 2: Rate of regular formal volunteering by highest qualification

Highest qualification	Per cent
Degree or equivalent	35
Higher Education below degree level	31
A level or equivalent	28
GCSE grades A-C or equivalent	22
GCSE grades D-E or equivalent	18
Foreign and other qualifications	13
No qualifications	15

Source: Communities and Local Government, 2011, p82

The Citizenship Survey 2009-10 also found that 33 per cent of those in higher or lower managerial and professional occupations participated in regular formal volunteering, compared to 16 per cent of those in routine occupations and 13 per cent of those who have never worked or are long term unemployed (see Table 3) (Communities and Local Government, 2011).

Table 3: Rate of regular formal volunteering by socio-economic group

Socio-economic group	Per cent
Higher/lower managerial and professions	33
Intermediate occupations/small employers	25
Lower supervisory & technical/semi-routine	20
Routine occupations	16
Never worked/long-term unemployed	13
Full-time students	30

Source: Communities and Local Government, 2011, p81

The difference in rates of participation in formal volunteering by education, and by socio-economic classification are quite striking and consistent. Those who have never worked or are long term unemployed, those in routine occupations, and people with no or low qualifications are much less likely to volunteer than those in higher socio-economic groups or those with higher levels of education. These broad class patterns are not limited to the UK and have remained consistent over time. Reviewing surveys across countries including the United States, Canada, Denmark, Britain, Germany and Mexico, in every decade since the 1950s, Pearce (1993) found overwhelming evidence that those with higher educational levels, higher occupational status and higher incomes, were more likely to volunteer formally than those with lower incomes, lower educational levels and lower occupational status. A more recent overview of cross-national data on formal volunteering confirms that these patterns have remained consistent; Musick and Wilson conclude that “there is no evidence to suggest any change in the class bias of volunteering” (Musick and Wilson, 2008, p533).

While broad class patterns are quite clear and consistent, participation rates by gender, age and ethnicity are less so. Contrary to the stereotypical ‘lady bountiful’ image of volunteers, females are only slightly more likely to volunteer than males. The Citizenship Survey 2009-10 showed that 24 per cent of males and 26 per cent of females volunteer formally at least once a month (Communities and Local Government, 2011). However, although the overall rates of volunteering are similar, the volunteering that male and female volunteers do varies. For example, the Helping Out survey found that females are more likely to volunteer for organisations working in the field of education, health or disability, or organisations supporting elderly people, while males are more likely to volunteer for sports or exercise organisations, or organisations involved in hobbies, recreation or social clubs (Low et al., 2007). As shown in Table 4, the Citizenship Survey 2009-10 reveals that there is some variation in participation by age. Those aged 25 to 34, and those aged 75 and over are least likely to volunteer, and those aged 35 to 49, and those aged 65 to 74 are most likely to volunteer (Communities and Local Government, 2011).

Table 4: Rate of regular formal volunteering by age

Rate of regular formal volunteering by age	Per cent
16-24 year olds	23
25-34 year olds	21
35-49 year olds	28
50-64 year olds	26
65-74 year olds	29
75 and over	21

Source: Communities and Local Government, 2011, p80

Again, although the overall rates do not vary extensively, what people of different ages do, does vary. The Helping Out survey found for example that older people are less likely to volunteer for organisations in the field of education, children or young people than other age groups, and are more likely to volunteer for organisations supporting elderly people, and local community, neighbourhood and citizens groups (Low et al., 2007). The variation in volunteering by ethnicity is not between white people and all ethnic minority groups, but between different ethnic minority groups. The Citizenship Survey 2009-10 shows that 26 per cent of white people, 25 per cent of Black people, 16 per cent of Asian people, and 13 per cent of people of Chinese or other ethnicity volunteer regularly (Communities and Local Government, 2011). The volunteering that people do varies by ethnicity. The Helping Out survey shows that Black and Asian people are more likely to volunteer for religious organisations and overseas aid and disaster relief organisations than white people, and white people are more likely to volunteer for sports or exercise organisations and organisations involved in hobbies, recreation or social clubs than Black and Asian people (Low et al., 2007).

A study of volunteering in Denmark found that who volunteers varies depending on the field of the organisation. The study looked at volunteering in three categories; activity-oriented volunteering (which includes sports, hobbies, culture and leisure activities), welfare-oriented volunteering (which includes social services, health and education), and societal volunteering (which includes political parties, unions,

professional organisations and environmental organisations). They found that education increases the likelihood of volunteering for activity-oriented and societal volunteering but not for welfare-oriented volunteering; men were more likely to volunteer in activity oriented organisations and women were more likely to volunteer for welfare-oriented organisations; younger people were more likely to volunteer in activity-oriented organisations and middle aged and slightly older people were more likely to volunteer for welfare and societal organisations (Henriksen and Rosdahl, 2008).

While there are some factors which are consistently related to higher rates of formal volunteering – education, income and occupational class – when we look beyond the overall rates of participation we find that what people volunteer to do in terms of the field that they volunteer in, varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender. As I expand upon later in this chapter and throughout this thesis, this variation is rarely acknowledged in attempts to explain patterns of participation in formal volunteering.

1.5 The benefits of formal volunteering

The interest in understanding who volunteers is largely due to the vast array of benefits that formal volunteering has been associated with. The benefits of volunteering have been identified in at least five broad areas: benefit to the economy, benefit to organisations, benefit to service users or beneficiaries, benefit to the individual and benefit to communities (Davis Smith, 2000; Rochester, 2006; Rochester et al., 2010). It has been estimated that the economic value in terms of the number of unpaid hours of work contributed by volunteers in England is around £38.9 billion (Low et al., 2007). Organisations can deliver more services, more economically with the contribution of volunteers (Rochester et al., 2010). Many organisations, including the National Trust, would not function without the considerable contribution volunteers make to the day-to-day running of the organisation. Individual service users can benefit directly from the services provided by volunteers, or the general public or future generations can benefit from for example, conservation work. The concerns that

volunteering is not accessible to all however, have arisen primarily from the evidence or arguments that volunteering is beneficial firstly to the individual carrying out the volunteering, and secondly to the communities that people volunteer in.

1.5.1 Benefits to individuals

Overviews of the benefits of formal volunteering suggest that volunteering enables individuals to meet new people, improves employability, has a positive effect on physical and mental well-being, provides enjoyment, and enables personal development (Davis Smith, 2000; Ockenden et al., 2007; Rochester et al., 2010). There are a wide range of studies which claim a whole host of benefits associated with volunteering. Volunteering has been specifically associated with lower rates of depression (Musick and Wilson, 2003), improved mental and physical health (Li and Ferraro, 2006), increased life expectancy (Musick et al., 1999), improved physical health and happiness (Borgonovi, 2008), enjoyment and pleasure (Roberts and Devine, 2004), increased self-esteem, efficacy and socialisation (Morrow-Howell et al., 2009), positive well-being (Van Willigen, 2000; Thoits and Hewitt, 2001) self-confidence (Baines and Hardill, 2008), social inclusion (Nichols and Ralston, 2011) and empowerment and improved employability (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004). A review of the therapeutic effects of volunteering found evidence that volunteering produced positive personal, psychological and mental health benefits (Konwerski and Nashman, 2008). A review of the impact of volunteering on health found evidence that volunteering was shown to improve self-rated health, mental health, life satisfaction, the ability to carry out activities of daily living, social support and interaction, healthy behaviours and to decrease mortality (Casiday et al., 2008).

However, some of the positive benefits associated with volunteering are found to vary with age, and are mainly associated with volunteering in older age (Van Willigen, 2000; Musick and Wilson, 2003; Li and Ferraro, 2006). The evidence on the health benefits of volunteering is weak and inconsistent (Musick and Wilson, 2008). Furthermore, while many positive benefits are associated with volunteering it is

unclear whether there is a causal relationship; it is difficult to establish whether volunteering causes better physical health, mental health and well-being, or whether people with better physical and mental health and well-being are more likely to volunteer. Borgonovi (2008) finds that while volunteering is highly associated with greater health and happiness, once reverse causation (the fact that people who feel well may be more likely to volunteer) has been taken into account, the positive association between volunteering and happiness is found to be causal, but the association between volunteering and health is not.

In terms of improving employability, the evidence is not conclusive. A study of volunteers in a disadvantaged community found limited evidence of raised aspirations towards the labour market or en-skilling for employment, and found an unclear relationship between volunteering and waged work (Baines and Hardill, 2008). A literature review into the link between volunteering and employability found a lack of quantitative studies on the subject, and those that have been carried out, fail to find a link between volunteering and job outcomes (Hill, 2009). A survey of people who experienced unemployment found that there was no difference in employment outcomes overall between those who have, and those who have not, volunteered and found that volunteers actually take longer to re-enter employment than non-volunteers (Hirst, 2001). Nichols and Ralston's (2011) study of the impact of volunteering as part of a post 2002 Commonwealth Games programme found that volunteering helps to tackle social exclusion for individuals in terms of empowerment, an expression of citizenship and building relationships and contacts, but not necessarily through gaining employment. Analysis of data from the British Household Panel Survey found only limited evidence of volunteering increasing the chances of employment. It found that volunteering can assist the move into employment, but only if done monthly (rather than weekly or yearly), and for older people and those with family caring responsibilities. It found that too much volunteering can have a negative effect on employability, particularly for young people and students (Ellis Paine et al., 2013).

There is a tendency within volunteering research to focus on the positive outcomes of volunteering to the neglect of consideration of maladaptive responses such as burnout (Hustinx et al., 2010a). Studies have found evidence of workload and time pressures, stress, burnout, strain, cynicism and boredom experienced through volunteering (Nichols, 2004; Haski-Leventhal and Bargal, 2008; Brodie et al., 2011). However, these are exceptions as studies tend to question currently active volunteers who are more likely to be contented with their experience (Morrow-Howell et al., 2009) rather than those who are dissatisfied and choose to leave (Pearce, 1993) (an exception to this being Hustinx, 2010a).

It is important to recognise the limitations of some of the claims to a causal relationship between volunteering and positive outcomes, and to recognise that volunteering can involve negative as well as positive experiences. However, I have provided this critical overview of the claims made for volunteering to ensure a balance to the often over-inflated claims made about volunteering. Overall the evidence suggests, and this research confirms (as explored in Chapter 6) that individuals do experience many benefits through volunteering.

1.5.2 Benefits to communities

Putnam's (2000) assertion that volunteering helps to build social capital and creates stronger communities has attracted a great deal of interest from academics, politicians and think tanks. Putnam explains the decline in political, civil and religious participation, social connections and trust in America as the result of a decline in social capital. He argues that social capital can be a public good as well as a private good; as well as benefiting the individual – for example by providing networking opportunities for job-seekers – it also benefits the wider community. Interaction between a diverse set of people produces a norm of generalised reciprocity, and a society characterised by generalised reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society (Putnam, 2000, p20). Putnam's optimism that the signs of a new spirit of volunteerism in young Americans "is the most promising sign of any that I have discovered that American might be on

the cusp of a new period of civic renewal” (Putnam, 2000, p133) has led to great interest in volunteering as a way of building social capital, and benefiting communities. Putnam’s work has had far-reaching effects, and the concept has had an influence on third sector and volunteering policy in the UK. Both the past Labour government and the current Coalition government have seen voluntary organisations as playing an important role in the creation of social capital and the building of cohesive communities (Blunkett, 2003; Cabinet Office, 2010b).

There is limited evidence to support these claims. While comparative data shows that volunteers tend to be more civically engaged than non-volunteers, it is misleading to think of volunteering causing civic engagement (or vice versa) (Musick and Wilson, 2008). Research based on data from the Citizenship Survey 2005-07 found that after controlling for area deprivation, the rate of both formal and informal volunteering was unrelated to the level of social capital, which questions the ability of volunteering to change the social characteristics of deprived areas (McCulloch et al., 2013). Although it is bridging social capital (social contact between people of different backgrounds) which is claimed to produce cohesive communities, volunteering often brings people into contact with people from very similar backgrounds; “increased participation of volunteers does not necessarily mean more social bridging and stronger cohesion” (Hustinx, 2010b, p21). In a qualitative study of those active in associational life, Devine highlights that Putnam’s account of social capital does not necessarily work as it’s supposed to – she points out that group life can be the source of exclusion, conflict and distrust (Devine, 2003). Musick and Wilson (2008) note that voluntary associations can “divide as well as unite; preach intolerance as well as fraternity; exclude as well as include; foster distrust as well as trust.” (Musick and Wilson, 2008, p521). As I show in Chapters 5 and 6, the resources gained through volunteering for the National Trust are largely an individual, rather than a public, good.

1.6 Making volunteering inclusive

The benefits associated with formal volunteering, and the consistent evidence that formal volunteering is not evenly distributed throughout the population has led to a call for volunteering to be more inclusive from researchers on the subject, from different governments, from the Commission on the Future of Volunteering, and from funders of volunteer-involving organisations. The groups that are least likely to volunteer – those with no or low levels of education, the unemployed, and those in routine occupations – also experience inequality in other areas such as lower incomes, poorer housing and poorer health. This has led to a concern that these groups, and their communities, are missing out on what volunteering is claimed to offer, and has contributed to the call for volunteering to become more inclusive.

1.6.1 Who is calling for volunteering to become inclusive?

Over twenty years ago Hedley and Davis Smith called for a “much-needed push for organisations to reach out to those groups in society which are under-represented as volunteers” (Hedley and Davis Smith, 1992, p5). Despite the time gap, similar recommendations are still being made by UK researchers of volunteering. Rochester et al (2010) conclude that one of the challenges facing volunteering in the 21st century is to ensure that volunteering is inclusive and open to all regardless of race, gender, religion, disability, age, or sexual orientation. Ockenden et al (2007) call for factors which prevent people from volunteering to be fully understood and mitigated wherever possible. One of Rochester’s seven key challenges for the future development of volunteering, is to challenge the barriers to accessing volunteering by certain groups (2006). An Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR) study into the links between volunteering and social exclusion asserts that “Making volunteering inclusive may only be a small step in addressing the inequalities within society as a whole, but it is, we suggest, a step that could have wider impacts and which we have a responsibility to make.” (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004, p63).

Different governments over the last few decades have encouraged greater inclusion in participation of volunteering. John Major's 'Make a Difference' campaign in 1994 made a case for breaking down the barriers of class, wealth and race (Zimmeck, 2010). The Labour Government was interested in widening participation in volunteering as a way to tackle social exclusion (Cabinet Office, 2006), and the Volunteer Compact Code of Good Practice 2001, produced during the Labour Government included an undertaking to "tackle discrimination to ensure that volunteering is open to all" (Home Office, 2005, p8). There is less evidence of the Coalition Government's commitment to making volunteering inclusive. 'Building a Stronger Civil Society' sets out the core components for the Big Society policy agenda as "Promoting social action: encouraging and enabling people *from all walks of life* to play a more active part in society, and promoting more volunteering and philanthropy." (Cabinet Office, 2010a, p3, emphasis added), and in the consultation questions of the Giving Green Paper it states "We are interested to hear your ideas on how we can ensure that giving is inclusive to all." (HM Government, 2010, p29). However, the Giving White Paper which sets out policy to encourage volunteering, does not include any policies directed at ensuring that volunteering is inclusive (HM Government, 2011).

The Commission on the Future of Volunteering was an independent body established by the England Volunteering Development Council to develop a long-term vision for volunteering in England, as a legacy of the Year of the Volunteer 2005. Following a period of gathering evidence in 2008 it published a 'Manifesto for change' which set out recommendations for the future of volunteering in England. It concluded that "There is an urgent need for a greater level of commitment to addressing diversity issues in relation to volunteering to enable greater involvement of all sections of the community, and particularly those people who have not always found it easy to be fully involved hitherto, such as people with mental health problems, refugees, prisoners, people on parole, etc." (Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008, p26). One of the six recommendations made by the Commission was to make volunteering open to all (Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008, p28).

While organisations which involve volunteers are not all funded by grants or public funds, for those that are, a requirement to demonstrate a commitment to greater inclusion is often part of the funding criteria. For example one of the three aims of the Heritage Lottery Fund is to “help more people, and a wider range of people, to take an active part in and make decisions about their heritage” (National Heritage Memorial Fund and Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010, p4). In guidance for making an application to the fund it sets out that an organisation’s volunteer policy should include a policy for delivering volunteering opportunities which shows how the project will target excluded or under-represented groups (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2009, p14). For certain grants “increasing the range of volunteers involved” is a required measured outcome (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2014). For organisations that are dependent on grant funding, the requirement to demonstrate volunteer diversity can have a significant impact.

1.6.2 The rationale for organisations to make volunteering inclusive

While there are clear reasons for governments, funders and researchers concerned with inequality to argue for greater inclusion in volunteering, what is the rationale for volunteer-involving organisations to concern themselves with this aim? The IVR study (2004) which looks at the links between volunteering and social exclusion suggests that there are both business case and philosophical or ethical case reasons for organisations to strive to be inclusive, as listed in Box 1.

Box 1: Reasons for organisations to strive to make volunteering inclusive

Business case arguments
1. Involving volunteers from groups who reflect service users can lead to better service. 2. Involving volunteers who have experienced social exclusion helps those organisations that exist to reduce social exclusion meet their “business objectives”. 3. Reflecting the community in which it works boosts an organisation’s credibility, is required by many funders and it is better able to identify local needs. 4. Staff and volunteers are more likely to get involved and stay involved in an organisation that is inclusive and manages diversity well. 5. Organisations may find that they need to become inclusive in order to recruit enough volunteers.
Philosophical/ethical case arguments
1. If an organisation believes in the universal right to volunteer, it is ethically obliged to ensure that volunteering is inclusive for all. 2. If volunteer involvement is part of its ethos, an organisation must give all potential recruits a chance to volunteer. 3. There is an ethical obligation if not a legal requirement to comply with the Disability Discrimination Act.

Source: Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004, p21

Rochester et al (2010) suggest the following reasons for volunteer-involving organisations to concern themselves with increasing diversity:

“Equity: Only through making volunteering inclusive can organisations avoid discriminating;

Effectiveness: Drawing on a wider pool of skills, experiences and perspectives enhances performance;

Representation: Reflecting the makeup and/or needs of the local community and/or service users; and

Inclusion: Contributing to the fight against social exclusion.”

(Rochester et al., 2010, p201)

Rochester et al's final point – that increasing diversity among volunteers will contribute to the fight against social exclusion – raises the question of whether all organisations that involve volunteers have a social or moral responsibility to fight against social exclusion. The question of diversity poses particular tensions for voluntary organisations compared to commercial organisations (Tomlinson and Schwabenland, 2010). As well as being accountable to a board of trustees, voluntary organisations can also be accountable to the general public, the community, revenue and customs, members, donors and funders (Leat, 1996). This may lead to higher levels of expectation of social responsibility placed on voluntary sector organisations compared to for-profit organisations. For organisations whose core purpose is to promote volunteering, to promote equality, or to tackle social exclusion, the responsibility to ensure volunteering is inclusive may be clear. However, for organisations that are not primarily concerned with either promoting volunteering or social justice, this is less apparent. For these organisations, ensuring that volunteering is inclusive may require them to direct often scarce resources away from achieving their core purpose. The IVR study found that staff of volunteer-involving organisations felt that trying to be inclusive was justifiable for organisations where involving volunteers was part of their mission, but that organisations delivering a service would find it hard to justify the level of resources that might be needed to involve excluded people (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004). Furthermore, it also needs to be recognised that organisations which involve volunteers are not necessarily voluntary organisations – people volunteer for public sector, private sector, and grass roots and community organisations, as well as voluntary sector organisations and registered charities. There is a potential gap between the aspirations of researchers, governments, the Commission on the Future of Volunteering and funders, and what it is realistic to expect of volunteer-involving organisations.

1.7 Explaining patterns of volunteering

There is clearly great interest in the benefits of formal volunteering, and in making volunteering inclusive and open to all. If the inequality of participation in volunteering is to be challenged then we need to understand why some people volunteer formally and others do not. While the links between certain socio-demographic characteristics and participation in formal volunteering are well established, there remains a lack of explanation for them (Rochester, 2006). For example, Musick and Wilson (2008) highlight that there are many possible explanations for why education is a strong predictor of volunteering – that education improves knowledge of social problems, provides skills needed to do volunteer work, shapes people's attitudes and dispositions or increases social ties – but much of this remains speculative, either because the data does not exist or the analyses have yet to be done (Musick and Wilson, 2008, pp526-527). In a recent review of volunteering research it was suggested that in future research "it becomes necessary to move beyond the repeated association of variables to begin answering questions as to why those variables are related to each other. For example, we know that education is positively related to volunteering – but why?" (Wilson, 2012, p201). We know that the rate of participation in formal volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender but we do not fully understand the reasons yet. The question of who volunteers has been described as a search for the *determinants* of volunteering (Hustinx et al., 2010a, p422) or the *causes* of volunteerism (Wilson, 2012, p178). Searching for the determinants or causes of volunteering suggests that identifying a selection of variables will predict patterns of volunteering. I prefer instead to approach the question of who volunteers as a search for an explanation for why some people volunteer and others do not (Rochester, 2006, p12).

Some studies have approached the question of who volunteers by identifying the barriers which stop certain groups of people volunteering. The IVR study into the link between volunteering and social exclusion (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004) and Rochester et al (2010) identify two groups of barriers – psychological barriers, and physical or practical barriers. Psychological barriers are identified as the perception of

lack of time; the public image of volunteering; a lack of self-confidence of individuals; attitudes of other people (including direct discrimination and prejudice by paid staff, existing volunteers or service users); concerns about losing welfare benefits; and concerns about health and safety, risk and liability. Practical barriers are identified as a lack of knowledge of how to get involved; a lack of appropriate or appealing opportunities; poor management and excessive bureaucracy; inaccessible physical environments; and the costs of volunteering (including transport, childcare and subsistence) (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004; Rochester et al., 2010). Barriers to volunteering do not affect all groups of people equally. A study of the perceived barriers of non-volunteers found that those who cite lack of time (the most frequently cited reason) and those who cite lack of interest (the second most frequently cited reason) are distinctly different groups (Sundeen et al., 2007). Those citing lack of time were more likely to be white, have a higher income and higher education, be employed and have children at home. Those who cited a lack of interest were more likely to be Hispanic, African American, Native American, have a lower income and lower education, be unemployed and have fewer children at home (Sundeen et al., 2007).

While this literature focuses on what stops people from volunteering, most volunteering literature that looks at who volunteers focuses on explaining what encourages or enables people to volunteer. From an economic perspective the decision to volunteer is based on a weighing up of its costs and benefits. Smith (1981) argued that volunteerism levels are directly and positively associated with the ratio of benefits (incentives) to costs (disincentives). A cost-benefit explanation of volunteering would suggest that those who have the least, stand to gain the most from volunteering. However, we have seen that people who are unemployed and people with the lowest levels of education are the least likely to volunteer. Psychological explanations for volunteering focus on identifying what individual traits distinguish volunteers from non-volunteers to produce a pro-social personality type with a higher propensity to volunteer (Penner et al., 1995; Penner, 2002). These approaches rest on the 'dominant paradigm' assumption that volunteering is altruistic: as it is those with higher education, income and occupational status who are more likely to volunteer, the

unsatisfactory implication is that those from lower social classes are less likely to have a pro-social personality type. While clearly costs, benefits and individual personality traits are all factors in explaining volunteering, these kinds of explanations for volunteering focus on volunteering as an individual behaviour and do not take into account the social context of volunteering.

While other disciplines focus more heavily on *why* people volunteer, it has been sociologists who have been preoccupied with understanding *who* volunteers, that is the social profile of volunteers (Hustinx et al., 2010a, p417). Pearce (1993), noting that surveys across countries and across time have consistently shown that volunteers are highly educated, have a high occupational status and high income, suggests three reasons for this. Firstly, that those of high socio-economic status are more attractive recruits for organisations; secondly, that as many voluntary organisations and associations are related to businesses or professions, involvement is part of the job for many professionals; and thirdly, that those of higher socio-economic status have a greater number of social contacts and are more likely to get recruited through these (Pearce, 1993, p66). In a review of the evidence on the determinants of volunteering Smith (1994) found significant evidence to support the 'dominant status model' – a model which argues that people are more likely to volunteer when they are characterised by socially approved or dominant statuses. He suggests that the link between observed patterns in the social background characteristics of volunteers (high education, high income, high occupational positions, being employed, being married and having children) is that they are almost all examples of dominant statuses in American society. Recognition of this, he suggests, provides a theoretical link between observed characteristics: "This thread is important because it advances our knowledge beyond a mere string of variables. It provides an underlying principle that helps us to make sense of many relationships." (Smith, 1994, p247). The 'dominant status model' explains patterns of volunteering by suggesting that volunteering itself is a characteristic which adds to a person's prestige and respect (Wilson, 2000, p219), or that those of dominant status are more desirable to organisations (Hustinx et al., 2010a). However, many volunteer involving organisations find demand for volunteers

outstrips supply, and many volunteering opportunities go unfilled. It does not follow therefore, that a dominant status is required in order to volunteer, or that volunteering is competitive and organisations have the luxury of being able to select the most desirable applicants.

1.7.1 A capital or resource explanation

Wilson and Musick have developed a 'resource model' to account for patterns in volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997a; Wilson and Musick, 1998; Musick et al., 2000; Wilson, 2000; Musick and Wilson, 2008). This stream of work started with a study published in 1997 which argued that volunteer work is (1) productive work that requires human capital, (2) collective behaviour that requires social capital, and (3) ethically guided work that requires cultural capital (Wilson and Musick, 1997a, p694). Based on data from the Americans' Changing Lives panel study they show how an individual's possession of human capital (measured by education, income and health), social capital (measured by number of children in the household and informal social interaction), and cultural capital (measured by religiosity and how much the individual values helping others) is related to participation in formal volunteering. In a 1998 study, building on this idea that volunteering requires capital or resources, they tested the theory that human capital, social class, and social capital combine to increase volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1998). They found that social capital predicts volunteering but does so better among people with higher social status and more human capital. Wilson (2000) emphasises that the possession of social capital explains why some people are more likely to volunteer than others. Married people, parents, and religious people have more extensive social networks, people of higher socio-economic status join more organisations, and people with higher levels of human capital have more social ties. As these people have more extensive social networks and ties they expose themselves to being asked to volunteer (Wilson, 2000). Musick and Wilson argue that volunteer labour, like any other labour requires resources that are unevenly distributed in the population. They conclude that "an adequate theory of volunteering must focus on individual differences in the enabling resources... those

that are useful, or required, for performing volunteer work.” (Musick and Wilson, 2008, p113). In summary, Musick and Wilson have, over the years, generated a theory of volunteering which is based on the argument that those with higher levels of resources are more likely to volunteer than others because resources or capital are needed to volunteer.

1.7.2 Limitations of the ‘resource model’

Despite these attempts at generating a theory to explain patterns of participation in volunteering, Wilson himself has highlighted the gaps in the explanatory potential of a ‘resource model’ (Wilson, 2000; Wilson, 2012). As outlined in the introduction and expanded on in Chapter 4, the social profile of National Trust volunteers does not reflect the profile of volunteers in general. As they stand, resource explanations do not account for the distinctive social profile of National Trust volunteers and they do not explain why class, ethnicity, age and gender profile of volunteers varies depending on the organisation or the field that the organisation operates in. While Musick and Wilson’s research has been important in introducing the link between possession of capital and resources and participation in volunteering, there are significant limitations which impede a more adequate explanation of the inequality in participation of volunteering. In this section I set out what I consider to be three key limiting factors: a lack of recognition of the context of volunteering, an overemphasis on social capital, and an underlying assumption that volunteering is primarily a form of help or act of altruism.

(i) *Lack of recognition of the importance of the context of volunteering*

The resource explanations of who volunteers have largely focused on uncovering what predicts or determines whether someone will volunteer. The studies attempt to identify what distinguishes a “volunteer” from a “non-volunteer”, and what determines or predicts the occurrence or non-occurrence of volunteering. As with many attempts to theorise volunteering “The complex reality of volunteering is

reduced to a unidimensional measure: one predicts volunteering in general (yes or no) as if it were a uniform and robust entity.” (Hustinx et al., 2010a, p423). Treating volunteers as a homogeneous group in this way does not acknowledge the heterogeneity of activity which falls under the term ‘volunteering’ and it does not take into account that an individual’s participation in volunteering varies through the life course.

Theories which attempt to explain who volunteers have largely been generated from data based on quantitative research methods and on national data sets of volunteers. Statistical analyses identify associations between socio-demographic characteristics and rates of volunteering, but rarely take into account what the volunteering activity is, or the field that the volunteering occurs in. While quantitative surveys provide a valuable snapshot and reveal broad patterns and relationships, they are unable to capture the multi-dimensionality of volunteering. Within this large group of people who formally volunteer are people doing a vast array of different activities, in different kinds of organisations and different fields. A volunteer may work in a charity shop, campaign as an environmental activist, be a trustee, run a prayer meeting or volunteer abroad as part of a gap year. They may volunteer in a large established international charity, grassroots organisation, public sector organisation or private sector organisation, in the arts, education, sports, social welfare, religion or international development. What is often missing in volunteering literature is consideration of *how* people volunteer; the context of volunteering and the nature of volunteering undertaken (Hustinx et al., 2010a).

The importance of recognising the organisational context of volunteering (Hustinx et al., 2010a) and the need for further research which pays attention to volunteering in its organisational context has been highlighted (Snyder and Omoto, 2008; Wilson, 2012). Some of the barriers highlighted in the IVR study into the link between volunteering and social exclusion include organisational factors such as poor management, excessive bureaucracy and inaccessible physical environments (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004). Sundeen et al (2007) suggest that a sense of class or cultural bias in the

behaviour and attitudes of those who control the organisations and a lack of affinity or trust with the organisation could explain a lack of interest in formal volunteering among certain groups. While volunteering literature which recognises that who participates in volunteering varies between organisations is limited, within social movement organisation literature it is recognised that distinctive styles of organisation make activism attractive to different potential activists (Polletta, 2005; Clemens and Minkoff, 2007). A study of environmental activism found that those involved with the Green movement were more likely to be professional, middle-class and more highly educated than those in grass-roots anti-toxics movements (Lichterman, 1996). Rothschild-Whitt (1979) recognises that the consensus needed among members in collectivist organisations often encourages homogeneity, rather than diversity, among members.

A recent study has attempted to construct a hybrid theory of volunteering by integrating resource theories of volunteering with social theories which study roles, context and networks (Einolf and Chambré, 2011). This quantitative study combines variables that measure social context and social role with variables that measure resources and find that it improves the prediction of volunteering. While the fundamental ideas behind this hybrid theory are potentially important, qualitative research is needed to look at *why* resources, social roles and social context may combine to improve the likelihood of volunteering.

Although there is the potential to do so, through analysis of longitudinal data, the 'resource model' does not take into account that participation in volunteering can change over time (Hustinx et al., 2010a; Hustinx et al., 2010b). By identifying people as volunteers or non-volunteers the model overlooks the fact that while someone happens to be a non-volunteer at the time of the survey, they may have been a volunteer at other points in their lives. People move in and out of volunteering at different stages of their life, volunteer for different organisations, volunteer for more than one organisation at a time, provide other kinds of unpaid help, and offer different levels of commitment. Research indicates that participation in volunteering varies through the

life course in terms of type of activity and level of involvement (Brodie et al., 2011). Young adulthood (Omoto et al., 2000; Oesterle et al., 2004) old age and retirement (Omoto et al., 2000; Van Willigen, 2000; Tang, 2006; Kaskie et al., 2008; Hogg, 2013), parenthood (Rotolo, 2000; Oesterle et al., 2004; Nesbit, 2012), full-time work (Oesterle et al., 2004), marital status (Rotolo, 2000; Oesterle et al., 2004; Nesbit, 2012) and widowhood (Nesbit, 2012) have all been found to have an impact on experiences of volunteering both in terms of rates of volunteering and in type of volunteering carried out. Analysis of longitudinal data from the British Household Panel Study between 1991 and 2007, found that individuals move in and out of activity with voluntary organisations and that just 13 per cent of people had not been active in any voluntary organisation during this period (Kamerade, 2011). By searching for what distinguishes a volunteer from a non-volunteer, interesting and enlightening findings about changing patterns of volunteering over the life course are likely to be missed.

People are not just volunteers; they volunteer for a particular organisation, for a cause or aim, doing a particular activity or role, and their participation in volunteering changes over time. Hustinx et al argue that it needs to be recognised that volunteering is an inherently multi-dimensional phenomenon and that the study of individuals' motivations, personality traits, social and economic characteristics needs to be situated in the broader social, structural and cultural environment (Hustinx et al., 2010a). People of different class, ethnicity, age and gender volunteer to do different roles, in different organisations and fields. Attempts to develop an explanation of who volunteers in general, without taking into account the organisational and field context, and without recognising that participation in volunteering varies over the life course will inevitably be limited.

(ii) *Overemphasis on social capital*

A further limitation of Wilson and Musick's 'resource model' and subsequent research on the relationship between possession of capital and volunteering is the emphasis on the role of social capital in enabling volunteering. Although Wilson and Musick looked

at how possession of human capital and cultural capital, as well as social capital, are related to volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997a), the emphasis in much of their work since has been on social capital. They argue that more social networks and a greater number of social ties provide more opportunities for being asked to volunteer: “one reason, perhaps the only reason, why some factors are associated with volunteering is that they increase the chances of being asked.” (Musick and Wilson, 2008, p293). Wilson suggests that higher levels of human capital are related to higher levels of volunteering *because* people with high levels of human capital have more social ties (Wilson, 2000, p224). This is a point also taken up by Haski-Leventhal (2009): “In fact, social capital can also explain the impact of human capital (income and education) on volunteering, given that individuals with higher positions at work and those who attend college have more social contacts.” (Haski-Leventhal, 2009, p283). I remain unconvinced that the explanation for why people with higher income, education and occupational status are more likely to volunteer can be reduced to the fact that it provides them with more social contacts and therefore increases their chances of being asked. By focusing on social capital in this way resource explanations simplify the relationship between capital and volunteering, and fail to recognise the role of other forms of capital in enabling volunteering.

The ‘resource model’ is also limited by a restricted operationalisation of the concept of cultural capital. Referring to Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital, Musick and Wilson criticise Bourdieu for neglecting the moral component in culture, and suggest that cultural taste should refer also to ideas of fair treatment and responsible conduct. They argue that cultural capital should incorporate a moral component, suggesting that volunteering demonstrates a “taste” for benevolence (Wilson and Musick, 1997a). Their measures of cultural capital – ‘how much the respondent values helping others’, frequency of religious prayer, and frequency of church attendance – aim to measure the taste for benevolence. The reason given for their use of religiosity as a measure of the taste for benevolence is because “the culture of benevolence is institutionalized in churches” (Wilson and Musick, 1997a, p697). While values of helping others can be considered a form of cultural capital, and these may be acquired through religious

attendance or involvement, reducing cultural capital to these measures, serves to greatly overemphasise the importance of religious participation and ignore many other aspects of cultural capital such as cultural tastes and practices (which are explored in detail in Chapter 2). Overemphasising the role of social capital, and referring to a very narrow conceptualisation of cultural capital limits the ability of the 'resource model' to explain patterns of volunteering.

(iii) *Assumption that volunteering is a form of help or act of altruism*

The 'dominant paradigm' conceptualisation of volunteering as an act of altruism or form of help is particularly prominent in the resource literature. When they theorise about volunteering, Wilson and Musick revert to the stereotypical view of volunteering as taking place in a social welfare organisation, providing direct benefits to the needy, motivated primarily by altruism. As outlined above, the initial attempt to generate a theory of volunteer work (Wilson and Musick, 1997a) is based on the premise that the volunteer-recipient relationship is an ethical one, ultimately mobilised and regulated by moral incentives (p695), and that volunteering requires a "taste" for benevolence. The assumption that volunteering is essentially about helping others, persists throughout Wilson and Musick's work. This has an impact on how they discuss volunteering, for example "Attachment theory [...] has been used rarely in volunteer research. This is unfortunate because it makes sense to believe people are more likely to *reach out to others* if they are self-confident and self-assured." (Wilson, 2012, p181, emphasis added) and "Although *they are primarily interested in helping people*, volunteers must adjust to bureaucratic limitations..." (Wilson, 2012, p195, emphasis added). It also has an impact on what activities are studied "we went to some pains to ensure that the high school activities we coded as volunteer work were altruistic." (Janoski et al., 1998, p516). Behind Musick and Wilson's theoretical approaches appears to lie a basic assumption that people volunteer to help people or reach out to others – that it is a form of help, giving, altruism or benevolence, mobilised by moral incentives. By basing the 'resource model' on the assumption that volunteering is an act of altruism, Musick and Wilson are essentially seeking to explain why some people are more altruistic than

others. The implicit (though unacknowledged) assumption is that those with higher education, income and occupational status are more altruistic, benevolent or morally and ethically guided than those with lower education, income and occupational status. Furthermore, this approach fails to recognise that people volunteer for organisations which are not necessarily primarily about helping others and that people are mobilised by self-interest as well as moral incentives. The 'resource model' has been hampered by a limited conceptualisation of volunteering as an act of altruism which is at odds with the vast array of motivation literature which highlights both altruistic and self-interested motivations.

This research addresses these limitations methodologically, theoretically and conceptually. Taking a mixed methods single case study approach to a question which has been dominated by quantitative analysis of national data sets, allows an examination of volunteering in the context it occurs in. In the next chapter I set out my argument that the limitations of the 'resource model' can be addressed theoretically by taking a Bourdieusian approach to the concept of capital, and conceptually by recognising volunteering as work and leisure, not solely an act of altruism. Integrating the two approaches can address the limitations of the 'resource model' and extend it to offer an improved explanation for why participation in volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender.

Chapter 2: Who volunteers? A theoretical and conceptual approach

Having outlined the limitations of existing theories which attempt to explain who volunteers, this chapter sets out the theoretical and conceptual approach I take throughout the thesis in order to address these limitations. Firstly, I argue that the relationship between possession of capital and volunteering can be enhanced by applying Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field. The 'resource model' can be extended by acknowledging that possession of social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital can all contribute to enabling volunteering. Applying the concept of habitus provides an improved explanation for the link between class, ethnicity and volunteering, and applying the concept of field can explain the variation in participation in volunteering by organisation and field of the organisation. In particular I argue that cultural capital, in the form of cultural tastes and participation, which has been particularly neglected in volunteering research, has potential to enhance explanations for inequality in patterns of volunteering. Secondly, I argue that conceptualising volunteering as work or leisure, can explain the relationship between capital and volunteering that cannot be explained when it is conceptualised as an act of altruism. Incorporating these theoretical and conceptual approaches can improve explanations for why some people are more likely to volunteer than others. These approaches underpin the central argument of this thesis – that inequality in volunteering can be explained by recognising that volunteering is a form of work, leisure or both, which requires capital to perform and which produces further capital.

2.1 Bourdieu's forms of capital

For Bourdieu a capital is any resource that is effective in enabling the appropriation of profits (Wacquant, 2008). Bourdieu has been criticised for not providing a definitive or systematic account of the types of capital and their relationship to one another (Bennett et al., 2009, p29); he refers at different times to economic, cultural, social, symbolic,

academic, educational and technical forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 2005). In an essay on 'The Forms of Capital' Bourdieu describes three fundamental forms of capital; social capital, economic capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital is made up of social connections or social networks which are convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p47): "Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or, in other words membership of a group" (Bourdieu, 1986, p51). Economic capital is financial – material assets, including property, which are immediately and directly convertible into money (Bourdieu, 1986, p47). Cultural capital can exist in three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Institutionalised cultural capital comes in the form of, for example, academic qualifications which can be converted into economic capital in the labour market. Objectified cultural capital manifests in the form of cultural goods – for example paintings, books or instruments. Embodied cultural capital refers to dispositions that are internalised by the individual. Embodied cultural capital takes time to acquire or accumulate; it cannot be transmitted instantaneously and it can be acquired quite unconsciously often from early childhood, through social origin and education as part of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). Embodied cultural capital manifests in demeanour, behaviour, attitudes, manners, mannerisms, accent, dress, skills, competencies, knowledge, tastes, preferences and practices (Bourdieu, 1984; Bennett et al., 2009).

The exact content of Bourdieu's forms of capital – in particular cultural capital – can be difficult to pin down (Bennett et al., 2009, p29). In order to be consistent throughout this research, it is important to define my meaning of the different forms of capital I refer to. As cultural capital can include an institutionalised, objectified, embodied and symbolic form, many conceptually distinct variables have been categorised as cultural capital (Sanders and Robson, 2009, p7). Because cultural capital can potentially be so broad, in order to use it as a concept without having to repeatedly stipulate its embodied, institutionalised, objectified or symbolic forms I disaggregate what

Bourdieu refers to as cultural capital into human, cultural and symbolic capital. The term human capital is generally understood broadly to include education, work-related skills, and experience (Schultz, 1961). Although Bourdieu rejects the term human capital (Bourdieu, 2005), others have highlighted its closeness to certain elements of cultural capital (Portes, 1998; Throsby, 1999). The feature of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital which sets it apart from concepts of human capital, is his argument that cultural tastes and practices, embodied forms of cultural capital, are forms of cultural capital that work to offer advantage and maintain social distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). It is these elements of cultural capital – cultural tastes and participation – that are most frequently measured when the concept is operationalized in quantitative surveys (Le Roux et al., 2008; Bennett et al., 2009; Marks, 2009; Zimdars et al., 2009; Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012; Savage et al., 2013). For the purposes of this research, I use human capital to refer to education (usually referred to by Bourdieu as institutionalised cultural capital) and work-related skills (usually referred to as elements of embodied cultural capital). I use the term cultural capital primarily to refer to cultural preferences, tastes and participation. Bourdieu describes symbolic capital as the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1989, p17): “symbolic capital is nothing other than economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized” (Bourdieu, 1989, p21). He suggests that any of the forms of capital can be apprehended symbolically (Bourdieu, 1986, p56). However, symbolic capital is often referred to as a fourth type of capital (Jenkins, 2002, p85; Wacquant, 2008, p268). While recognising that symbolic capital can be any form of capital apprehended symbolically, to avoid the need to stipulate which form I am referring to, and because of its usefulness as a concept, I identify symbolic capital as a separate form of capital to refer to position, affiliation, prestige or reputation. To summarise, the forms of capital that I refer to throughout the thesis are:

Social capital – social contacts and networks

Economic capital – financial resources

Human capital – education, work-related skills

Symbolic capital – position, affiliation, prestige or reputation

Cultural capital – cultural preferences, tastes and participation

It is relatively clear to envisage how social contacts (social capital), financial resources (economic capital), education and skills (human capital), and prestige and reputation (symbolic capital) can produce advantage. The relationship between the possession of cultural tastes and participation (cultural capital), and social advantage however, is less immediately clear and hence a brief overview of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and its relevance in the UK is warranted. The role of cultural capital in reproducing advantage is set out in 'Distinction' (1984) where Bourdieu looks in depth at the link between social origin, educational attainment and cultural practices.

Bourdieu identifies three zones of cultural tastes – legitimate, middle-brow and popular – and argues that these tastes correspond to educational level and social class (Bourdieu, 1984, p8). Bourdieu does not believe in an innate sense of taste, but argues that tastes are transmitted through the family and upbringing, as part of the habitus. Through detailed survey analysis, Bourdieu found evidence in France of cultural capital, in the form of cultural tastes and practices, serving to put those with possession of legitimate tastes in an advantageous position over those without; those educated in the legitimate cultural practices (the 'dominant') experienced advantage over those who were not (the 'dominated') (Bourdieu, 1984). Despite criticisms that these arguments are specific to France and cannot necessarily be applied to other countries (Jenkins, 2002), recent research has argued that cultural capital is relevant in contemporary UK class analysis (Savage, 2000; Savage et al., 2005; Le Roux et al., 2008; Bennett et al., 2009; Savage et al., 2013). Le Roux et al (2008) find striking evidence of powerful class divisions in cultural practices, concluding that "Class divisions are a central feature to the organization of cultural taste and practice in the UK" (Le Roux et al., 2008, p1066). Bennett and colleagues explore whether the relationship between cultural taste and class positions that Bourdieu describes in 1960s France apply to the UK (Bennett et al., 2009). They look at cultural capital as manifested in a) particular kinds and frequencies of cultural participation, (b) particular tastes, and (c) particular kinds of cultural knowledge (p38). Some of their findings contrast with those of

Bourdieu's; rather than a distinction between high and popular culture that Bourdieu finds, they find a cleavage between those who are culturally active and engaged in a wide range of activities, and those who are relatively culturally disengaged but highly socially engaged in a more informal way in home, family and neighbourhood based activities or interests. They also find evidence of cultural omnivorousness among higher status individuals – tastes spanning many cultural boundaries (see also Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson, 2005). However, overall they find that:

“Class remains a central factor in the structuring of contemporary cultural practice in Britain: class matters. Whatever social advantage might arise from heavy engagement in cultural activities will accrue to those who are highly educated, who occupy higher occupational class positions, and who have backgrounds within higher social classes.” (Bennett et al., 2009, p52)

Not all cultural tastes or practices are cultural capital (Silva and Edwards, 2004). To be a capital, possession of tastes must be able to be converted into economic opportunities, valued social contacts, or honour and esteem (Bennett et al., 2009, pp30-31). While Bennett et al note that it can be hard to identify how cultural practices that constitute cultural capital deliver profit in the UK they conclude that:

“Possession of cultural capital is still a route to personal advancement and distinction... Although cultural capital achieves its effects in a different and differentiated manner, clothed in an inclusive ethic, it still helps secure the reproduction of the privilege of the professional-executive class. ‘Good taste’ probably matters less directly than before, and less than it did in France in the 1960s, but it continues to create, mark and consolidate social division.” (Bennett et al., 2009, p259)

In order to develop the 'resource model', as well as exploring how social, economic, human and symbolic capital enable volunteering, I look at how particular cultural tastes and practices enable volunteering for the National Trust.

2.2 Forms of capital and volunteering

Having outlined my criticisms of the emphasis on social capital in the resource literature, in this section I consider the links between economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital and volunteering. As well as looking at the 'resource model', I look at what other volunteering literature says about the links between the other forms of capital and volunteering, and I explain how my research can contribute to extending a resource explanation of volunteering. Incorporating all of these forms of capital and in particular using an improved understanding and operationalization of cultural capital can enhance the 'resource model' and provide a better understanding of inequality in volunteering.

2.2.1 Economic capital

Studies which specifically look at the link between possession of capital and participation in volunteering have tended to include income as a measure of human capital (Wilson and Musick, 1997a; Tang, 2006; McNamara and Gonzales, 2011; Bennett and Parameshwaran, 2013). When income is used as a measure of human capital the assumption is that high levels of human capital are reflected in the income earned. By including income as a measure of human capital, rather than economic capital, these models fail to recognise that it may be the financial resources themselves which enable volunteering, rather than the human capital they are associated with. Looking beyond the resource literature to volunteering literature more widely, it is recognised that economic capital can enable volunteering. In the literature on barriers to volunteering, referred to in the previous chapter, it is recognised that lack of economic capital in the form of cost of transportation, childcare and subsistence can be a barrier to

participating in volunteering (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2004; Rochester et al., 2010). Research on Olympic Games Maker volunteer applicants found that volunteers were expected to pay their own travel costs to get to the interviews and training and had to pay for their own accommodation while they volunteered (Nichols and Ralston, 2012). In the current economic climate volunteering to gain work experience, in particular in the form of unpaid internships, is increasingly necessary to gain access to paid employment. Participation in unpaid internships and other forms of volunteering for work experience invariably requires the financial support of family (Perlin, 2012). Expensive gap year volunteering abroad is also becoming increasingly common, and “sold” to young people on the basis of the skills which can be acquired and transferred to the labour market (Simpson, 2005). In their 2008 review of volunteering research, Musick and Wilson recognise the evidence that suggests that high income and high rates of volunteering are associated with each other because volunteering can be costly to perform (Musick and Wilson, 2008, pp127-128). In Chapter 5 I show that possession of economic capital can enable volunteering for the National Trust. To improve explanations of inequality in participation in volunteering, economic capital needs to be more fully integrated into a ‘resource model’ and not just used as an indicator of human capital.

2.2.2 Human capital

As outlined in Chapter 2, although resource literature has recognised the relationship between the possession of human capital and volunteering, the emphasis in later work has been on the social capital that higher levels of human capital generates (Wilson, 2000; Musick and Wilson, 2008). In one of their early studies where they found that social capital predicts volunteering better among people with more human capital, Wilson and Musick suggest a more complex link between human and social capital. They suggest that human capital – in the form of knowledge, organisational skill, self-assurance and literacy – is needed to enable social capital to be used most effectively (Wilson and Musick, 1998). Beyond the resource literature the link between the possession of human capital and participation in volunteering tends to argue that the

relationship between human capital and volunteering is because those with higher skills are more attractive recruits for organisations (Pearce, 1993; Bryant et al., 2003). As voluntary organisations have limited resources they recruit individuals that can bring in human capital with low organisational costs (McNamara and Gonzales, 2011). In Chapter 5 I show that as well as work-related skills and education enabling volunteering, the relationship between human capital and volunteering can also be explained by those with high levels of human capital seeking a volunteering experience that will give them an opportunity to utilise and develop their skills and knowledge. A 'resource model' can be improved by recognising that the relationship between human capital and volunteering is more complex than its role in producing or enabling social capital.

2.2.3 Symbolic capital

Although the term symbolic capital is rarely referred to in resource studies or volunteering literature more widely, the idea of role, prestige or status has been associated with formal volunteering. As well as finding that human capital enables social capital, in the study referred to above, Wilson and Musick also found that social capital predicts volunteering better among people with higher social status: "Social capital requires knowledge, organizational skill, self-assurance, literacy, discretionary income, and some *"standing" in the community* to be used most effectively." (Wilson and Musick, 1998, p811, emphasis added). The 'dominant status model' recognises that volunteering can be one way to demonstrate a dominant status in society, or that organisations seek out the most prestigious volunteers (Smith, 1994; Wilson, 2000; Hustinx et al., 2010a). An exception to the limited reference to symbolic capital in volunteering literature is Taylor's (2005) study of paid and unpaid workers in two charities. Taylor provides examples of an upper-class woman volunteering for the symbolic capital (social status) she acquired, and a middle-class younger volunteer volunteering to obtain the cultural and symbolic capital needed to obtain her career goals. In Chapters 5 and 6, I explore the relationship between symbolic capital and volunteering for the National Trust. Although I find no evidence of the National Trust

selecting the highest status volunteers, or reputation being used to access volunteering opportunities, I present evidence of volunteers seeking a role identity or prestige through their volunteering. Incorporating the concept of symbolic capital into a 'resource model' is particularly useful in recognising the benefits experienced through formal volunteering.

2.2.4 Cultural capital

A central argument of this thesis is that cultural capital, in the form of cultural tastes, practices and participation, has the potential to extend a 'resource model'. As we have seen, the operationalisation of cultural capital in Wilson and Musick's 'resource model' is limited to a measure of religious participation. Subsequent attempts to look at the relationship between volunteering and cultural capital all appear to be based around, and accept, Wilson and Musick's (1997a) understanding and measurement. Parboteeah et al (2004), referring to Wilson and Musick's 1997 study go so far as to state that "Previous research suggests that the *only* important component of cultural capital that encourages formal volunteering is religion" (Parboteeah et al., 2004, p434, emphasis added). Therefore their test of the hypothesis "Cultural capital is positively related to formal volunteering" (p435) is actually measuring whether religious attendance is related to formal volunteering. In a study which looks at whether the human, social and cultural capital needed to volunteer varies over the life course, Tang (2006) accepts Wilson and Musick's definition and measures cultural capital by church attendance and spiritual support. Similarly in a study looking at the role of human, social and cultural capital in volunteering among older adults, while noting that "cultural capital is a complex construct often not fully operationalized in national data sets." (McNamara and Gonzales, 2011, p492), McNamara and Gonzales go on to measure cultural capital as attendance at religious services. Contradictorily, in a study of the link between race and volunteering Musick, Wilson and Bynum Jr (2000) note that "Church activity provides the "social capital" on which volunteering depends" (Musick et al., 2000, p1558). If, as I suspect, the link between religiosity and volunteering is better explained by the social capital it creates rather than the cultural

capital it creates, all of the studies which have relied on Wilson and Musick's operationalization of cultural capital are relying on a poor and limited measure of cultural capital.

There are some potentially interesting but relatively limited exceptions to this focus on religiosity in exploring a relationship between cultural capital and volunteering. A Canadian study which explores the link between cultural capital, social cohesion and sustainable communities uses data from the Canadian General Social Survey to look at the association between individual's possession of cultural capital (as manifested in cultural consumption patterns) and volunteering rates (Jeannotte, 2003). The study found that 34 per cent of those who participated in any kind of cultural activity (attendance at music concerts, theatre performances, art galleries, museums, cinema, visit to parks, use of library and reading) volunteered, compared to 20 per cent of those who did not participate. Jeannotte highlights that "We do not yet understand why people who participate in cultural activity also seem to have higher rates of participation in their communities." (Jeannotte, 2003, p47). Some recent analysis of data from the UK Understanding Society survey found that participation in cultural activity (going to the theatre, concerts, sports events, museums or art galleries) was the highest predictor of youth volunteering (Bennett and Parameshwaran, 2013). Bennett and Parameshwaran suggest that the relationship between cultural activity and volunteering may be explained by middle-class young people using volunteering to signal social advantage to differentiate themselves from others (Bennett and Parameshwaran, 2013). In Chapter 5 I show that rather than being used to differentiate themselves from others, the relationship between cultural activity and volunteering can be explained by recognising that volunteering is a form of cultural activity in heritage or the countryside, which is related to, and often follows, other forms of participation in these fields such as visiting and membership. This link is important because as was highlighted in Chapter 1, most volunteering occurs within sports, hobbies, recreation and social clubs. In their analysis of cultural participation in the UK, Bennett et al conclude that age, gender and ethnicity as well as class, are important in organising cultural practices (Bennett et al., 2009). Incorporating cultural capital into

a 'resource model' of volunteering not only offers an improved explanation of class patterns of volunteering, but also helps to explain gender, age and ethnicity patterns. I argue that it is this link between cultural tastes and practices and volunteering that has been most neglected from resources theories.

Overall I argue that a resource or capital explanation for patterns of volunteering which emphasises the role of social capital is limited. The 'resource model' can be enhanced by acknowledging that possession of social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital can all contribute to enabling volunteering. Recognising the full range of resources which can be required to volunteer, how they interact with each other and how they enable each other, provides a much better understanding of inequality in participation of volunteering than reducing it to knowing more people and being asked. As well as providing an explanation for the patterns of participation in volunteering, the concept of capital can also help to explain inequality in the outcomes of volunteering. Inequality in participation is only a concern if volunteering affords the people who do it an advantage over those who do not. In Chapter 6 I look at what advantage is afforded to the individuals through volunteering for the National Trust by looking at what capital they acquire through their volunteering. While volunteering has primarily been associated with the acquisition of social capital (Putnam, 2000), I show that volunteering for the National Trust can produce social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital. To date theories which argue that capital is needed to volunteer (Wilson and Musick, 1997a) have been kept distinct from theories which focus on the capital acquired through volunteering (Putnam, 2000). This research shows that in the case of the National Trust it is those in possession of capital or resources who benefit from the opportunity to develop more. I argue that recognising the relationship between capital and volunteering not only improves explanations of inequality in participation in volunteering, but also emphasises the implications of this inequality.

2.3 Habitus and field

The 'resource model' can be further improved and provide a better understanding of patterns of volunteering by incorporating Bourdieu's other concepts of habitus and field. It has been argued that focusing on either habitus, capital or field on their own has the effects of both misreading Bourdieu's theories (Garnham and Williams, 1980, p209) and failing to make the most of their potential (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Bennett et al., 2009). According to Bourdieu's formula "[habitus](capital)+field=practice" (Bourdieu, 1984, p95), to understand the practice of volunteering we need to look at the habitus of the individual, and the field the practice occurs in, as well as the capital that individuals possess. Although I am particularly interested in the role of capital in explaining patterns of volunteering, the concept of capital cannot be used to its full potential without also understanding how the capital is acquired (through the habitus), and how it operates (in the organisation, and in the field that the organisation operates in).

2.3.1 Habitus

The concept of habitus is particularly useful in recognising the link between social origin and the possession of capital. In particular the concept of habitus can be useful in explaining how cultural capital (cultural tastes, practices and knowledge) is acquired. While economic capital can be acquired instantaneously, cultural capital takes time to acquire (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986). The concept of habitus has been described as a unified set of dispositions, acquired through social conditions and conditioning in childhood, through the home, family and education, which determine how individuals perceive, judge and act in the world (Wacquant, 2008). Dispositions can be understood as tendencies, propensities, inclinations or a way of being:

"The word *disposition* seems to be particularly suited to express what is covered by the concept of habitus (defined as a system of dispositions). It expresses first the *result of an organizing action*, with a meaning close to that of

words such as structure; it also designates a *way of being*, a *habitual state* (especially of the body) and, in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination*.” (Bourdieu, 1977, p214, note 1, original emphasis)

Dispositions acquired through family upbringing and education are translated into cultural preferences which transform into practice (Yaish and Katz-Gerro, 2012). The concept of habitus explains why people who have been exposed to similar social conditions or class origins share similar tastes, preferences and practices and why people who are subjected to different class origins are inclined towards different practices: “different conditions of existence produce different habitus” (Bourdieu, 1984, p166). While Bourdieu stresses the importance of social origin in forming dispositions, the habitus is formed and dispositions are acquired as part of a lifelong process, through socialisation in education, work, leisure, organisational life, political life, and through the experience of world and life events.

It has been argued that the practice of formal volunteering is part of a middle-class habitus (Janoski et al., 1998; Taylor, 2005; Dean, 2011). In a comparison of middle-class and working-class young people’s participation in volunteering, Dean (2011) found that attitudes towards volunteering were shaped by family and social networks, and argued that formal volunteering is part of the habitus of middle-class young people. Taylor (2005) found some evidence that orientation and attitude towards unpaid voluntary work was embedded in the habitus, influenced by social class and parents’ ethos towards voluntary work. Although they do not refer to it as habitus, a study of participation in the UK found that parents and wider family played an influential role in instilling a culture of participation that later framed their participation (Brodie et al., 2011). In Chapter 5, I use the concept of habitus to explore the relationship between social origin, the practice of volunteering and the practice of participation in the fields of heritage and the countryside. While I find some evidence to support the argument that inclination to volunteer is rooted in social origin, I find stronger evidence to suggest that it is the disposition for participation in heritage and the countryside which is part of a white middle-class habitus. The concept of habitus is particularly important

in linking the cultural capital needed to enable volunteering for the National Trust with the social origins of the volunteer.

2.3.2 Field

Finally, in order to use it to its full potential, the concept of forms of capital needs to be integrated with Bourdieu's concept of fields. In Bourdieu's use of the word, fields are social arenas within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes (capital) and access to them. A field can be for example the artistic field, the religious field, the economic field, the school system, the state, the church, political parties (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p97 & 102). To understand the workings of a field, the type of capital which is valid in the field needs to be identified:

"capital is a social relation, i.e., an energy which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced... the specific logic of the field determines those which are valid in this market, which are pertinent and active in the game in question, and which, in the relationship with this field, function as specific capital – and, consequently, as a factor explaining practices." (Bourdieu, 1984, p107)

The value of capital depends on the field in which it operates. Different forms of capital are more valuable in certain fields – for example economic capital is more valuable in business, whereas cultural capital is more valuable in the arts. This explains why "the same practices may receive opposite meanings and values in different fields" (Bourdieu, 1984, p87). In Chapter 4 I suggest that cultural capital is highly valued in the fields of heritage and conservation and as a result these fields attract volunteers with high levels of cultural capital. I argue that recognising that the composition of capital needed to volunteer can vary by field can explain why who participates in volunteering varies by field. Bringing the concept of field into a resource and capital explanation of volunteering can potentially explain some of the variation that the existing resource models cannot.

The potential for Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field to be used to understand organisational structures and processes has been highlighted (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008; Swartz, 2008). As well as being useful in analysing organisations by identifying the boundaries of the wider fields that they are operating in, and the form of capital at stake in these fields, Emirbayer and Johnson suggest that individual organisations can be studied as fields themselves. By studying the organisation as a field they suggest that identifying the form of capital at stake in an organisation – the form of capital that secures positions and is valued within the organisation – enables an understanding of the structure of, and positions within, organisations. To analyse the organisation as a field, researchers need to determine the structure of the field; the key figures and the kind of capital they possess need to be determined, the history of the organisation needs to be examined and in particular the dominant forms of capital within the organisation need to be identified:

“what is at stake is nothing less than the capacity to determine which of the various species of capital extant within the organization will be the most influential in defining its activities and in formulating policies” (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008, p25)

Identifying the forms of capital which define an organisation's activities and formulate its policies can help to explain why the social profile of volunteers varies not only by general field, but by organisation. In Chapter 4 I show that identifying the capital at stake in the National Trust can help to explain the lack of diversity of National Trust volunteers.

Recognising that the value of capital varies by field can help to explain why the class, ethnicity, age and gender patterns of volunteering vary between organisations and fields. The 'resource model' can be improved by recognising that the volume and composition of capital needed to volunteer can vary by organisation and by field.

2.4 Conceptualising volunteering: Work and leisure

As well as applying Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field, I argue that understanding class, ethnicity, age and gender patterns of participation in volunteering can also be improved by recognising what volunteering is and why people do it. One criticism of volunteering research has been that while there is a huge amount of research into motivations for volunteering, this has not been related to the social characteristics of volunteers: "Neither the type of activity engaged in, nor the social characteristics of the volunteer are explored in relation to statements of motive" (Taylor, 2005, p122). Much of the research into motivations for volunteering fails to take into account that people of different class, ethnicity, age and gender volunteer for different reasons. It was highlighted by Sherrott in 1983, that most of the volunteering research which focuses on motives gives little attention to the circumstances and life histories of which these motives are a product (Sherrott, 1983, p62). Thirty years on, the same point can be argued. To address the limitations of motivations literature, and in particular to relate social characteristics to reasons for volunteering I follow an approach suggested by Leat (1983). Leat suggests that rather than talking about motives:

"it may be more illuminating to ask about the expectations of, and rewards derived from, different types of volunteering and to relate these to the volunteer's personal and social circumstances" (Leat, 1983, p52)

As well as identifying reasons and motivations I explore how volunteering relates to the individual's life course stage, social origin, their family, work and non-work roles and experiences, and the circumstances which led them to volunteer. In doing so I challenge the 'dominant paradigm' assumption that the 'resource model' rests on – that volunteering is motivated by altruism – in particular by drawing on Taylor (2004) and Stebbins' (1996) alternative conceptualisations of volunteering as work and volunteering as leisure. I argue that conceptualising volunteering as a form of work and as a form of leisure can explain variations in participation of volunteering which

cannot be explained when volunteering is conceptualised as an act of altruism. There is a gap between the literature that seeks to identify why people volunteer, and theories which seek to explain who volunteers. Conceptualising volunteering as a form of work or leisure, and recognising that experiences of both work and leisure are shaped by class, ethnicity, age and gender can fill this gap.

2.4.1 Work and leisure

Two main definitions of leisure are referred to within leisure literature. The 'residual' definition of leisure focuses on the dimension of time by defining leisure as time which is not occupied by paid work, unpaid work or chores and obligations. The normative 'experiential' definition of leisure focuses on the quality or experience of the activity being done (Parker, 1971; Haworth and Smith, 1975; Haworth and Veal, 2004). Both definitions rely on an understanding of what work is – that it is not done in work time, and that it is not experienced as work. The assumption by some is that the line between leisure and work is crossed when remuneration becomes involved (Stebbins, 2009a). But following feminist criticisms of the dominant concept of work as synonymous with paid employment outside of the home, it is widely recognised that work can be paid and unpaid, formal and informal, (Oakley, 1974; Pahl, 1984; Beechey, 1987; Parry et al., 2005; Edgell, 2006). Descriptions of work suggest that it fulfils many functions:

“Work is how we earn a living, build a material world, develop (or lose) our self-esteem and social identity, interact with others least like ourselves, and experience society’s power imbalances. Work, therefore, is a fully human activity.” (Budd, 2011, p179)

“Work provides a plurality of functions and rewards, including purposeful activity, sociability, status, and material gain... Work also provides a series of routines giving structure and meaning to people’s lives, upon which they rely more or less heavily” (Barnes and Parry, 2004, p218).

However, while work can fulfil all of these functions, we can also get self-esteem, identity and status from leisure. Leisure can provide us with a way of carrying out a purposeful activity, give our lives structure and meaning, enable us to interact and socialise with others, and experience society's power imbalances. Work and leisure are social constructs; what counts as work and what counts as leisure varies dependent on the social context. The same activity may be experienced as leisure for one person and work for another, and this may change over time. "Whether any particular activity is experienced as work or leisure or both or neither is intimately related to the temporal, spatial and cultural conditions in existence." (Grint, 2005, p6).

It has long been recognised that participation in leisure and participation in work are related. The time work takes whether it is paid or unpaid, formal or informal, impacts on the time available for leisure; income from paid work can enable or constrain leisure choices; people may seek fulfilment in leisure if work is unfulfilling; something which starts off as a leisure activity may become paid work and vice versa; people entertain clients and socialise with colleagues in leisure time. The relationship between leisure and work is one which has occupied leisure sociologists for a long time (Parker, 1971; Haworth and Smith, 1975; Parker, 1976; Haworth and Veal, 2004). Traditional views of the relationship between work and leisure highlight that leisure can be done in *opposition* to work (deliberately unlike work and clear distinction between work and leisure), and leisure can be an *extension* to work (similar in content to work and no sharp distinction between work and leisure) (Parker, 1971, p101-102). Stebbins highlights examples of where the line is crossed between leisure and work – where amateurs become professionals, where hobbyists become crafts or small business people, or when mechanics tinker with old cars in their spare time. He suggests that there are times when the line between work and leisure is virtually erased (Stebbins, 2009a). Based on her finding that socialising with colleagues was an important part of the working lives of her participants Pettinger concludes that "the strict division between work and non-work lives is unsustainable in the face of a blurring of boundaries" (Pettinger, 2005, p55).

2.4.2 Volunteering as work

The link between paid employment and volunteering is well recognised in volunteering literature. In a qualitative study of fifty volunteers in five organisations in the UK Sherrott (1983) found that people volunteered as a substitute for employment, to enhance employment prospects or as a supplement to employment. Musick and Wilson (1997b) found evidence of a “spillover” from paid work to volunteering. Studies in Canada found evidence of paid staff in social services taking on additional volunteer positions in their own organisation (Baines, 2004; Baines, 2006). Miller (1985) and Roth (unpublished) suggest that those who are dissatisfied with their paid work seek satisfaction from volunteering. Rather than simply recognising the link between paid employment and volunteering, Taylor argues that volunteering should be understood as a form of work (Taylor, 2004). Within sociology, the study of work has primarily focused on paid employment in the public sphere and unpaid domestic work in the private sphere, and has neglected the study of unpaid voluntary work (Taylor, 2004; Edgell, 2006). To address this dichotomy Taylor (2004) argues that formal volunteering should be understood as unpaid work in the public sphere. In her study of volunteers and paid workers in two charities, she found that participants’ lives involved managing a complex arrangement of paid work, voluntary work, domestic labour and informal activity, and that people moved between paid and unpaid work in the public and private sphere. She found that focusing only on paid employment produced a limited understanding of people’s working lives and careers. Glucksmann’s concept of the ‘total social organisation of labour’ (TSOL) recognises the multiple ways in which work is conducted and the shifting boundaries between employment, work and non-work:

“the TSOL refuses a distinction between work and employment, arguing for an inclusive concept that acknowledges as work many forms of labour that are not remunerated or that may not be differentiated out or recognised as activities separate from the relationships (social, cultural, kin, etc.) within which they are conducted. It is concerned with connections between work

across boundaries, the shifting and permeable character of such boundaries, and with the formation and dissolution of boundaries as an object of study” (Glucksmann, 2005, p21)

Taylor adopts the TSOL to explain the link between forms of work and argues that volunteering should be studied as a form of work which cannot be separated from the study of paid employment or other forms of work (Taylor, 2004; Taylor, 2005).

2.4.3 Volunteering as leisure

In a study of volunteers in the United States in the early 1980s Henderson found that volunteering had the qualities of a leisure or recreation experience. She found that people experienced similar intrinsic benefits as they did from leisure, and that people considered their volunteering to be recreation (Henderson, 1981; Henderson, 1984). Henderson concluded that viewing volunteering as leisure provides a useful way of thinking about volunteering (Henderson, 1984). At a similar time in the UK, Sherrott’s study found that some volunteers experienced their volunteering primarily as a leisure pursuit or way of developing an existing hobby (Sherrott, 1983). The idea that volunteering can be entered into primarily to have a leisure experience was taken up by Parker (1997) who suggests that leisure volunteering is one of four kinds of volunteering which he describes as:

“giving one’s time and energy not primarily to help others altruistically, not to help oneself in a market situation, not to help a cause in which one believes, but primarily to have a leisure experience.” (Parker, 1997, p5)

The concept of volunteering as leisure has most prominently been pursued by the work of Stebbins, a leisure sociologist (Stebbins, 1996; Stebbins and Graham, 2004; Stebbins, 2009b). Stebbins argues that neither obligation nor altruism can be used to differentiate volunteering from leisure, pointing out that “true” leisure activities often involve obligation, and that volunteering often involves self-interest in common with

leisure (Stebbins, 1996; Stebbins, 2004). Stebbins has primarily been associated with his concept of 'serious leisure' which he defines as:

"the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently substantial, interesting, and fulfilling for the participant to find a (leisure) career there acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience." (Stebbins, 2009b, p156)

While this describes a lot of regular committed formal volunteering, Stebbins also highlights that volunteering can be 'casual leisure' (for example a short-lived pleasurable activity such as handing out leaflets, or collecting money), or 'project-based leisure' (for example a short-term effort to complete a project or fill a responsibility, such as volunteering at an arts festival, or working on an election campaign) (Stebbins, 2004; Stebbins, 2009b). Although volunteering as leisure is often found in particular fields of the arts, culture, sport and recreation (Rochester et al., 2010), not all volunteering as leisure takes place in leisure contexts (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2010).

2.4.4 Volunteering as work and leisure

Rather than being incompatible, I argue that acknowledging that volunteering can be experienced as work and that volunteering can be experienced as leisure improves understanding of who volunteers in a way that neither one of the concepts can on their own. Any of the volunteer activities or roles undertaken by National Trust volunteers could be experienced as leisure by one person and work by another. Rather than defining whether volunteering is work or leisure by the activity or by what is produced, I define it by how it is experienced by the individual and the meaning that the individual attaches to it. I distinguish volunteering as leisure rather than work when the emphasis is on the fun, pleasure and enjoyment of the experience, and the sense of commitment or obligation felt is minimal. I define volunteering as work rather than leisure when the tasks experienced and the level of obligation and commitment to

the role and its structures are more important than the enjoyment or pleasure experienced.

There are two reasons for incorporating both work and leisure perspectives on volunteering. Firstly, because I find examples of volunteering which are not experienced as work and some which are not experienced as leisure. Using a work or leisure only conceptualisation of volunteering would leave some of these volunteers' experiences unexplained. Secondly, it needs to be recognised that volunteering is interconnected to other forms of work and leisure. In most cases whether volunteering is experienced as leisure or work is strongly dependent on the individuals' other leisure and work experiences. In Chapter 6 I show that volunteering, for many individuals, cannot be understood without recognising the interconnections and continuity with other forms of work and leisure they have participated in through their lives. We have seen that the TSOL is a useful approach to understand how volunteering is interconnected to other forms of work (Taylor, 2004). Parry et al highlight that the TSOL also stresses the interconnectedness between work and non-work:

“This relational framework refused the distinction between work and employment in favour of a more inclusive understanding of work as taking place in differing socio-economic forms and as interconnected with many other, often non-work, relationships. Instead of drawing a boundary around something which could incontrovertibly be seen as ‘work’, this approach, on the contrary entails drawing attention to the blurry line between work and not-work, and to the connections between work activities undertaken in different socio-economic spaces.” (Parry et al., 2005, p11)

Volunteering, and reasons for volunteering, cannot be understood in isolation from other experiences of paid and unpaid work and leisure of the volunteer. How people experience volunteering depends on how it relates to other current or past experiences of work or leisure. Influenced by the argument that “each type of work impacts on

every other type of work and therefore no one type of paid or unpaid work can be understood in isolation.” (Edgell, 2006, p202), and the TSOL, I argue that volunteering for the National Trust cannot be understood in isolation from individuals’ experiences of work *or* leisure.

Recognising that volunteering relates to other forms and experiences of work and leisure can help to explain the variation in participation in volunteering. It has long been recognised that class, ethnicity, age and gender shape experiences of paid and unpaid work, in the public and private spheres (Bourdieu, 1984; Pahl, 1984; Grint, 2005; Parry et al., 2005; Edgell, 2006; Budd, 2011). It is also well recognised that participation in leisure varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender (Parker, 1976; Bourdieu, 1984; Trienekens, 2002; Gayo-Cal, 2006; Bennett et al., 2009; Roberts, 2010; Savage et al., 2013). Experiences of work and leisure also vary throughout the life course. Although the arguments that leisure and work are highly shaped by class, ethnicity, age and gender are well established, they have not been applied to the study of who volunteers. Moving away from conceptualising volunteering as an act motivated by altruism, to seeing it as an action embedded in the work and leisure lives of individuals, interconnected to other leisure and work, helps to explain variation in participation in volunteering.

2.5 Integrating the theoretical and the conceptual

Lockstone-Binney et al (2010, p442) note that so far sociological perspectives framing the discourse on volunteering, work and leisure have been kept distinct from the research on the links between volunteering and social resources. Combining a Bourdieusian theoretical approach and a work-leisure conceptual approach addresses this gap and improves understanding of the inequality in participation of volunteering. Work and leisure of all types require capital to participate – capital which is not distributed evenly among the population. Quantity and composition of capital varies by class, ethnicity and gender and varies through the life course. Possession of social,

economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital can shape opportunities for work and leisure and enable participation. People participate in work and leisure to acquire social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital. Just as different types of capital are needed in paid employment in different fields, so are different types of capital needed to volunteer in different fields. Just as cultural tastes influence leisure participation, so they influence volunteering as leisure. Throughout this thesis I argue that Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field can be applied to bridge the gap between literature which acknowledges that volunteering can be leisure and work, to the literature which recognises that participation in volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender. By combining Bourdieu's theory of capitals and the leisure-work approach, volunteering can be understood as a form of work or leisure which requires capital to perform and which generates further capital. Applying these theoretical and conceptual approaches addresses the limitations of the 'resource model' and improves its ability to explain why the class, ethnicity, age and gender of volunteers varies between organisation and field and through life course stages.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter sets out the philosophical underpinning of the methodological approach I take for this research, my rationale for mixing quantitative and qualitative research methods, and detail about sampling, selection, and ethical considerations. Through the following explanation of the methods and approach to collecting and analysing my data, I aim to show thoroughness, care, honesty and accuracy in order to demonstrate the reliability and validity of my research (Mason, 2002).

3.1 Mixed methods: a pragmatist research approach

While recognising the distinctive epistemological assumptions associated with quantitative and qualitative methods, it has been argued that they are capable of being combined and that the two research strategies are compatible, feasible and desirable (Bryman, 2008). Although there are different positions or stances on the issue of how paradigms are to be used in the development of mixed methods research (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003; Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2007) many advocates of mixed methods research have chosen to take a general philosophical position of pragmatism (Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2007; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009; Johnson and Gray, 2010; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010). Pragmatism supports the use of qualitative and quantitative methods in the same study and rejects the incompatibility thesis. Pragmatist researchers consider the research question to be more important than either the method they use or the paradigm that underlies it. Pragmatism rejects the forced choice between postpositivism and constructivism, avoids the use of concepts such as “truth” and “reality”, and presents a very practical and applied research philosophy (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003, p21). In my approach to this research I identify with the general philosophical position of pragmatism. The research questions are central to the study and the respective research methods have been applied in order to best address them.

There are many rationales for mixing methods including triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation and expansion (Greene et al., 1989). Bryman (2006) identifies at least sixteen rationales for mixing methods including the rationales of *process* and *context*. Quantitative research provides an account of structures in social life but qualitative research provides a sense of process. Qualitative research provides contextual understanding coupled with broad relationships among variables uncovered through a survey (Bryman, 2006, pp105-107). In this research, the 2011 National Trust Volunteer Survey provides an account of the profile of National Trust volunteers and reveals patterns and relationships, and interviews with volunteer and paid staff provide a sense of the process behind these patterns and allows for a contextual understanding of volunteering. Quantitative analysis of the National Trust 2011 Volunteer Survey provides a picture of who National Trust volunteers are, and allows an exploration into the relationships between variables such as socio-demographic characteristics and volunteer role. Qualitative semi-structured interviews allow an exploration into the reasons and circumstances which lead people to volunteer for the National Trust, how it fits in with their lives, other involvement they have with the organisation, other volunteering they have participated in, and how these factors relate to their class, ethnicity, age and gender. The interview data seeks to explain the patterns of volunteering which are revealed by the survey data.

It is recognised that in mixed methods research one method often takes dominance over the other (Brannen, 2005). Although the quantitative element to this study is essential to provide descriptive data of the profile of National Trust volunteers, the qualitative method is the dominant method in the generation of the theoretical contribution. It has been highlighted that while many researchers do not strictly follow grounded theory, certain concepts within grounded theory including the general goal of theory development throughout data collection, are adopted (Flick, 2009). Whilst I have not directly followed a grounded theory approach, I have taken an inductive approach to this research allowing theory and concepts to emerge from the data.

3.2 A single case study approach: selection and generalizability

Research based on a single case study can be open to criticism due to its potential for generalizability (Silverman, 2005). Stake (2005) suggests that there are three different types of case study; the intrinsic case study where no attempt is made to generalize beyond the single case or to build theories, the instrumental case study where a case is used to provide insight into an issue or revise a generalization, and the collective case study where a number of cases are studied in order to investigate some general phenomenon (Stake, 2005, pp445-447). This study is an example of an instrumental case study where volunteering in the National Trust is studied to provide insight into the theoretical question of who volunteers. A single case study of an organisation can offer important and generalizable insight due to the level of depth of the study:

“single-case studies of organizational fields and even of singular organizations-as-fields can contribute importantly, despite or perhaps even because of the sheer intensity and particularity of their focus, to a generalizing and cumulative enterprise” (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008, p35)

One of the key limitations of existing research into the question of who volunteers is that the dominant methodological approach – analysis of large-scale national datasets – does not allow the context of the volunteering to be taken into account. A single organisation case study offers an alternative methodological approach to address this limitation. It allows a rich and in-depth exploration into the history, culture, structure, priorities and conflicts of the organisation, the role it plays in the fields it operates in, and how these effect who volunteers for the organisation. For the purpose of this research which stresses the importance of context, a single in-depth case study provides greater value than a collective case study could provide.

As highlighted in Chapter 1, the ‘dominant paradigm’ assumption that volunteering occurs in a social welfare organisation is perpetuated by the tendency of volunteering research to focus on social welfare organisations. Studying volunteering in the

National Trust, a heritage and conservation organisation, offers a partial redress to the disproportionate focus on volunteering in social welfare organisations. The distinct class, ethnicity, age and gender patterns of National Trust volunteers make it an interesting organisation to examine the question of who volunteers. The National Trust is an extremely high profile organisation in the UK with a strong middle-class image (as I expand on and evidence in Chapter 4). As I have demonstrated in Chapter 1, we know that indicators of class (education, income, occupation) are the most consistent predictors of volunteering. Studying volunteering in an organisation so strongly associated with the middle-class provides a valuable insight into the relationship between class and volunteering. Surveys carried out by the National Trust prior to the 2011 Volunteer Survey revealed that National Trust volunteers are predominantly white, older, retired and more likely to be male than female (National Trust, 1997; National Trust, 2008a; National Trust, 2008b; National Trust, 2010a). We know that what people volunteer to do varies by ethnicity, age and gender; studying volunteering in an organisation with very clear age, ethnicity and gender patterns allows an exploration into understanding why such patterns exist.

Qualitative data should produce arguments or explanations that are generalizable or have wider resonance (Mason, 2002). Although some of the details of the findings are specific to the National Trust, or even to the individual properties, this research is generalizable in two ways. In qualitative research analytical generalisations – reasoned judgment about the extent to which the findings from one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation – rather than statistical generalisation, can be applied (Kvale, 2007). As is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 the specific findings from this study can provide some insight into patterns of volunteering beyond the National Trust in the fields of heritage and conservation more widely. Secondly, it has been argued that lessons learnt from qualitative research can be relevant to a wider body of theory or knowledge (Mason, 2002) and that the findings of qualitative research can be generalizable to theory rather than to populations (Bryman, 2008). In this study I explore the relationship between the possession of capital and volunteering. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, while the specific composition of

capital may be particular to National Trust volunteers, or to heritage and conservation volunteers, the broader theoretical argument about the relationship between possession of capital and formal volunteering adds to a wider body of theory.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations remained paramount throughout the research process. Before agreeing to take part in an interview potential volunteer and staff participants were given an information sheet outlining the research. The information sheet explained that participation was voluntary, that any information given was confidential and would be anonymised, and that the participant was able to withdraw their participation at any stage during the interview (Appendix A). Before the interview commenced the participants were asked to sign a consent form to confirm that the research project had been explained to them, and that they agreed to take part in the research (Appendix B). It was made clear to participants through the information sheet, consent form, and reiterated verbally that at no stage during or after the study would the National Trust or any member of National Trust staff be given access to recorded interviews or full transcripts. Recorded interviews, transcriptions of interviews and volunteer survey data have been stored on a password-protected computer. Hard copies of data have been kept in a locked filing cabinet. Hard copies of all data will be destroyed at the end of the study. After the study, electronic versions of data, recordings and transcripts will be kept on a password-protected computer for my own use in potential future publications.

Volunteer and staff member participants have been given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity. Other staff members and volunteers that the participants refer to have also been given pseudonyms where quoted. Due to concerns that this would not necessarily ensure anonymity, where a particular job role is held by just one or few people in the organisation, reference to the job title has been withheld. Verbatim quotes have not been used where I felt that the content could identify an individual. The three sites selected for volunteer interviews, and any other sites or locations such as towns and

cities referred to by staff members or volunteers which could identify the location of the participant, have been given pseudonyms. The Volunteer Survey is an anonymous survey; it does not ask for name, address or post code of the individual participant, therefore individual participants are not identifiable in the survey results. The decision not to protect the identity of the National Trust was taken for several reasons. Firstly, due to the application for ESRC funding and advertisements for the studentship, the fact that the National Trust was taking part in a CASE studentship was publicly available information. Secondly, due to the unique character of the organisation and the fact that there is no comparable organisation in terms of size and purpose it was felt that any attempt to protect the identity would be extremely difficult. Finally, the National Trust is an enthusiastic partner in this research project and they have been keen to promote their involvement with academic research.

Throughout my research it was important to remain aware of the ethical issues which arose from working in partnership with the National Trust. It was necessary for me to be aware of my position with the National Trust, both in terms of financial support and in the relationships that were built with staff and volunteers, and to ensure that this did not compromise the independence of my research. Recognition of this potential at an early stage, and commitment from the National Trust to allow me the freedom to be independent, helped me to ensure that the ethics of the research have not been compromised in this way. In addition, it was important to ensure that through my research I did not do anything which would cause harm to the organisation.

3.4 My role as a researcher

Since the mid-1980s, postmodernist and feminist concerns about the influence of the researcher on the interview have led to a growing acknowledgment that an interview is not a neutral exchange of questions and answers, but that interviewers are active participants in interaction with interviewees (Fontana and Frey, 2005).

“The [qualitative researcher] understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, and by those of the people in the setting.” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005, p5)

Mason (2002) encourages researchers to be reflexive throughout the research process; she challenges us to think critically about what we are doing and why, confront and challenge our assumptions, and recognise the extent to which our thoughts, actions and decisions shape how we research and what we see. Throughout my research my own personal history, biography, gender, class, ethnicity and age has been influential in the selection of research questions, research design and in how I conduct and analyse the research. While I cannot know the exact nature of the influences of my history and biography on my research, a brief reflection on my background and its relation to the research areas can help to locate my position and role in this research.

I grew up in a family who volunteered extensively, I have volunteered for a number of organisations in the past, I have worked alongside volunteers in my paid employment in the third sector and I have volunteered for two organisations while conducting this research. I have had multiple reasons for my own volunteering, and volunteering has fulfilled different functions for me. I have volunteered to travel abroad, gain work experience, do something about causes I feel strongly about, feel part of a new area, and to occupy my time – often several of these at the same time. I have had enjoyable, challenging, fulfilling, frustrating and dull experiences. My experiences of volunteering have contributed to my initial interest in it as a research area, and have affected the way I have approached the research. As findings emerged from my research and as I identified explanations, I reflected on whether they made sense of, or could explain my own volunteering. Most of my paid and voluntary work history has been in organisations working with socially excluded groups, and this has had an impact in the direction that my research has taken with the focus on the inclusivity and exclusivity of volunteering. The National Trust is an organisation which I had some involvement with before conducting this study. Coming from a large, relatively low

income family with an interest in camping and walking, visiting National Trust properties as a child was infrequent, but use of the coast and countryside areas was more common. This broad pattern has continued into adulthood; I am an occasional visitor to properties, was a member for a short period of a year, and am a more frequent visitor to coast and countryside areas.

It is important to reflect on my role within the interviews based on my own class, ethnicity, age and gender. In particular, one area of questions in the interviews is around participants' observations of the class, ethnicity, age and gender of other volunteers. It is clear to interviewees that I am white, female, young (in relation to the average age of participants), and they are likely to identify me as middle-class due to my known educational level. At certain points in some interviews it was clear that our perceived shared identity as white, middle-class or young influenced what the participants said, by the way that they referred to "others" who were non-white, working-class or older. For example, some participants referred to working-class people or people from Black or minority ethnic groups as "they" in a way that they would not have done if they had identified me as being working-class, Black or ethnic minority, and a younger volunteer talked to me about the constraints of working with older volunteers in a way he would not have done if he identified me as being older. An older, Black, working-class or male interviewer may have elicited different responses to questions particularly around class, ethnicity, age and gender. The power relations within the interviews, and whether I felt I was interviewing "up" or "down" is a question I have reflected on through the research process as I found that this depended on both age and class position of the participant. As I explain in more detail in Chapter 5, National Trust volunteers tend to be confident, highly educated people who have held successful careers. With some participants the combination of both being older and from successful professional backgrounds had the effect of shifting the balance of power towards the participant, something that I did not feel when I was interviewing participants of a similar age or younger than me. This was neither planned nor desirable, but an observation to reflect on in the information that was elicited from the interviews. While the interviews were a time constraint for some paid

staff, most volunteers were happy to take the time to be interviewed. While I was clearly benefiting from the interviews through the data I gathered, most participants seemed to enjoy the chance to talk about their lives, their volunteering and the National Trust.

3.5 Volunteer Survey

The aims of the quantitative part of this research were to:

- (i) Gain a more accurate overview of the social profile of National Trust volunteers, in particular the class characteristics of volunteers
- (ii) Explore relationships between types of volunteering and characteristics of volunteers
- (iii) Gain an improved understanding of which volunteers are represented by National Trust volunteer surveys, and which volunteer types are not represented or are under-represented
- (iv) Add to, complement and integrate with qualitative data to increase generalizability of findings.

The quantitative element of this research was secondary analysis of the 2011 National Trust Volunteer Survey. The National Trust has carried out surveys of their volunteers since 1997 and annually since 2007. The surveys have been conducted by several organisations, using different sampling techniques, for varying purposes. The 1997 survey was carried out by the National Centre for Volunteering (N=884), the 2004 and 2007 surveys were carried out by the IVR (N=1264 and N=1520) and the 2008 (N=3091), 2009 (N not available), 2010 (N=10,263), 2011 (N=12,876) and 2012 (N=14,299) surveys were carried out by Pulsecheck, an employee research service (National Trust, 1997; National Trust, 2004; National Trust, 2008a; National Trust, 2008b; National Trust, 2009c; National Trust, 2010e; National Trust, 2012c). From 2008 the surveys became shorter and more concise in order to encourage a greater response. While gender, ethnicity and age has been measured most years, prior to the 2011 survey, occupational

status had not been measured since 2007 (and not since the sample size increased substantially), and there had been no measure of educational level or any income or financial status indicator. In the recent larger surveys, volunteering type (for example whether the volunteer was a working holiday volunteer, employer-supported volunteer, volunteering through an external group, full-time volunteer or intern) had not been measured, so it had not been possible to gauge which types of volunteer the survey was reaching, or to compare characteristics of volunteer types.

3.5.1 Designing the survey

Through my partnership with the National Trust I had the opportunity to contribute to the survey design of the 2011 Volunteer Survey and I had access to the raw data in order to carry out detailed analysis. This enabled me to add questions to get an improved picture of the social profile of volunteers, to record volunteer type in order to attempt to establish which volunteers the survey reflects, and to measure other formal and informal volunteering the volunteers take part in. The Volunteer Survey serves many purposes for the National Trust, in particular it is used to provide the volunteering and community involvement team with feedback from a large number of volunteers about their development and support needs, and to measure the volunteer recommendation level (key performance indicators for individual properties). Due to concerns from the National Trust over the length of the survey (financial cost of administration and risk of deterring completion), and concerns over the sensitivity of questions around educational level and income, it was agreed that these additional questions would be included as an optional extra section of the survey. Respondents could choose to answer this supplementary survey once the main survey had been completed. Although the main volunteer survey is distributed both online and by paper, due to the high cost of administering the paper responses, the supplementary section of the survey was only available to people who completed the online version. The main part of the survey (referred to as main survey from here), available both online and by paper measured the following variables used in this research:

- Gender
- Age
- Ethnicity
- Disability
- Volunteer role (room guide, gardener, countryside volunteer etc.)
- Length of time volunteering
- Frequency of volunteering
- National Trust membership status

The optional section of the survey (referred to as supplementary survey from here) measured the following additional variables:

- Employment status
- Level of education
- Housing status
- Current financial situation
- Marital status
- Dependent children
- Type of volunteering (working holiday, employee volunteering etc.)
- Rate of other formal and informal volunteering

3.5.2 Sampling strategy and administration

While I had some input into the content of the survey, I did not have any involvement with the sampling strategy or in the administration of the survey. Prior to 2008, samples of volunteers were selected to participate in the volunteer surveys. Since 2008 the aim has been to get as many volunteers as possible to complete the survey by making it available online, and having paper questionnaires available at volunteering sites. Although this has increased the number of respondents substantially (from N=1,520 in 2007 to N=14,299 in 2012), this sampling strategy poses several limitations which are outlined below. The Volunteer Survey was available for volunteers to

complete throughout September and October 2011. As there is not a national database of volunteers, property staff were asked to encourage their volunteers to complete it by distributing the emailed link to the survey and distributing paper surveys at properties. The supplementary survey was preceded by an explanation that the questions aimed to find out more detailed information about who volunteers for the National Trust, that it should take no more than five minutes to complete and that completion of the questions would help my PhD research. Pulsecheck collated the responses from the main and supplementary surveys and provided the data in the form of Excel spreadsheets.

In 2011 there were 12,876 respondents to the main survey which represents 21 per cent of volunteers as measured by a volunteer count in 2010-11 (Appendix 3). Of these responses 3,846 were by paper and 9,030 were completed online. The supplementary survey was completed by 4,462 respondents which represents seven per cent of all volunteers, and 49 per cent of all online respondents to the main survey.

3.5.3 Non-sampling error and limitations

As outlined above, the sample is not a random probability sample. The number of responses from each property or area is liable to be influenced by the property staff and how much they actively encourage completion or ensure distribution of the survey. The survey results cannot be claimed to be representative of all National Trust volunteers and as such the generalizability of the survey data is limited. The survey is particularly limited in two ways: by the type of volunteer it reaches, and by the survey distribution method.

(i) Volunteer type

It is acknowledged by central and local National Trust staff involved with volunteers that although the survey distribution method effectively reaches regular property-based volunteers, it is less effective at reaching volunteers who volunteer in a more

casual or episodic way (for example working holiday volunteers, employer-supported volunteers, people on unpaid internships, and people who volunteer through external groups). Although this non-sampling error cannot be compensated for, by adding a measure of volunteer type to the supplementary survey I have been able to get an improved picture of which type of volunteers the survey does and does not represent. The National Trust carries out an annual count of volunteers. It is acknowledged by the National Trust that the count is not a completely accurate record of volunteer numbers but it provides a useful indication of the size of the volunteer population. In 2009-10 the volunteer count was broken down by volunteer type (see Appendix D). Comparing the supplementary survey respondents⁴ to the volunteer count breakdown shows that:

- One per cent of respondents were on a full-time placement or internship, as were one per cent of the volunteer population
- Two per cent of respondents were working holiday volunteers compared to five per cent of the volunteer population
- One per cent of respondents volunteered as employer-supported volunteers compared to seven per cent of the volunteer population
- One per cent of respondents volunteered through an external group compared to 26 per cent of the volunteer population⁵.

This suggests that external group volunteers and employer-supported volunteers are largely unrepresented in the Volunteer Survey, and working holiday volunteers are under-represented. In addition it should be recognised that the National Trust offers a vast range of volunteering opportunities which vary between properties and locations which do not necessarily fit neatly into these volunteer count categories. Therefore

⁴ Volunteer type was not included in the main survey

⁵ Another type of volunteering for the National Trust is through involvement with groups linked to the National Trust, referred to by the National Trust as internal groups. The survey results show that 35 per cent of people volunteer through an internal group – as the volunteer count shows that 5 per cent of all volunteers volunteered through all internal groups it appears the question in the survey has been misinterpreted therefore we are unable to know whether these volunteers are represented in the survey.

there may be other particularly episodic or casual types of volunteers who are un- or under-represented in the Volunteer Survey.

Volunteers who are volunteering through their involvement with an external group and employer-supported volunteers have not made an individual decision to volunteer for the National Trust. These volunteers have become involved through a third party – their employer or a member of staff in the external group. The individual has not necessarily had a choice in what they do and may not have had a choice in whether they “volunteer” at all. Because of the lack of individual choice or decision, these types of volunteers have not been included in this research. For the purposes of this research therefore, their lack of representation in the survey is not problematic. However, for the purpose of accurately reflecting all National Trust volunteers, this is more problematic. It is likely that these two types of volunteer are more diverse in certain respects, particularly regarding employment status (as employer-supported volunteers are by definition employed) and age (as some external groups e.g. the Scouts and the Prince’s Trust work only with young people). The comparison between the volunteer count and the survey respondents also suggests that working holiday volunteers are under-represented. As these volunteers do make an individual decision to volunteer for the National Trust, they are a group of volunteers who I am interested in for the purposes of this research. This under-representation has been compensated for in two ways, firstly by referring to a previous study of working holiday volunteers carried out by the IVR in 2008 (Stuart et al., 2008) which provides some measures of socio-demographic characteristics, and secondly by ensuring that working holiday volunteers and leaders are represented in the qualitative interviews. To summarise, the Volunteer Survey provides a good representation of regular, house, coast and countryside volunteers but it should be borne in mind that references to characteristics of National Trust volunteers based on the 2011 Volunteer Survey do not represent employer-supported volunteers and external volunteers, and under-represent working holiday volunteers, and may un- or under-represent other episodic or casual volunteers.

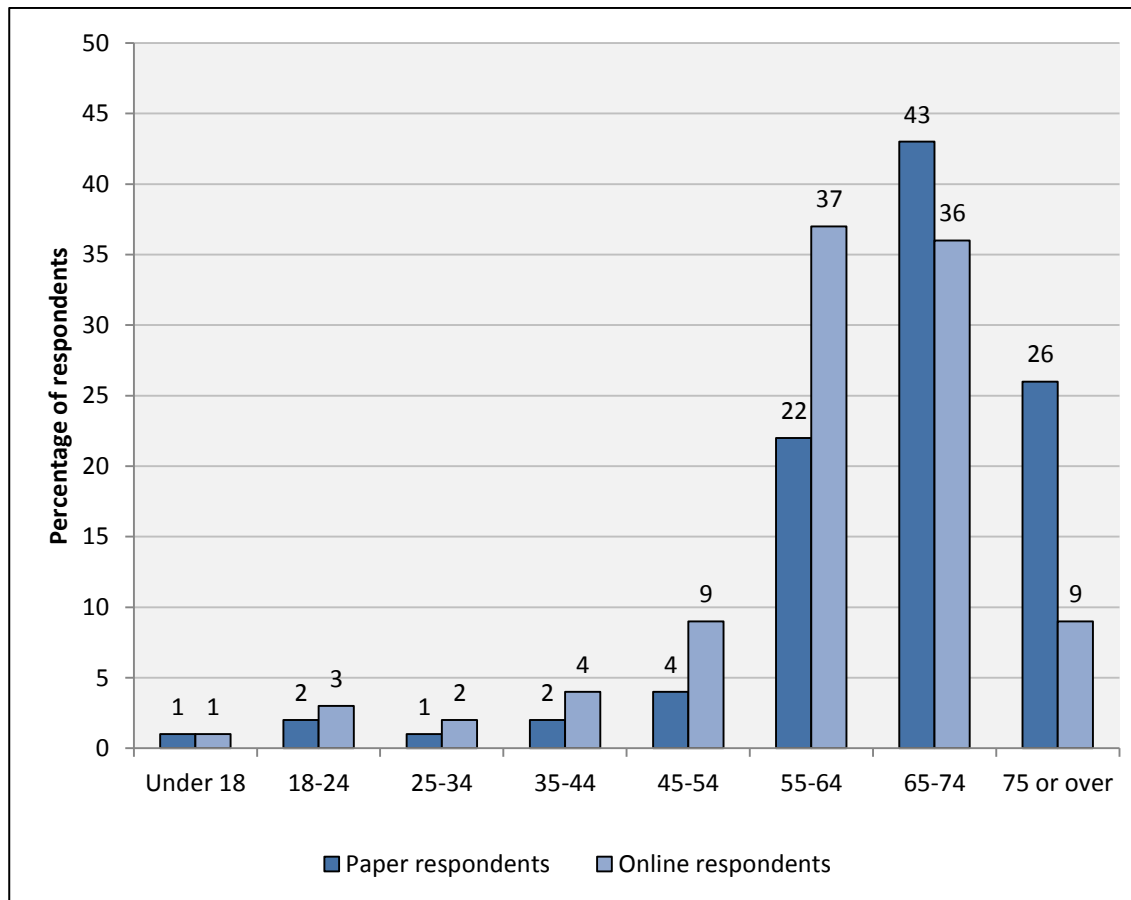
(ii) *Survey distribution method*

The supplementary survey which includes questions on employment status, educational achievement, housing status, marital status, dependent children, financial situation, type of National Trust volunteering and other formal and informal volunteering was only available online. Comparing online respondents to paper respondents shows that there are significant differences between volunteers who responded by paper and volunteers who responded online in terms of gender, age and volunteer role⁶. People who responded by paper were more likely to be female, than those who responded online. Sixty-nine per cent of paper respondents were female and 31 per cent were male, while 59 per cent of online respondents were female and 41 per cent were male. Those who responded by paper were older than those who responded online. Twenty-six per cent of paper respondents were 75 or over, compared to nine per cent of online respondents, and 43 per cent of paper respondents were 65 to 74 compared to 36 per cent of online respondents (see Figure 1).

As the gender and age of the National Trust volunteer population is not known, we cannot know which survey method is the best reflection of the population, and therefore weighting of the responses is not possible. It may be that women, and those aged 65 and over are under-represented amongst online respondents which could be explained by people from the older age groups and females being less likely to use the internet.

⁶ Chi-square tests for gender, age and volunteer role all found a significant association at $p < 0.001$ level

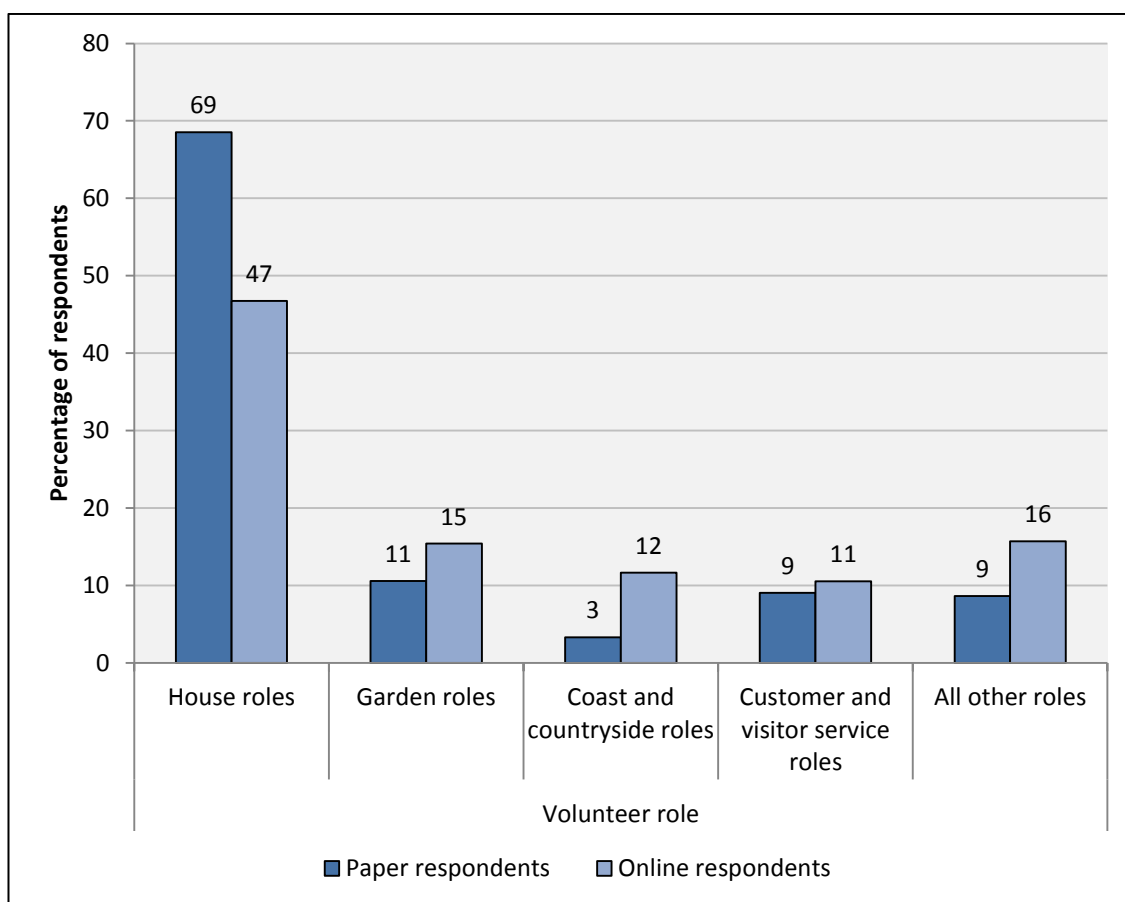
Figure 1: Age distribution of paper and online survey respondents



Base: Main Volunteer Survey 2011 (12,259)

There is also a difference between paper and online respondents in terms of their volunteer role. Sixty-nine per cent of those who responded by paper undertook house-based volunteer roles, compared to 47 per cent of those who responded online. In contrast, online respondents were more likely to do garden roles, coast and countryside roles, customer and visitor service roles, and all other roles (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Volunteer roles of paper and online survey respondents



Base: Main Volunteer Survey, 2011 (12,418)

The 2008-09 volunteer count (the most recent count to record volunteer roles), shows that 46 per cent of individual volunteers fulfilled house roles (room steward or tour guide). While tentative, as this corresponds more closely to the online respondent figure of 47 per cent, this may suggest that online respondents are a better representation of volunteers occupying the full range of volunteer roles, in which case it appears that volunteers doing house roles are over-represented amongst paper respondents. The over-representation of house-based roles among paper respondents could be explained by paper questionnaires being more readily available to those volunteering in houses. As analysis shows that people who carry out house roles are more likely to be older and more likely to be female, this could also explain the greater proportion of women and older people amongst paper respondents. Given that my main purpose for the Volunteer Survey data is to gain a more accurate picture of the social profile of National Trust volunteers, the main implication is that the key

variables that I refer to that are only measured by the supplementary online survey – employment status, education and housing status – may be under-representing older, female, house-based volunteers.

While these problems do restrict the generalizability and representativeness of the survey results, the value of the responses should not be dismissed. There were 12,876 responses to the main survey (to provide a comparison the Citizenship Survey sampled around 10,000 respondents per year and the Helping Out survey had 2,156 respondents) which represents 21 per cent of the volunteer population. This is a good response both in terms of the quantity and the proportion of the volunteer population. The opportunity to get access to such a high number of responses at minimal financial cost, and the convenience of using an existing survey through my partnership with the National Trust is one that could not have been passed up. Overall this approach has generated much more valuable data than the data I could have generated from my own random sample which, due to time and cost constraint, would have been significantly reduced.

3.5.4 Analysing the data

The 2011 Volunteer Survey data was transferred into SPSS, recoded and new variables created where needed. Analysis was carried out using IBM SPSS Statistics 19. For the majority of the analysis descriptive frequency and cross tabulation analysis was carried out. To compare online and paper responses chi squared tests were conducted. As well as producing descriptive statistics of the characteristics of National Trust volunteers, comparisons have been made both to the population of England and Wales and to other volunteers in England and Wales. Census 2011 data has been used for population figures unless otherwise stated (Nomis, 2013). Citizenship Survey data from 2009-10 has been used to make comparisons to other people who volunteer through an organisation (Department for Communities and Local Government and Ipsos MORI, 2011). The analysis uses data from the core sample of Citizenship Survey respondents who had taken part in formal volunteering at least once a month in the last 12 months

(a base of 2,340). Where necessary, one sample or two sample t-tests were carried out to test for significance between National Trust volunteers and the general population, and National Trust volunteers and Citizenship Survey respondents. An overview of the profile of National Trust volunteers is included in Chapter 4. A detailed unpublished report of the Volunteer Survey results has been produced and shared with the National Trust (Harflett, 2012).

3.6 Volunteer and staff interviews

The aims of the qualitative part of this research were to:

- (i) Explore the links between reasons for volunteering and class, ethnicity, age and gender
- (ii) Identify what forms of capital enable volunteering for the National Trust, and what forms of capital are acquired through volunteering
- (iii) Explore how volunteering for the National Trust relates to participation in other forms of paid and unpaid work and leisure.

The research questions lend themselves well to qualitative research methods. Qualitative research allows researchers to attempt to see through the eyes of the people being studied (Bryman, 2008) and celebrates richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity (Mason, 2002). The emphasis of this research study is to explore the context and process of volunteering for the National Trust, a multi-dimensional and complex process which would be difficult to observe by using a structured quantitative research method.

As the focus in this research is on the experiences and lives of the individual, a one to one research method was deemed most appropriate. Semi-structured biographical interviews offer many advantages as a research method: interviews are from the perspective of the lived world of the interviewee (Kvale, 2007), they allow emphasis from the interviewees point of view rather than points previously defined as important

by the researcher (Bryman, 2008), and they allow the researcher to follow up specific responses which could not have been anticipated in advance (Mason, 2002). An element of structure ensures that the interview can be focused on specific areas (Kvale, 2007), and allows for an element of comparison between interviews.

3.6.1 Sampling and site selection

The sampling strategy for the volunteer and staff interviews was purposive, made on the basis of wanting to interview people who were relevant to the research (Bryman, 2008). The strategy behind the selection of sites to conduct interviews was driven by two aims. Firstly, I wanted to select sites which would give me access to a wide range of volunteers, to ensure that the experiences of a range of volunteers were reflected in my research. For this reason I selected Norwood House – a “typical” National Trust large country house and gardens in a rural location with a high number of volunteers, The Cottages – a small property in an urban location, and the Moors – an area of coast and countryside. To ensure I included non-property-based volunteers I also interviewed working holiday volunteers and leaders and interns. Secondly, selection of the sites was in part theoretically driven. At the planning stage of the research it became clear that a common perception both within and outside the National Trust was that the lack of diversity among National Trust volunteers could be explained by the affluent and rural geographical location of the properties. In order to explore this as an explanation The Cottages were selected due to the urban location and low income, multi-ethnic local population. Due to practicalities of travel time and cost none of the sites selected were in Northern Ireland, Wales or the North of England. While this is a limitation of the research, the impact of geographical location was not anticipated to be significant enough to warrant the additional time and cost incurred.

As well as accessing a range of volunteer types and roles I also attempted to recruit individual participants of varying ages, gender and ethnicity. While the participants are broadly representative of National Trust volunteers in terms of gender, ethnicity and age, based on what is known from the Volunteer Survey, this means that there is

just one non-white participant and there are relatively few participants between the ages of 25 and 54. Appendix E provides a detailed summary of the characteristics of the volunteer interview participants. The gender, age and ethnicity of the volunteers in each property are summarised in Table 5.

Table 5: Overview of gender, age and ethnicity characteristics of volunteer participants

	Norwood House	The Cottages	The Moors	Interns and working holidays
Total	13	7	10	10
Male	5	3	5	5
Female	8	4	5	5
Age <30	2	1	3	4
Age 30-54	0	0	2	5
Age 55+	11	6	5	1
White ethnicity	13	7	10	9
Non-white ethnicity	0	0	0	1

In all sites the volunteering and community involvement director of the National Trust, the non-academic supervisor of this research, made initial contact with the general or property manager to explain the research and ask if they would be happy to be involved. Once they had agreed all further communication was between myself and property staff.

(i) Norwood House

Norwood House is an example of what is often thought of as the typical National Trust property. It is an 18th Century country house with landscaped gardens and is situated on an estate which is also managed by the National Trust. It is a large and busy pay for

entry property and has over 400 volunteers. It is situated in a very small village in a rural area. Norwood House is extremely difficult to access by public transport with just weekly buses serving a very few nearby towns and villages. According to Census 2011 data 99 per cent of residents in the area are white compared to 86 per cent in England and Wales, and 42 per cent of households own their home outright compared to 31 per cent in England and Wales (Nomis, 2013; Office for National Statistics, 2013b)⁷.

After the general manager had agreed for the research to take place I was given a contact to liaise with in order to access participants. Following discussion about the range of participants I wanted access to, the staff member contacted potential participants on my behalf and provided contact details of those who were interested. I contacted them by email or letter, and provided them with full information regarding the research. Once fully informed, if they were happy to proceed, a convenient time and place for the participant was arranged. After a first wave of interviews had been conducted, gaps were identified on the basis of role type and volunteer profile and further volunteers were recruited to attempt to fill the gaps. The interviews were conducted over a period of three months. All interviews were carried out at Norwood House except for one which was carried out in the participant's home at her request. Field notes were taken of observations before and after the interviews and of my informal contact with paid staff while at the property. A total of thirteen volunteers were interviewed from Norwood House. The participants included five males, and eight females between the ages of 21 and 85. Volunteer roles included estate volunteer, volunteer co-ordinator, room guide, garden guide, walks and talks guide, shop assistant, gardener, and buggy driver.

(ii) The Cottages

In contrast to Norwood House, The Cottages are a more recent acquisition for the National Trust. They are a set of small 19th Century residential properties which were

⁷ At the Middle Layer Super Output Area level which has a minimum size of 5,000 residents and 2,000 households.

often home to poor working-class residents. The Cottages have over 80 volunteers and most of them volunteer on a regular basis. The Cottages are situated in the centre of a large city, easily accessible by public transport. According to 2011 Census data 45 per cent of residents in the area are white compared to 86 per cent in England and Wales, and 5 per cent of households own their homes outright compared to 31 per cent in England and Wales (Nomis, 2013; Office for National Statistics, 2013b)⁸. The Cottages have engaged in projects and initiatives aimed at engaging new audiences in the area.

The general manager for the area agreed for the research to go ahead and put me in touch with the property manager for The Cottages for help recruiting participants. The property manager sent a message out to volunteers as part of a weekly bulletin asking for people to participate with the research. After the potential participants contacted me directly, I sent them further information including information about the research and once they agreed to participate, I arranged a suitable date and time for the interview. Due to the location of the property the interviews were all arranged and conducted within the space of one week. All the interviews were carried out in The Cottages except for one which was carried out in a nearby café due to lack of available rooms. As I was at the property for an intense time period, I spent time between interviews in the volunteer break room talking informally to other volunteers and paid staff members, and I observed a talk by the curator for the property which was put on for the volunteers. Field notes were taken of my observations and of my informal contact with volunteers and staff. I had initially planned to conduct at least ten interviews at The Cottages, but due to the size of the property and the limited number of volunteer roles (most volunteers are tour guides) I found that the interviews conducted, supplemented by the observations made in my time at the property, gave me a good insight to volunteering at The Cottages and further interviews were not necessary. A total of seven volunteer interviews were conducted at The Cottages. The participants included three males and four females between the ages of 29 and 73.

⁸ At the Middle Layer Super Output Area level which has a minimum size of 5,000 residents and 2,000 households.

Volunteer roles included tour guide, receptionist, housekeeping volunteer and education volunteer.

(iii) *The Moors*

The Moors is an area of coast and countryside. It covers 6,000 hectares of land over a 70 mile stretch and includes grassland, woodland and coastal areas. There are six different bases across the area where wardens, other paid staff and volunteers operate from. Volunteers are primarily involved with outdoor countryside tasks, but they also do education, events and administration roles.

The general manager agreed for the research to go ahead and put me in touch with the head warden of the different bases in the area. I conducted interviews in four of the six bases. After discussion with each of the head wardens about the range of participants I was seeking, they approached potential participants on my behalf. If they expressed an interest in participating I contacted them by email, and provided them with full information regarding the research. Once they were happy to proceed I arranged a time and place suitable for the interview. All of the interviews were carried out at the respective bases. A total of ten interviews were conducted in the Moors area. Participants included five males and five females between the ages of 17 and 68. Volunteer roles included countryside volunteer, education volunteer, events volunteer, administration volunteer, and beach clean volunteer.

(iv) *Working holiday volunteers and interns*

As not all National Trust volunteers are attached to a property, the final group of participants were non-property-based working holiday volunteers and leaders, and unpaid interns. Participants were recruited through a range of methods. To recruit the working holiday leaders, a message was sent to all leaders by the working holiday officer (a member of National Trust staff based at the central office) asking for participants. Of the many responses to the message, two were selected based on

geographical location due to practical and cost considerations. Difficulties due to the system used to hold details of working holiday participants meant it was difficult and time consuming for the working holiday officer to access contact details for working holiday volunteers. Two working holiday volunteers were recruited via the working holiday officer and a further two were recruited through my personal contact with people who had been on working holidays. Two of the interviews were carried out in the participants' homes, and two were conducted by telephone due to geographical location. Two interns were recruited through the volunteering and community involvement team and two were recruited directly through my contact with them at central office. Two of the interviews with interns were conducted at the office where their internships were located, one was conducted at the participant's home and one was conducted at a café.

(v) *Staff interviews*

My sampling strategy for staff interviews was again purposive. The purpose behind my choice of participants was to access staff from a range of different levels, positions and roles within the organisation, who have involvement with volunteers in different ways: managing, setting strategy, and supporting staff who manage volunteers.

Where possible, in order to ensure anonymity and that there was no sense of obligation in being involved I approached staff directly, invited them to participate and provided them with full information about the research. This worked where I had previously made contact with the staff members either through my volunteer interviews, or through meetings during the studentship. As the National Trust get a lot of requests to be involved with research, in order to get access to some members of staff, an introduction from the director of volunteering and community involvement was necessary. Where this happened, once the introduction had been made via email, all further contact was between myself and the potential participant directly and it was made clear to the potential participant that the choice to participate (or not) would not be shared with any other National Trust member of staff. Most were interviewed at

their place of work, with the exception of one who was interviewed in his home, and one who was interviewed in a National Trust café.

Ten staff participants were recruited including a trustee, a Council member, two members of head office staff, one former member of head office staff, a volunteering and community involvement consultant, three property managers and a warden. Although the trustee and the Council member are volunteers, they were interviewed to get an organisational perspective on strategy, rather than their personal experience of volunteering so have been included as staff interviews. Some of the individual job titles have been withheld in order to protect anonymity of the individual, and the general title 'property manager' has been adopted instead of other titles which may identify the property and individual.

3.6.2 Interview schedule

The use of an interview guide or schedule, which sets out the topics or questions in sequence but allows for extra questions, or a different order, is recommended by many experts in qualitative interviewing (Rubin and Rubin, 1995; Mason, 2002; Kvale, 2007). Interview schedules which set out the main areas of questions I intended to ask the participants were prepared for volunteer and staff interviews. For the volunteer interviews I attempted to structure the questions to follow a chronological order through their life course, but I allowed each interview to flow naturally in the direction that the participant led. This frequently meant deviating from the planned structure but having the structure in place meant I could return to it to ensure all areas were covered. The interview schedule for the staff interviews was altered to some extent depending on the role of the staff member. See Appendix F for a summary of the volunteer and staff interview schedules.

3.6.3 Recording, transcribing and analysing the data

The interviews were all recorded with the use of a digital voice recorder. Recording interviews rather than taking written notes ensures that important details are not missed, captures the way people speak and the phrases they use and allows for repeated examinations of the data (Kvale, 2007; Bryman, 2008). The interviews were transcribed verbatim by myself. Analysis of the interviews was carried out with use of NVivo 9.

Coding of interviews was initially concept driven using descriptive codes structured into categories in line with the main topics of the interviews. For example reasons for volunteering such as 'to meet people', 'to learn new skills', and 'to be outdoors' were categorised under the general node 'reasons for volunteering'. Similarly benefits of volunteering such as 'enjoyment', 'use skills' and 'exercise' were categorised under the general node of 'benefits of volunteering'. As the research progressed the coding became driven by the data and analytical and theoretical coding structures were introduced (Gibbs, 2007). For example, the node of habitus was brought in to identify reasons for volunteering which were related to social origin and upbringing, and benefits of volunteering were arranged under nodes of economic, social and cultural capital acquired. Throughout the analysis, data from the Volunteer Survey was integrated with the findings from the interviews to increase the validity and generalizability of the findings.

Chapter 4: Volunteering in context: the organisation and the field

As outlined in Chapter 1, a significant limitation of the ‘resource model’ is its lack of recognition of the context of volunteering. Resource theories do not explain why the class, ethnicity, age and gender of volunteers varies between organisations and between fields of volunteering activity. This chapter addresses this limitation by looking in detail at the case of volunteering in the National Trust. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first sets out the justification for my argument that a theory which explains who volunteers, needs to be able to account for the variation in volunteering between organisations. Using the findings from the National Trust Volunteer Survey I compare the profile of National Trust volunteers to the profile of the volunteer population of England and Wales. By showing that National Trust volunteers *do not* reflect the general profile of volunteers in England and Wales I argue that a ‘one-size-fits-all’ explanation for who volunteers is not sufficient. In order to address this, the second and third sections explore explanations for the distinct social profile of National Trust volunteers by analysing the organisational and field context that the volunteering occurs in. The second section focuses on analysing the National Trust to explain why, despite having an inclusive mission, vision and core purpose, the National Trust lacks diversity amongst its volunteers and members, particularly in terms of class and ethnicity. By identifying two conflicts or tensions within the National Trust, I reveal the unconscious, taken for granted beliefs and values in the organisation which contribute to explaining this lack of diversity. I show that the preservation of buildings and objects is more highly valued than enabling access to them, and that business case incentives to increase membership and commercial activities act as a disincentive to increasing diversity. While I argue that this is the case for participation with the National Trust in general, I reflect on the specific impact that these priorities and basic shared values have on who volunteers. In the third section, I show that studying volunteering by field can provide an improved explanation for patterns of volunteering. I highlight that there are broadly similar class, age and

ethnicity patterns among other heritage and conservation volunteers and argue that Bourdieu's concept of field, which recognises that different forms of capital hold different value depending on the field they are operating in, can be applied to explain this.

This chapter emphasises the importance of the context of the organisation and field in explaining who volunteers, the value of the concepts of capital and field in explaining these variations, and the potential this has for extending the 'resource model'. By identifying the types of capital valued both in the National Trust and the fields that the National Trust operates in, this chapter prepares the way for the next two chapters which focus on explaining who volunteers by looking at the volume and composition of capital needed to enable individuals to volunteer for the National Trust.

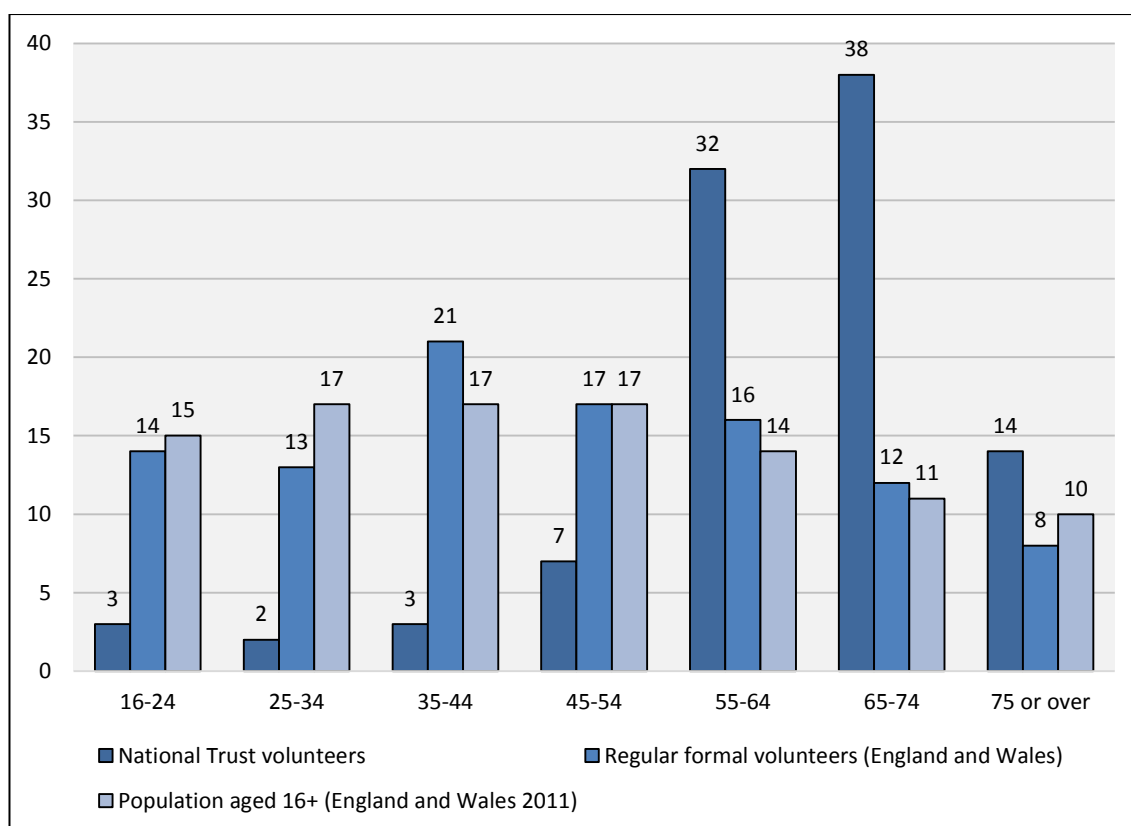
4.1 National Trust volunteers: a distinctive social profile

As was highlighted in Chapter 1, most attempts to explain who volunteers assume that volunteers are a homogeneous group and aim to explain what differentiates a 'volunteer' from a 'non-volunteer'. The 'resource model' seeks to identify the resources or capital required to volunteer in general but does not allow for any explanation of why the profile of volunteers varies between organisations and fields of volunteering activity. A detailed look at the social profile of National Trust volunteers and how they compare to formal volunteers in England and Wales emphasises the importance of acknowledging the context of volunteering. The 2011 National Trust Volunteer Survey responses have been used to compare the characteristics of National Trust volunteers to regular formal volunteers in England and Wales using Citizenship Survey data (Department for Communities and Local Government and Ipsos MORI, 2011), and to the population of England and Wales using 2011 Census data (Nomis, 2013). In making these comparisons between National Trust volunteers and regular formal volunteers in England and Wales, the limitations of the 2011 Volunteer Survey data, as outlined in detail in Chapter 3, should be borne in mind. In particular it should be recognised that employer-supported volunteers and external group volunteers are largely

unrepresented in these figures, and that episodic or casual volunteers, including working holiday volunteers may be under-represented. These figures should therefore be taken primarily as a reflection of the regular house, coast and countryside National Trust volunteers.

National Trust volunteers are older than both the general population, and regular formal volunteers in England and Wales. The majority – 84 per cent – are aged 55 or over. Just three per cent of National Trust volunteers are under 25 and 38 per cent are aged 65 to 74. In comparison 14 per cent of formal volunteers in England and Wales are under 25 and 12 per cent are 65 to 74, and 15 per cent of the population of England and Wales are under 25 and 11 per cent are 65 to 74 (Figure 3). The chart in Figure 3 clearly illustrates that the age profile of National Trust volunteers differs significantly from the age profile of formal volunteers in general.

Figure 3: Age of National Trust volunteers, regular formal volunteers in England and Wales, and the population of England and Wales (%)



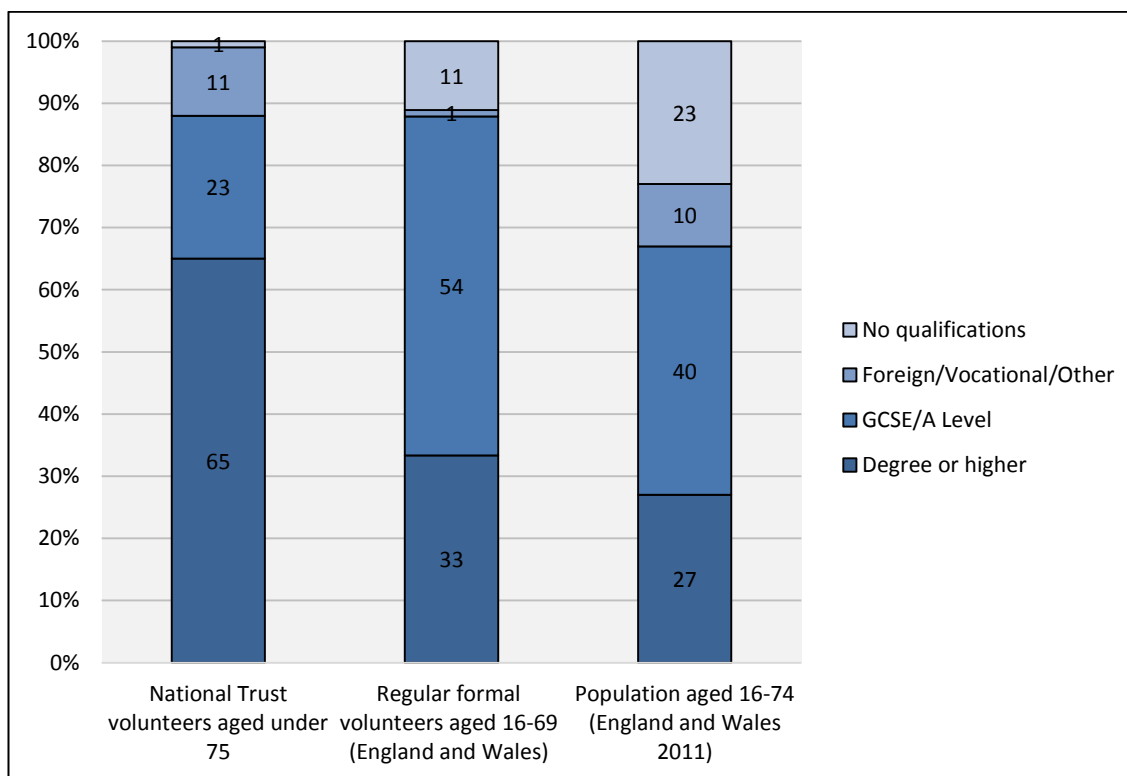
Base: Main Volunteer Survey 2011 (12,259), Citizenship Survey 2009-10 (2,340)

Note: For National Trust volunteers 16-24 group includes under 18 and 18-24 groups

National Trust volunteers are also almost exclusively white. Ninety-nine per cent of National Trust volunteers are white and just one per cent are from all other ethnic groups combined. In comparison 92 per cent of formal volunteers in England and Wales are white and 86 per cent of the general population of England and Wales are white (Appendix G). The ethnicity of National Trust volunteers does not reflect the ethnicity of the formal volunteer population in England and Wales – National Trust volunteers are significantly less likely to be from non-white ethnic groups than formal volunteers in England and Wales.

There are many different ways to define and measure class (Savage, 2000; Atkinson, 2010; Savage et al., 2013), and the debate about this goes beyond the scope of this thesis. The Volunteer Survey did not include a measure of social class or socio-economic status, but measures of level of education, housing tenure and perceived financial status provide a good indicator of class. National Trust volunteers are very highly educated. Sixty-five per cent are educated to degree level or higher. In comparison 33 per cent of formal volunteers in England and Wales and 27 per cent of the general population are educated to degree level or higher. The proportion of National Trust volunteers with no qualifications is also extremely low – just one per cent of National Trust volunteers have no qualifications, compared to 11 per cent of formal volunteers and 23 per cent of the general population (Figure 4).

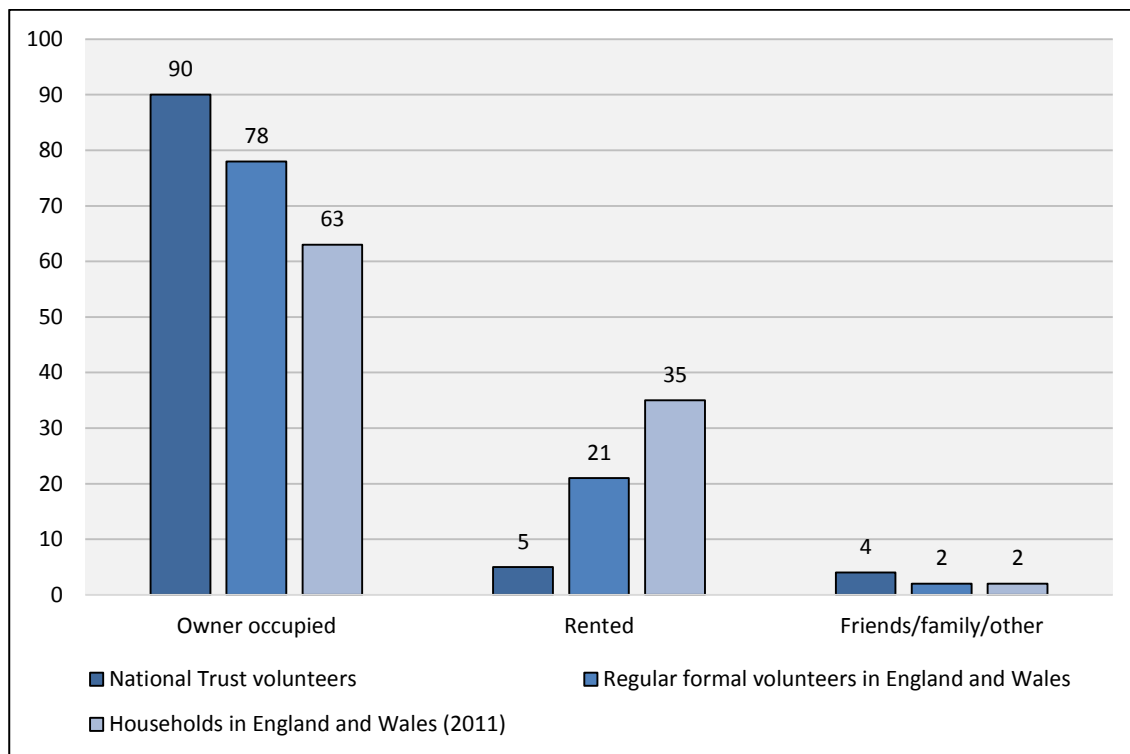
Figure 4: Highest educational level of National Trust volunteers, regular formal volunteers in England and Wales and the population of England and Wales (%)



Base: Supplementary Volunteer Survey 2011 (3,832), Citizenship Survey 2009-10 (1,893)

There are similar patterns in terms of housing tenure among National Trust volunteers, with a high level of home ownership and a very small proportion living in social housing. Ninety per cent of National Trust volunteers own their homes (mortgaged or owned outright), compared to 78 per cent of formal volunteers in England and Wales and 63 per cent of households in the general population (Figure 5). Just one per cent of National Trust volunteers live in social housing compared to 18 per cent of households in England and Wales (Nomis, 2013). While regular formal volunteers in England and Wales are more likely to be highly educated and homeowners compared to the population in general, National Trust volunteers are significantly *more* likely to be highly educated and own their own home.

Figure 5: Housing status of National Trust volunteers compared to volunteers in England and Wales and households in England and Wales (%)



Base: Supplementary Volunteer Survey 2011 (4,334), Citizenship Survey 2009-10 (2,334)

In response to a question about their financial situation, 22 per cent of National Trust volunteers described their financial situation as 'able to afford extras and luxuries' and 42 per cent described their financial situation as 'comfortable'. Just five per cent described their financial situation as 'struggle to make ends meet' and one per cent described their situation as 'financial hardship' (Appendix H). Although this is a subjective measure, taken together with education level and level of home ownership these three variables indicate a largely middle-class profile.

In terms of gender, National Trust volunteers are more likely to be female than male – 62 per cent of National Trust volunteers are female and 38 per cent are male. As was highlighted in Chapter 4, due to the possible under-representation of females among the online respondents, the proportion of females may be greater than this. In comparison 53 per cent of volunteers in England and Wales are female and 47 per cent are male, and 51 per cent of the population are female and 49 per cent are male

(Appendix I). National Trust volunteers are significantly more likely to be female than regular formal volunteers in England and Wales.

The Volunteer Survey appears to suggest that National Trust volunteers are less likely to have a disability than formal volunteers in England and Wales. Six per cent of National Trust volunteers consider themselves to have a disability compared to 16 per cent of formal volunteers in England and Wales. However due to different definitions of disability used, these figures are not directly comparable. The Volunteer Survey uses the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (as amended 2005) definition which defines a person as disabled if they have a physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term (i.e. has lasted or is expected to last at least 12 months) adverse effect on their ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities, and includes people with cancer, HIV, mental illness and learning disabilities. The Citizenship Survey defines disability as a long-standing illness, disability or infirmity. Because of these different definitions, it cannot be concluded that National Trust volunteers differ significantly from the formal volunteer population of England and Wales. While this is a potentially interesting area which warrants further study, for this reason I have not been able to focus on disability in this research.

The profile of National Trust volunteers does not reflect the profile of volunteers in England and Wales. National Trust volunteers are more likely to be older, female, white, educated to degree level or higher, and own their home, than either other formal volunteers in England and Wales, or people in the general population of England and Wales. By comparing the profile of National Trust volunteers to the profile of formal volunteers in England and Wales, this section has highlighted the importance of acknowledging that within the broad group of formal volunteers there can be a great deal of variation in the social profile of volunteers. As it stands, the 'resource model' does not provide an explanation for why the profile of National Trust volunteers differs from the profile of formal volunteers in England and Wales. The remaining sections of this chapter focus on acknowledging the importance of the context that the volunteering occurs in – the field and the organisation – to explain these variations.

4.2 The organisation

This section focuses on analysing the National Trust – exploring what it is about the organisation itself, its history and its culture, which can explain in particular the class and ethnicity of the people who volunteer for it. Firstly, it is important to recognise that this lack of diversity is not only found among volunteers, but also among members of the National Trust. A 2008 survey of National Trust members found that over 99 per cent of National Trust members were white (National Trust, 2009a). A 2009 member survey found that just 11 per cent of members were in the lower National Readership Survey social grades of C2DE (which are usually equated to working-class). This compares to 45 per cent of the UK population (National Trust, 2009b). Although I have not had access to quantitative data which measures the class and ethnicity of paid staff, based on my observations from visits to properties, central office and a large National Trust staff event, there appear to be similar class and ethnicity patterns among paid staff. Overall, there is a considerable lack of diversity in terms of the class and ethnicity of volunteers, members and, it would appear, at least certain sections of the paid staff workforce. It is clear that explaining who volunteers cannot be separated from understanding who participates with the National Trust more widely.

An examination of the espoused aims of the National Trust appears to provide little explanation for this lack of diversity. The core purpose of the National Trust is to protect historic buildings and open spaces in England, Wales and Northern Ireland for the benefit of the nation. This is also reflected in the mission of the National Trust “for ever, for everyone”:

“We look after special places throughout England, Wales and Northern Ireland *for ever, for everyone*. We do it, in the words of Octavia Hill, one of our founders, 115 years ago, ‘*for the everlasting delight of the people*’ – rich and poor, city and country dweller, young and old.” (National Trust, 2010c, front cover, original emphasis)

The core purpose and the mission make it clear that the purpose of the National Trust is not only to preserve buildings and spaces but to do so for the benefit of *everyone* in the nation to enjoy. While the core purpose and mission reflect the long-term purpose of the organisation, the current aims are reflected in the strategy and vision. The strategy that the National Trust has been working towards through the period of the fieldwork is referred to as the 'Going Local' strategy. This includes the aim of 'going local' externally by connecting with local communities, and internally by delegating more to properties. The vision, part of the 'Going Local' strategy, emphasises the importance of being "for everyone":

"We have set ourselves an ambitious vision that *by 2020 everyone will feel like a member of the National Trust and that five million people will be*. After all, we look after special places for ever, for everyone – it's just that not everyone knows it yet..." (National Trust, 2010c, p40, emphasis added)

The mission is "forever, for *everyone*", the core purpose is "for the benefit of the nation", the vision is that "*everyone* will feel like a member" and the 'Going Local' strategy stresses the importance of engaging with communities. There is an apparent disparity between these inclusive aims, and the exclusive profile of members and volunteers.

Schein suggests that organisational culture can be studied at three levels. Firstly, the artefacts of an organisation – the structures, processes and observed behaviours; secondly, the espoused beliefs, values, goals and ideologies; and thirdly, the basic underlying assumptions of an organisation – unconscious, taken for granted beliefs and values (Schein, 2010). Schein highlights that as organisations mature, it is not unusual for espoused values to get out of line with observed behaviour, resulting in a situation where the espoused values reflect the ideology and desired behaviour of an organisation, but are not reflected in observed behaviour. To understand an organisation's culture, the key is to understand the organisation's shared basic

assumptions (Schein, 2010, p32). In this section I seek to identify the unconscious, taken for granted beliefs and values of the National Trust in order to explain the difference between the espoused inclusive aims and the observed lack of diversity of volunteers and members.

4.2.1 Two key organisational conflicts

I identify two key internal conflicts or tensions which reveal the values of the organisation and are important in shaping who is involved in the National Trust. Firstly, throughout the life of the organisation there has been an internal conflict over which is the more important element of its mission – the preservation of buildings or space *for ever*, or enabling *everyone* to have access to them. Secondly, there is a tension between the business case incentives for financial survival and the aim of diversity and inclusion. These conflicts or tensions reveal some of the unconscious taken for granted beliefs and values of the National Trust, and help to explain the profile of National Trust volunteers.

4.2.1.1 Preservation versus access: for ever or for everyone?

The tension within the National Trust over whether the *preservation* of buildings and places for ever, or the provision of *access* to them for everyone is one which has existed since the very start of the organisation. At different stages, key people in the organisation have favoured the preservation of property, land and of the way things used to be, while at other times the emphasis has been on access, opening up buildings and countryside to the public, for the benefit of the nation. In order to understand the importance of this tension I provide a brief history of the debate and how emphasis has changed over time, and then consider where the priority currently lies in terms of a commitment to access or preservation.

The history of the preservation versus access debate

The National Trust was founded in 1895 with the purpose of protecting historic buildings and open spaces in England, Wales and Northern Ireland for the benefit of the nation. It was founded by Octavia Hill, Robert Hunter and Hardwicke Rawnsley. Octavia Hill, born in 1838, was a housing reformer who, with the financial support of John Ruskin, embarked on schemes to renovate and improve the housing conditions of the urban poor. She became involved in the 'open space movement' – a movement dedicated to securing open spaces for the enjoyment of the general public – through her conviction that access to the countryside was essential to the well-being of people living and working in urban and industrial environments (Murphy, 2002). Octavia Hill came into contact with Robert Hunter and Hardwicke Rawnsley through their involvement with the 'open space movement'. The founders' intentions were "to improve the quality of life for people living in cities, and to satisfy the common human need for fresh air and open space." (Murphy, 2002, p125). Although the preservation of buildings was included from the start of the organisation in 1895, the priority of the founders was in securing open spaces for the benefit of the nation, and Octavia Hill's concern in particular was with securing access to open spaces for the urban working-classes (Murphy, 2002).

It was not long before these priorities were challenged by those within the organisation who were more concerned about the preservation of spaces and buildings, rather than in securing access to them. It has been written of the election of John Bailey as chairman in 1923:

"He was responsible for firmly stating the cardinal principle always implicit in the Trust's work, that preservation is its first task and must always take precedence over public access. 'Preservation', he said, 'may always permit of access, while without preservation access becomes forever impossible.'"
(Fedden, 1974, p33)

This represents a clear departure from the key concerns of the founders. The focus on preservation was entrenched further in the 1930s, when there was a change in

emphasis in the National Trust's activities from the acquisition of open spaces and buildings of historical interest, to the acquisition of country houses. Under the Country House Scheme introduced in 1937, owners of country houses unable to afford inheritance taxes or the upkeep of their properties, could donate their properties to the National Trust in return for the right to continue living in the properties as tenants (Fedden, 1974; Jenkins and James, 1994; Waterson, 1997). This led to a large and rapid increase in the acquisition of such houses over the next few decades and changed the focus from being on the preservation of open spaces to the preservation of country houses. It has been suggested that "as a result of the Country House Scheme the National Trust changed from being a charity focused on 'the people' to one that was focused on its properties instead" (Weideger, 1994, p68). The period marked a move away from the founders' priorities:

"The earlier concerns which had animated the leading lights of the Trust – the well-being of the working-classes, or the nation as a whole – were not shared by this new generation of patrician zealots and country-house addicts."
(Cannadine, 1995, p22).

This period not only defined the National Trust as an organisation which was more interested in preservation than access, but also as an organisation which was particularly concerned with the preservation of the buildings and objects of legitimate, highbrow cultural taste, the interests of the aristocracy, and the history of the landed upper-classes.

A challenge to the focus on preservation and the association with country houses came about with the Enterprise Neptune scheme, launched in 1965, which aimed to raise money to acquire and preserve large areas of coast (Gaze, 1988; Jenkins and James, 1994; Weideger, 1994; Waterson, 1997). The appeal director of the project, Conrad Rawnsley, grandson of founder Hardwicke Rawnsley, was opposed to the Country House Scheme. He believed that the National Trust should be about the countryside and coast, not about country houses, and was more interested in widening access than

preserving buildings (Jenkins and James, 1994; Weideger, 1994). It is reported that there was a divide in the National Trust at this time between the country houses supporters led by Fedden, secretary of the Historic Buildings Committee, and the Enterprise Neptune supporters led by Rawnsley (Weideger, 1994). Rawnsley grew more critical of the way the National Trust was run, until in 1966, he was given six months' notice to leave (Gaze, 1988; Jenkins and James, 1994; Waterson, 1997). In response, Rawnsley was openly critical of the National Trust at a press conference, which led to immediate termination of his employment. His criticisms were that the Trust was undemocratic, incompetent, and was run on the 'old boys' network'. In the press conference he challenged "Where are the working-class members of the Trust, and the youth? – they don't exist." (Conrad Rawnsley, 1966, cited in Jenkins and James, 1994, p229).

The preservation versus access debate continues. In a book written in the mid-1990s to commemorate one hundred years of the National Trust, opinion of the contributors is divided. Lowe, a Professor of Rural Economy, criticising the National Trust for the lack of interest in protecting open spaces near urban areas, and lack of accessibility to those without cars, suggests that this is out of keeping with the Trust's founders who were committed to improving access to the countryside for disadvantaged urban groups (Lowe, 1995). Newby agrees; "the Trust was created by people for people to benefit from and *not* to protect property *for its own sake*. The founders were quite clear that protection was to be a means, not an end." (Newby, 1995, p162, original emphasis). Cadogan (1995) an archaeologist and writer, on the other hand, is clear that preservation must come first, otherwise there is nothing to access.

A commitment to access?

The last few decades have seen the National Trust attempt to become more accessible in several ways: making properties more widely accessible and approachable, running projects and initiatives to engage excluded groups and acknowledging the exclusive image of the National Trust. There has been an emphasis on reaching wider visitor audiences through education since the 1980s (Jenkins and James, 1994; Waterson, 1997). More recently the 'Bringing places to life' strategy has aimed to make properties more accessible and inviting by removing ropes and 'do not touch' signs, encouraging interaction such as allowing visitors to play the piano or read books, adding smells and sounds, and presenting properties as 'lived-in' (National Trust, 2010b; National Trust, 2011a). In property acquisitions there has been a move away from a focus on the country houses of the aristocracy to reflect a more diverse type of buildings and a more diverse heritage, for example John Lennon's childhood home and the workhouse in Southwell. The National Trust has also sought to address the elitism and over-representation of members of the aristocracy of people in key positions in the organisation. In 1986 Jennifer Jenkins, who came from a Fabian background, was the first woman to be appointed as chair (Gaze, 1988). She was the first chair since Robert Hunter (one of the founders) who was neither from a land-owning family nor country bred (Jenkins and James, 1994). In 2001, Fiona Reynolds who had previously been director of the Women's Unit in the Cabinet Office – a unit with a remit of tackling inequality – was appointed as director-general.

In recent years there have been numerous projects, both internally and externally funded, which have focused on engaging excluded groups. In the last few years the National Trust has run two substantial projects to engage Black and ethnic minority communities – 'Whose Story?' in the Midlands and 'London Voices' in London. The National Trust was part of the Future Jobs Fund providing jobs for unemployed people, and has run a 'Green Academies Project' which aimed to get unemployed 16 to 24 year olds involved in outdoor conservation work. The '#NTCities Programme' – part of the National Trust Urban Programme which aims to engage urban audiences –

is currently working in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, South East Wales, Bournemouth, Newcastle and Sheffield to engage more people who live in cities as supporters, visitors or members (National Trust, 2011b; National Trust, 2013d). Conducting my fieldwork I came across many examples of individual properties having local partnership arrangements with voluntary sector organisations working with people with learning disabilities, mental health problems, ex-offenders and people with addictions.

The National Trust has publicly acknowledged its exclusivity and recognised that this is seen as a problem. In a document setting out the strategy for the next ten years it states:

“We were founded more than a century ago for the benefit of the nation. That means the whole nation, including those who still feel that the National Trust is for some reason ‘not for people like us’. We must challenge the perception that we are some sort of exclusive club for connoisseurs.” (National Trust, 2010b, p5)

The last two director-generals have stressed the importance of inclusion as they have taken up their positions. In an interview on her appointment as director general in 2001, Fiona Reynolds highlighted:

“There's a big debate about social inclusion and the fact that the trust, I'll be honest, can be seen as an organisation that's middle-class and slightly remote. What we're moving towards is a more human and more personal explanation of the importance of our heritage.” (Fiona Reynolds quoted in McCarthy, 2001)

When the current director-general Helen Ghosh was asked how the National Trust can appeal to a more diverse cross-section of society (age, ethnicity, socio-economic background) she responded:

“I feel very strongly about this. The trust looks after special places for everyone, and that really must mean everyone. We start from a good place... But we need to work harder on our image as an organisation for everyone.”
(National Trust, 2013c, p14)

It is clear from these examples that debates around access, apparent exclusivity and lack of inclusion and being ‘for everyone’ are ongoing. There are initiatives and strategies in place which aim to improve access and there are individuals involved in the organisation at property level and head office with a passion for community engagement and inclusion. However, despite this apparent commitment to accessibility and efforts to engage different audiences the National Trust remains exclusive in terms of the class and ethnicity of its volunteers and members.

A culture of preservation over access

This persistent lack of diversity can be explained in part by recognising that while a commitment to access is important to some people, particular properties, and certain teams within the organisation, it is not part of the organisational culture to the same extent that preservation is. A commitment to access is not part of the unconscious taken for granted beliefs and values in the same way that preservation is. This is evident firstly, in the way that access is seen as a threat to preservation (which remains the priority for many in the organisation), and secondly in the way that initiatives and actions to increase diversity are not integrated with the main business of the National Trust.

Despite changes to make properties more accessible – a focus on free to access countryside areas, more diverse acquisitions and projects to engage excluded groups and urban audiences – an important element of the National Trust’s work today is still about the preservation and acquisition of objects of high cultural value in the form of buildings, furniture, art and artefacts. Despite what the mission, vision, strategy,

publicly available information and director-generals state, there is an influential presence within the organisation of those whose priority will always be the preservation of buildings and objects, over access to them. Sam has held a number of paid staff positions for the National Trust over the last decade and is currently in a management-level role, based at the central office. While he talked about his personal commitment to diversity and inclusion, he comments about some of his colleagues:

“You know, there are still some people, not as many as there were ten years ago, but still some people who would just like to close the doors and not let anyone in.”
Sam, central office

Some people are attracted to work for, and be involved with, the National Trust primarily because of their passion for preservation – their interest in the buildings, antiques, artefacts and art in the properties – rather than their passion for sharing these with other people.

It is evident from the views of volunteers, paid staff and external commentators that there is a concern that greater access is a threat to preservation – that it ruins buildings, countryside, and what many believe the National Trust is primarily about. Edith, aged 85, has been volunteering as a room guide at Norwood House for 22 years. As well as giving her something to do when her mother died, part of her reason for volunteering was because of her love of the art, books and furniture in the house. Edith is concerned that the drive to become more accessible comes at a cost of damage to the furniture that she has a passionate interest in:

“There’s some beautiful furniture in Norwood. Some of it is being removed because of the theme that’s going through the house, which I think is a great shame. But chewing gum was stuck on the library steps, and children were moving the things and picking them up, and touching some of the furniture. And of course on one of the pieces of furniture a little bit of the corner has come off.” Edith, 85, room guide, Norwood House

The concern about increasing accessibility is not only about the impact on built properties and items, but also about the effect on the countryside. Ellie, a paid warden, works for the National Trust because of her love of being in the countryside. She worries about the impact of introducing new people to the countryside:

"I think there's a real worry of trying to go and approach a lot of people say from the centre of London or something to come out to the countryside... you know you've got to engage with them on a whole new level, you've got to show them how to get round... Because that's one of the things I appreciate, part of the beauty of the countryside, I can go and get lost and I like that... There's all the disneyfication that's supposed to be going on at houses – how much of that is going to affect what we do in the countryside? To try and approach that kind of group of persons how, how simplified and how much tarmacking of paths do we need to do?" Ellie, warden

Edith and Ellie are concerned about the impact of increasing access on the things they have a passionate interest in which they believe need to be preserved. The emphasis on preservation does not only come from within the National Trust, but also external expectations of what the National Trust should be prioritising. When the National Trust attempted to become accessible to a wider audience by removing ropes and 'do not touch' signs, the chairman, Simon Jenkins, received criticism from those who believe that the National Trust should primarily be about preservation. John Goodall, architectural critic for Country Life magazine wrote:

"Simon's approach to try to make buildings cuddly and accessible is problematic... The objects in them need to be properly looked after. There should be no short cuts" (John Goodall quoted in Adams, 2010).

The concern that people have with increased accessibility is not only about the physical damage that may be caused, but also the cultural damage. To increase appeal to a

wider audience, the National Trust has made attempts to depart from appealing to those with legitimate or highbrow tastes only, to appeal to those with more popular tastes. Staff, volunteers and cultural critics do not talk in terms of legitimate, highbrow, lowbrow or popular tastes – but they do talk about their fear of ‘disneyfication’. As illustrated in Ellie’s comment above, the term is used easily within the organisation to describe efforts to make things more interactive and to appeal to children. Simon Bayley, design critic and cultural commentator, commenting on the National Trust’s efforts to ‘bring properties to life’ in The Independent wrote:

“And now its chairman, Sir Simon Jenkins, wants to wreck it with a sort of cretinised vulgarity that would bring Walt Disney into disrepute.” (Bayley, 2010).

Sean, who has volunteered as an estate volunteer in Norwood House for over five years, voices similar concerns:

“Well there are things I have fundamental issue about - conservation versus access - and I’m very much in conservation rather than access. I do believe the National Trust is becoming a bit like a glorified Walt Disney.” Sean, 63, estate volunteer, Norwood House

The brand Disney is associated with families, popular tastes and America – not older people, legitimate tastes and Britishness, that the National Trust is traditionally associated with. As cultural possessions or practices become more popular, their power declines (Bourdieu, 1984, p227). When the National Trust is considered to have departed too far from the legitimate tastes it has traditionally represented, people become critical. In their remarks, by accusing the National Trust of ‘disneyfication’, these volunteers, paid staff and external critics are highlighting their discomfort with the organisation for aligning itself with popular cultural tastes rather than the legitimate cultural tastes it (and they) have traditionally and historically been associated with. There remains in the National Trust a strong culture based around preservation, and greater access can be seen as a threat to this.

My argument that access is not part of the culture of the organisation is evidenced secondly in the way that attempts to engage different audiences tend to be in the form of projects and initiatives which are kept distinct and separate from the main business of the National Trust. The consensus among some of the paid staff that I interviewed is that while some of the projects have been successful in themselves, the National Trust has failed to integrate the successes into the wider organisation. Robert has been a member of the National Trust Council for several years, has served on various National Trust committees and advisory boards, and has also been a National Trust volunteer himself. He talks about his disappointment with the outcome of one of the initiatives to engage local, particularly Black and ethnic minority communities:

“That’s been a huge disappointment, as far as I – I’m speaking personally. The Trust will probably tell you differently. But it got great tranches of funding to kick it off, put huge effort into getting Black and minority ethnic groups involved... they tended to be sub-projects then within the property... It really didn’t integrate...” Robert, Council member

Robert’s comment was confirmed in what I found in my fieldwork in one of the sites that this project had operated in. Staff and volunteers who told me about this project felt it was successful in involving different people while it lasted, but that it had not had an impact on the general visitor or volunteer profile. An evaluation of the ‘London Voices’ project, which included three years of intense work with local families, reported some great successes in breaking down barriers and engaging families who would not usually participate with the National Trust, but highlighted that a threat to continuation of the work was “How developing new audiences through the project is recognised and valued by The National Trust as a whole.” (Mayo, 2009, p62). Confirming these observations, Sam suggests that accessibility has not become part of the culture of the organisation:

“We’ve had some really successful ring-fenced initiatives, and we’ve not learnt as an organisation from those... it’s never mainstream and core... there is still a culture,

what's the word I want really? Yeah it's the institutionalised bit actually, there are fundamental things we need to change in the organisation to make us more accessible without it being an initiative." Sam, central office

Rather than being part of the culture of the whole organisation, or ingrained in it, the drive for inclusion seems to come from passionate and dedicated individuals. Dianne, a former member of National Trust paid staff who worked for the National Trust for many years, was responsible for instigating a lot of the community involvement work over several decades, and was committed to try and diversify both the volunteer workforce and the National Trust in general:

"I always had this feeling that the Trust was rather an exclusive animal and I'd like to sort of make it more inclusive and reach out to other people, and you know gradually, I suppose that must have been my ethic right the way through. But I think it's just the way I was, the way I'd evolved myself at being – to do community work" Dianne, former member of staff

Leah, a relatively new member of National Trust paid staff, works as a volunteering and community involvement consultant providing support to many properties within her regional area. She observed that where there is interesting community engagement work happening, or where partnerships are formed with organisations that work with excluded groups, it is usually initiated by individuals with a personal passion or interest for this kind of work, rather than as a result of organisational strategy. Of a volunteer who set up a gardening scheme with Mencap, Leah comments "[she] *used to work with adults I think with disabilities, so it's in her heart*", and about a head gardener who set up community garden projects "*That was his passion, so I would say it's come from him*".

What is also apparent is that while there are projects and initiatives to engage particularly disadvantaged or socially excluded groups, there is little being done to engage the very large section of the working-class who are not participating with the

National Trust. The question that Conrad Rawnsley asked in the 1960s “Where are the working-class members of the Trust?” could still be asked today. Efforts to increase access are often targeted at involving specific disadvantaged groups, not at encouraging the visiting and membership of the working-classes. While the National Trust has run some projects aimed at engaging Black and ethnic minorities, through the period of my research I did not come across projects or initiatives which target those in lower socio-economic groups. The ‘#NTCities Programme’ referred to above has three main target audiences: “25-40 year old culture vultures”, “suburban families” and “black and ethnic minority audiences” (National Trust, 2013d, p3). The term ‘culture vultures’ suggests it refers to those who already have an interest in culture, and the term ‘suburban’ is usually used to refer to relatively affluent homeowners living on the edge of cities, as opposed to urban inner city families. A paper setting out plans for the Urban Programme, identifies that the people they are aiming to reach are those who are in geographical “reach” and those who “fit” – “people that currently feel close to the Trust and are similar to our core visitor and member profile” (National Trust, 2011c, p5). The recent drive for accessibility in the organisation more widely has been about removing ropes and ‘do not touch’ signs, and getting children involved in the outdoors (such as 50 things to do before you are 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ (National Trust, 2014a)). Unless specifically targeted otherwise, these campaigns are likely to encourage participation of the younger members of the families who are already involved with the National Trust rather than attracting a new audience. The current focus on access does not appear to be directed at the urban working-classes that Octavia Hill was concerned about.

Clara, who is a paid member of staff who has worked in various roles at the central office over the past nine years, reflects on why some of the efforts made to increase access and diversity have had little effect. She suggests, as the evidence above indicates, that access has not been prioritised at a high enough level in the organisation to have an impact:

“The exec team are saying well that’s happening already, people are doing that. Well no, the stuff is there in place but people aren’t doing it consistently to make a change in the organisation... because it’s not actually being talked about at higher level to say this is important for the organisation we must do it. It’s an optional thing.” Clara, central office

Rather than being a central priority, efforts to increase diversity tend to be instigated by individuals or properties, kept to distinct and separate initiatives, or targeted at particular excluded groups in certain geographical locations. As such, access is not part of the organisational culture or the main business of the National Trust to the extent that preservation is.

This overview has highlighted the long standing and continuing tension within the organisation between the competing priorities of access and preservation. For many decades the organisation has focused on the preservation of buildings, land, artefacts, art and antiques. Although a commitment to access and being ‘for everyone’ is part of the core purpose and mission of the National Trust there are people involved in the organisation who believe that greater accessibility threatens what they see as the primary concern of the organisation – the preservation of buildings, artefacts and legitimate cultural tastes. While there are some genuine and well-meaning intentions, passionate and dedicated individuals and innovative projects, diversity and inclusion have not been prioritised enough to bring about a cultural change. Actions to increase the diversity of the organisation have not been integrated to become part of the culture of the National Trust. While values around access and diversity are important, they are neither unconscious nor taken for granted.

4.2.1.2 Business case versus diversity

The second tension identified within the National Trust, which reveals more about the organisational culture and values, is the tension between the business case need for financial survival and security, and the aim of increasing access and becoming more diverse. Campbell and Tawadey suggest that there are two reasons for doing

something in an organisation – a moral or value based reason, or a strategic or commercial reason (Campbell and Tawadey, 1992). The National Trust is a huge organisation, which needs to generate vast sums of money to cover the upkeep and restoration of properties in order to fulfil the core purpose by keeping them open for the public to enjoy. Income from membership and built properties is needed to finance the work carried out in the coast and countryside areas which generate very little of their own income. Contrary to the image many people have of the National Trust as a very wealthy organisation, it became clear during the fieldwork that each individual property operates on a tight budget, constantly working hard to fundraise and cover the costs of maintaining the properties and keeping them open. The National Trust is a registered charity, independent of government, and relies on membership fees, donations, legacies, grant funding and income from its commercial operations (National Trust, 2014b). In 2011-12 the total income for the organisation was £435.9 million. The three largest sources of income were £129.6 million from membership, £56.6 million from enterprises and £44.8 million from catering (National Trust, 2012a). The need to generate income and to survive financially has consequences – often unintended – for the diversity of those participating with the National Trust.

Membership

The emphasis on increasing membership numbers is part of the vision that “by 2020 everyone will feel like a member of the National Trust and that five million people will be” (National Trust, 2010c). Properties have targets for recruitment, and paid staff are often employed to do this role. Although increased membership from 2 million in 1990 to 4 million in 2011 (National Trust, 2014d) indicates increased access in terms of numbers who participate, as illustrated above, there is no indication that this is leading to increased diversity. Indeed it seems that the drive for increased membership, driven by a need to generate income, is working in conflict with the aim of increasing diversity. Ruth, who volunteers as a tour guide at The Cottages, feels particularly strongly about the importance of preserving the property for the local people. She

explains her concern that a focus on membership means that certain groups are not targeted by the organisation:

“You’ve got all this targeting of trying to increase the number of people you get into... National Trust membership. All properties have these targets don’t they? Well, people who I think we should be targeting are people who there’s no way they’ll be National Trust members... it’s something that a lower income family wouldn’t entertain! And so therefore you’re immediately not targeting those people.” Ruth, 59, tour guide, The Cottages

Ruth’s view that the cost of membership is a barrier to lower income families is confirmed by the evaluation of the ‘London Voices’ project, which highlighted that a low cost membership option is needed to encourage the participation of families that would not usually engage with the National Trust (Mayo, 2009). According to Sam, while other sections of the organisation such as the volunteering and community involvement team may be interested in engaging new audiences, the membership team in the organisation do not see a need to diversify:

“There is a feeling between membership people that you don’t need to worry about investing in other audiences, people will come to us. So there’s people in different socio-economic classes out there, as they change class they will come into our radar as such rather than us having to be proactive and go out there.” Sam, central office

The indicators used to measure achievement in the organisation suggest that the membership target of the vision (that 5 million people will be members) has priority over the aim of everyone feeling like a member. While there is a key performance indicator target for increasing the number of members, there is not a target to measure who they are reaching, or who feels included in the organisation, even though the

mechanisms exist to measure these⁹. As Leah summarises, there is little business incentive to address the ‘everyone feels like a member’ part of the vision:

“When you do think ‘everyone feels like a member’ stuff... if I was on it, I would be thinking oh God we’ve got all these amazing grounds... thinking of young people in the middle of the city, how amazing would that be to get them to come out and enjoy it? But I wouldn’t make any money, I wouldn’t be able to keep all the buildings going because I’d be offering it for free” Leah, volunteering and community involvement consultant

Ruth and Leah, who both talk about their personal commitment to inclusion, identify a conflict that they experience in their work between the need to generate income through membership and what they would like to be doing in terms of achieving the aim of being for everyone and reaching different groups.

Commercial enterprises

Although the right to build cafes and sell refreshments in National Trust properties was included in the 1907 National Trust Act (Weideger, 1994), it was much later that commercial enterprises became a significant income strategy for the National Trust. In 1973 National Trust Enterprises Plc was created as a separate professionally operated business whose profits go to the National Trust, signifying a move towards greater commercialisation (Gaze, 1988). Commercial enterprises in the form of gift shops, cafes, hotels, and holidays have continued to grow, and have become a significant source of income for the National Trust. In 2011-12 the National Trust received £56.6 million from enterprises, £44.8 million from catering, £8.4 million from holiday cottages, and £7.9 million from hotel income. To put this into context this compares to £19.8 million from admission entrance fees (excluding membership fees) (National Trust, 2012a). Business principles, targets, competition and income generation are influential factors in shaping the strategic aims and behaviours throughout the organisation. The

⁹ The National Trust conducts a visitor survey, a member survey and a survey which tracks the perceptions of the organisation

message from the chairman in the 2011-12 Annual Report states: “The task next year is to remain a popular destination in a competitive market. It means more exhibitions and events and better catering and shops.” (National Trust, 2012a). Dianne, reflecting on the work she and other colleagues had done around inclusion and diversity talked about how she felt the drive for diversity was losing momentum as the organisation became more customer services and sales orientated:

“Customer services was being driven by getting more visitors into the properties and getting more people having teas and everything else, more people recruiting into membership - so it was seen as a sales offer and I just, I just always felt that [diversity] wasn’t being championed in quite the same way as it had been...” Dianne, former member of staff

There is a concern that prioritising membership recruitment and sales diverts the focus away from prioritising diversity. Colin has been a trustee for the National Trust for a year and a half and had previously been a member of the Council. As a trustee, Colin has a responsibility for agreeing organisational plans and for holding staff to account for their delivery. Discussing the tension between “for ever” and “for everyone” Colin confirms where the organisation’s priorities lie:

“There is a tension because that sort of activity is only possible if actually the business is going ok... at the moment the business is going ok so, certainly as far as the trustees are concerned, people can try and engage with these particular pockets I suppose, disadvantaged people, in one way or another. If you can help them, that’s part of the ‘for everyone’ bit. No question about it... we can afford to do this at the moment so we’ll do it. And if the recession you know ... is reflected in our financial performance, then we may have to begin to prioritise, at some point” Colin, trustee

The National Trust is reliant on membership fees, and on visitors and members spending money when they visit, for its financial survival and to carry out the work that it does. Current National Trust supporters are from sections of society who can

most afford the membership fees and to spend money when they visit. There is little incentive from a business perspective to engage those who are least likely to be able to financially support the organisation. Furthermore, there is the potential that engaging new audiences would deter current supporters, as Roger, a volunteer, rather bluntly puts it when discussing the class profile of visitors:

“If you’re gonna be cold and say what you mean, would your huge nucleus of people who basically keep the National Trust going, would they be happy with people running around, screaming, swearing, they wouldn’t would they?” Roger, 62, buggy driver, Norwood House

As a volunteer for two years but a member and regular visitor for over 30 years, Roger is speaking as part of the nucleus of people who keep the National Trust going. The financial disincentive to attract new audiences has the effect of perpetuating the existing class patterns of membership and is a barrier to achieving the aim of being ‘for everyone’.

These types of tension are not unique to the National Trust. The terms ‘mission displacement’ and ‘mission drift’ have been used to describe the consequences of the conflict between non-profit organisations’ mission and the commercial activity needed to survive financially (Minkoff and Powell, 2006; Tuckman and Chang, 2006).

‘Excessive professionalism’ – when an organisation becomes preoccupied with being run as a business, to the neglect of some of its original values, is an identified weakness or drawback of voluntary sector organisations (Salamon, 1987; Salamon et al., 2000; Kendall, 2003). Commercial enterprises, business principles, targets and income generation are influential in defining the strategy and behaviour of the organisation. The quotes referred to above demonstrate that there are certain teams such as the volunteering and community involvement team, and individual members of staff and volunteers who are concerned about the consequences of the emphasis on income generation and business principles in terms of fulfilling the mission. However, the

limited business incentive to attract audiences with the biggest barriers is impacting on the priorities in the organisation.

The two tensions of preservation versus access, and business case versus diversity, reveal that a commitment to access and inclusion are not a significant enough part of the culture of the organisation to lead to greater diversity.

4.2.2 National Trust as a field

As was outlined in Chapter 2, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field can be used to analyse organisations by studying them as fields themselves (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Emirbayer and Johnson suggest that to analyse the organisation "as a field" researchers need to determine the structure of the field – the history of the organisation needs to be examined, and in particular the dominant forms of capital within the organisation need to be identified (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008, p25). One way of understanding the tensions that I have identified in the National Trust is to recognise that they are conflicts over the capital at stake in the organisation. The lack of diversity in the National Trust can be understood as the result of contestation over the dominant form of capital. For many decades the organisation has focused on the preservation of objectified cultural capital – buildings, land, artefacts, art and antiques – and telling the stories of those with legitimate or highbrow cultural tastes. The dominance of values associated with cultural capital has meant that measures to increase the diversity of the organisation have not been integrated to become part of the culture of the National Trust. Economic capital has an influential role in defining the activities and priorities in the organisation, and this works against the aim of increasing access. The dominance of commercially focused values associated with economic capital are at conflict with the aim of increasing diversity, as there is little financial incentive to reach different audiences. Past and current priorities and strategies have been defined by values associated with cultural capital and economic capital and, as such, strategies based on social values associated with community integration, inclusion and diversity are not given priority within the organisation.

4.2.3 Impact on who volunteers

Although in this section so far I have been referring to diversity in the National Trust in general, the tensions and conflicts I have described in many cases have a particular impact on who volunteers, as well as who participates in general. I highlighted above that projects to engage excluded groups have tended to be kept as separate initiatives and have not been integrated with the main business of the organisation. While some of these initiatives are aimed at various forms of participation, they often have a specific focus on volunteering. One of the projects to engage Black and ethnic minority communities referred to, had a particular aim of engaging volunteers from Black and ethnic minority groups. However, as with the events to engage with the community in general, it seems that the volunteers involved in these projects were not integrated with existing volunteers:

“They were a group of volunteers who met all together – they didn’t merge in with the rest” Robert, Council member

This was not because of any resistance by either the individuals on these projects, or the regular volunteers, but because of the way the projects were set up as separate initiatives. Most National Trust volunteers, referred to by the National Trust as regular volunteers, are based at a particular property or site, make a regular commitment, and carry out a structured volunteer role. The people who volunteer through different partnerships and arrangements that various properties have with external organisations are referred to as external group volunteers. External group volunteers tend to be part of another organisation, volunteer together, as a group, and often come with someone from their own organisation who supervises them. The 2009-10 volunteer count showed that almost half of all volunteers are regular volunteers, and just over a quarter of volunteers volunteer through an external group (Appendix D). External group volunteers are not necessarily only from socially excluded groups – some are for example local conservation groups – but many external groups are from organisations who work with ex-offenders, people with mental health problems,

people with learning disabilities or young people. These groups tend to volunteer together, and do not necessarily come into contact with the regular volunteers, indeed this is one reason why these volunteers are not represented in the Volunteer Survey. Robert, who has volunteered himself, as well as being on the Council observes this lack of integration when properties work with external groups:

"Individual properties will start off having rehabilitation from young offenders' institutes or something, and again they keep them separate in their work... And I agree there are huge difficulties of integrating them, but unless you do so you're not going to achieve your long term goals. Very frustrating." Robert, Council member

I observed an example of what Robert refers to during my fieldwork in Norwood House. On a bus journey there for some interviews I met a man who was on his way from his supported accommodation for people with learning disabilities, to volunteer in the gardens. When I enquired about this arrangement at the property, the volunteer co-ordinator was unaware of it. The volunteer co-ordinator role is a voluntary position with a clearly defined role around recruiting and placing the regular volunteers. The fact that she was not aware of the partnership highlights how at Norwood House the volunteers who volunteer through external groups are not integrated with regular National Trust volunteers. Based on observations from my fieldwork sites, visits to other properties during the research period, and my interview with Leah, the volunteering and community involvement consultant who oversees a regional area, it seems that this way of organising external group volunteers is common. The tendency to focus efforts to increase access on initiatives and pockets of socially excluded groups, and then not integrate them into the usual business of the organisation directly affects who volunteers and how particular volunteers participate with the organisation.

The current volunteering strategy reflects some of the observations made above, about who the National Trust is, and is not, trying to engage with or become accessible to. The volunteering strategy, developed in 2011 and referred to as the 'Vision for 2020' states that:

“By 2020 we will be an organisation that:

- Involves volunteers in every aspect of our work
- Makes sure that all our staff are confident and able to work alongside volunteers” (National Trust, 2012e)

The three main areas of work involved in achieving the ‘Vision for 2020’ are set out as:

1. Systems and processes: Improving the basic processes to support volunteering
 2. Capability and capacity: Developing the skills of people who manage volunteers
 3. Innovation/new offers: Finding new ways for people to volunteer
- (National Trust, 2012d; National Trust, 2012e)

It is the third of these areas, ‘innovation and new offers’ which is concerned with who volunteers. There are two phases to the ‘Vision for 2020’ – the initial phase between 2012 and 2014 and the longer-term phase up to 2020. The focus between 2012 and 2014 for ‘innovation and new offers’ is detailed as:

- Creating roles that support Bringing Places to Life and the demands of a changing volunteer workforce
- New ways for volunteers to get involved in Retail and Catering, supporting the commercial strategy
- Growing *Family Volunteering* and *Internships*
- Optimising opportunities for micro volunteering, virtual volunteering and *pro bono/skilled volunteering*

(National Trust, 2012d, emphasis added)

The immediate targets for new audiences (up to 2014) are families, interns and skilled volunteers. The supplementary section of the Volunteer Survey asked respondents whether they had taken part in family volunteering. Of the 157 that had, 68 had also done some other kind of volunteering for the National Trust. Although these are very

small numbers they suggest that a proportion of family volunteering is done by existing volunteers. However, a report on the early findings of a family volunteering pilot project funded by the Cabinet Office (although it did not report socio-demographic characteristics) found that 75 per cent of the participants were not members of the National Trust (National Trust, 2013b). As the National Trust collects more data on family volunteering, it will be interesting to explore whether this form of volunteering attracts a significantly different class or ethnicity of volunteers, or whether it is the families of people who are already involved with the National Trust as visitors and members, who are more likely to participate. While the other immediate targets for volunteering – interns and skilled volunteers – are likely to affect the age of volunteers, they are unlikely to result in a change to the current class profile. Beyond 2014 the longer term focus for recruitment of volunteers is that by 2020 “a more diverse range of people should be involved (particularly more *younger people* and people *representative of the communities* in which our places are located)” (National Trust, 2012d, emphasis added). As I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter there are very few National Trust properties in urban areas (National Trust, 2011b) and most are located in affluent, rural areas – therefore targeting people representative of the communities in which the places are located is unlikely to significantly alter the class or ethnicity of volunteers. There is no specific focus on engaging Black and ethnic minority volunteers, and as with participation with the National Trust in general, there is no clear intention to engage working-class people, very few of whom are currently volunteering.

The business aims of increasing paid membership and growing commercial enterprises, both have a direct influence on volunteers. While the National Trust is a champion of volunteering, the promotion of volunteering itself is not part of the core purpose of the organisation. The volunteering function exists to support the other aims and strategies of the organisation. This is illustrated by one of the aims of the current volunteering strategy – to find “New ways for volunteers to get involved in Retail and Catering, supporting the commercial strategy” (National Trust, 2012d). Strategies to increase membership are likely to have an impact on who volunteers. As I explore in

more detail in the next two chapters, there is a strong relationship between volunteering and membership. Volunteering is not a distinct form of involvement with the organisation, but in fact there is a great deal of movement between visiting, membership, and volunteering. The Volunteer Survey shows that 80 per cent of volunteers were members before they started volunteering. Although we do not know the relationship between membership and volunteering for the more episodic types of volunteer that the Volunteer Survey under-represents, at least for regular property-based volunteers it is relatively rare to volunteer for the National Trust without being a member first. Whatever strategies are in place to increase membership, who the membership drives are aimed at, is ultimately likely to have an impact on who volunteers.

4.3 The field

While this research is primarily a case study of volunteering in the National Trust, and the more detailed part of this chapter has focused on an organisational analysis of the National Trust, it is important to recognise that organisations do not operate in isolation. They are influenced by their external social environment; by other organisations, government policies, communities, competitor organisations, customers or clients, and societal norms (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 2003). Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) argue that recognising the field or fields that an organisation is operating in, and recognising the capital at stake in those fields, can help to explain organisational behaviour. Recognising the fields that the National Trust operates in, and identifying the forms of capital dominant in those fields can help to understand how the National Trust operates, and in turn contribute to explaining who its volunteers are.

4.3.1 The fields of heritage and conservation

Examining the profile of volunteers in the fields of heritage and conservation more widely suggests that there is something to be gained by looking at who volunteers by field. Studies of heritage volunteers have found that they lack ethnic diversity (Heritage Link, 2003) and are often older and retired (Holmes, 2003). A study of volunteers involved in Heritage Lottery-funded projects found that they are older, highly educated, white, likely to work or have worked in highly skilled occupational groups, and live in the most affluent areas (Chouguley et al., 2010). Studies of volunteering in the outdoors suggest that volunteers in environmental organisations tend to be older, retired and white (Russell, 2009), and that there is a lack of diversity in the age and ethnicity of volunteers within the natural outdoors (Ockenden, 2007). The Helping Out survey measures volunteering for ‘conservation, the environment and heritage’ organisations and the Taking Part survey, which collects data on leisure, culture and sport, records whether people have volunteered for arts, museums, heritage, libraries, archives or sport. Analysis of these data sets found that 164 Helping Out respondents had volunteered for a conservation, environment or heritage organisation in the last five years (Department of Communities and Local Government et al., 2008) and that 118 Taking Part respondents had volunteered in heritage in 2011-12 (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2013b). Because of the low numbers and resulting large confidence intervals, many of the apparent variations and differences are not statistically significant. However, in general the results from both surveys indicate that conservation, heritage and environment volunteers are more likely to be white than other formal volunteers in England and Wales, and heritage volunteers in the Taking Part survey are older than formal volunteers in England and Wales¹⁰. Although some of these studies and data sets are limited by small sample sizes or observations, the overall general patterns indicate that people who volunteer for heritage, conservation and environment organisations are more likely to be older, white and highly educated, than the general formal volunteer population. The overall class, ethnicity and age patterns of National Trust volunteers are not peculiar to the

¹⁰ Compared to Citizenship Survey 2009-10 data

National Trust, but are broadly reflected among volunteers in the fields of heritage and conservation more widely. Furthermore, it is not just volunteering in heritage and conservation which attract white, middle-class participants, but other forms of participation in heritage and conservation as well. The Taking Part survey found that those in lower socio-economic groups and people from Black or ethnic minority groups were less likely to have visited a heritage site, visited a museum, or engaged with the arts in the last year, than those in higher socio-economic groups and white people (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2013a). A study by Natural England found that those in lower socio-economic groups and Black, Asian and minority ethnic respondents were less likely to have visited the natural environment than the rest of the adult population (Burt et al., 2013). To understand why National Trust volunteers are white, middle-class and older requires more than an understanding of why these particular people volunteer per se, it requires an understanding of why they volunteer in a heritage or conservation organisation in particular. This is explored further in the next two chapters.

Who participates in these fields as visitors and volunteers cannot be separated from what is valued in the fields and what they represent both now and in the past. The UK heritage industry has been accused of ignoring the role of minority groups in the depiction of the history of Britain (Naidoo, 2005), writing minority groups out of history (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997) and reproducing racism (Kushner, 1999). The nostalgic and idealised version of the countryside depicted by heritage and conservation organisations does not reflect the experiences of ethnic minorities who have experienced exclusion and racism in the English countryside (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997; Chakraborti and Garland, 2004), and neither do they reflect the experiences of low income residents of rural areas who have experienced poverty and social exclusion (Palmer, 2009). It has also been argued that mythical representations of the countryside as rural, idyllic, pure, the 'essence of Englishness' and white, have excluded ethnic minorities (Agyeman and Spooner, 1997). The fields of heritage and conservation are neither class nor ethnicity neutral in terms of what they represent, or in the experiences that people have within them. Heritage and conservation

organisations focus on the preservation of history, nature, and what is considered interesting or beautiful by those involved. The purpose of heritage organisations in particular is often the preservation of objectified cultural capital: artefacts, objects and buildings considered to be of high cultural value. Preserving the interests and reflecting the tastes of what Bourdieu would call 'the dominant' – those with high levels of cultural capital – can have the effect of excluding those who do not share the same experiences or tastes. While the next chapter explores the relationship between individuals' possession of cultural capital and their participation in volunteering in more detail, it is important to highlight the role of cultural capital as a dominant form of capital in the fields of heritage and conservation and its importance in determining behaviour, operations and priorities in these fields.

Although the profile of National Trust volunteers in terms of class, ethnicity and age is broadly reflected in the profile of volunteers in heritage and the countryside, there are also variations within the fields. While studies and surveys show that heritage and conservation volunteers are generally more likely to be older, white and highly educated than the formal volunteer population in England and Wales, National Trust volunteers are even *more* likely to be white, older and highly educated than the volunteers in most of the studies of heritage and countryside volunteers referred to above. One explanation for the National Trust's particularly distinct social profile is its position in the fields of heritage and conservation. The National Trust holds a prominent and dominant position within the field of heritage. Although there are other heritage organisations which have existed for longer than the National Trust, there are none which have both the history and the size of membership of the National Trust. It is the largest voluntary conservation organisation in Europe, and the only organisation in the UK to have a larger membership is the Automobile Association (AA) (National Trust, 2014c). Blake, aged 22, volunteers as a countryside volunteer in the Moors to gain work experience following his degree studies in Conservation and Wildlife Management. Through his studies he came across several conservation organisations. He described the National Trust as coming across as a more formal, intelligent and knowledgeable organisation than other organisations such as the Wildlife Trusts and

the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) – organisations which he describes as more simplistic, less knowledgeable and more family-orientated. Using the analogy of supermarkets, Blake refers to the National Trust as the “Waitrose” of conservation organisations, compared to the Wildlife Trusts as the “Asda”, suggesting that the National Trust is a higher class of conservation organisation. Blake’s views about which organisations are more family-orientated and which are more knowledgeable may or may not be accurate, but his views about how the organisation is perceived illustrates that the National Trust is seen by some as a particularly well-regarded, higher class of heritage or conservation organisation. The National Trust’s size, position and history also means that it has had an important role in defining the heritage and conservation fields. The National Trust has been accused of preserving a particular idealised version of the past, and of preserving the history of the landed upper-classes (Weideger, 1994, p341; Newby, 1995). The National Trust has played a role in emphasising the importance of the ruling classes in English history (Lansley, 1996) and ignoring the history of lower-class and Black people:

“National Trust properties often epitomise the British upper classes and show little indication of their multicultural heritage... Guides to the properties rarely give any indication of the heritage of Black people yet the histories of many of them are frequently incontrovertibly entangled with that of the Black British population. Wealth devolved directly or indirectly from the slave trade funded numerous stately homes while many of them had Black servants, yet such histories remain hidden.” (Simpson, 2001, p17)

Although, as I have outlined above, changes are now being made, for decades the heritage celebrated in many National Trust properties ignored the histories of the Black slaves and the working-class servants. The National Trust has not only been influenced by being part of these heritage and conservation fields, but because of its dominant position has played a defining role in creating them.

4.3.2 The fields of tourism and the third sector

The National Trust's distinctive social profile can be further explained by recognising that heritage and conservation are not the only fields that the National Trust operates in, and as such there are factors which influence what happens in the National Trust which may not be the case for other heritage or conservation organisations. The purpose of the National Trust is not only to preserve properties and spaces, but to do so for the benefit of the nation, which it does by opening them up to the public to visit. Based on the number of properties and the number of visitors the properties attract, it is a very significant organisation in the field of tourism in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. A study which looks at volunteering in museums highlights that as well as competing with other museums, museums also compete with other tourist attractions such as theme parks, which forces them to work in a market-orientated way, run shops and cafes, and host events (Edwards, 2004, p145). The National Trust is not just competing with heritage organisations run by non-profit third sector organisations, local authorities and public bodies, but also with commercially-run heritage attractions such as Warwick Castle which is owned by the commercial for-profit company Legoland. The field of tourism is dominated by business principles and competition, and places a high value on economic capital and profit; by being part of this field the National Trust is influenced by the principles that the commercial tourist industry is working to.

As a registered charity with a charitable purpose the National Trust is also part of the third sector. Macmillan (2011) suggests that it is useful to conceptualise the third sector as a field and suggests that there may be a distinctive third sector organisational ethos or culture. Macmillan suggests that within the third sector, social capital in the form of social networks and connections, and symbolic capital in the form of a good reputation and powerful brand can be more important than economic capital (Macmillan, 2011). Even when it is not part of the core purpose of a charity there can often be a greater culture or ethos towards social value and social responsibility in the third sector than in other fields. Colin, a trustee, who has worked in finance in his paid professional

career, and has held a voluntary position in a small environmental organisation, reflects on the different value of economic capital in the organisations he has worked for:

“Well I think there is a big divide particularly between city institutions and charitable institutions... charitable institutions are driven by commitment to the cause, in a huge way. So there’s that big divide and the National Trust is no different in that divide. Money is much less important etc. etc. But then there’s a divide between say much smaller institutions... and the National Trust.” Colin, trustee

Although Colin highlights differences between the fields of finance and the third sector, he also highlights the differences *within* the third sector. He explains how the small environmental organisation he is involved with is more cause-driven, pursuing its aims regardless of whether they have the finances to support it, and less based on the business, income generation principles that are found in the National Trust. The National Trust’s position as a large successful, well established third sector organisation means that business, commercial and economic values may be more influential in the National Trust than in some other third sector organisations. Not all other heritage and conservation organisations need to compete with huge commercial tourism attractions to the same extent as the National Trust, and not all other tourism organisations are third sector organisations with a social purpose. As such the National Trust experiences influences, priorities and conflicts not necessarily experienced by other heritage and conservation organisations.

Bourdieu’s concept of field is a useful concept to apply to emphasise the importance of the context of volunteering. As well as being useful in highlighting the importance of the broad field that the volunteering occurs in, the concept of field is also useful in understanding more about the individual organisation. Recognising that the organisation operates in several fields, and identifying its position within these fields, can help to understand the behaviour of the organisation. The National Trust operates in the fields of heritage and conservation which place a high value on cultural capital,

but it also competes with other tourist attractions to attract visitors in a field where economic capital dominates, and it is a charity operating in the third sector which prioritises social values. Identifying these three fields, the different priorities they have, and the different dominant forms of capital within each field can help to explain the internal tensions identified above, and how they affect the National Trust's strategies and priorities. Defining the fields that the National Trust operates in, and identifying the types of capital which are dominant or valued in these fields, is a useful way of contributing to an understanding of the behaviour of the organisation and how this affects who volunteers.

4.4 Conclusion

Working towards the aim of this research – to improve and extend existing theories which explain who volunteers – this chapter has focused on emphasising the importance of the context of the volunteering. By showing that the profile of National Trust volunteers does not reflect the profile of formal volunteers in England and Wales in general, the Volunteer Survey data has been used to emphasise the deficiencies of a theory which treats formal volunteers as a homogeneous group. Bourdieu's concepts of capital and field, in particular his recognition that different forms of capital hold different value dependent on the field, have been used to explain the variation in who volunteers by field and by organisation.

The concepts of field and capital have been used to analyse the National Trust as an organisation. Despite the organisation having an inclusive mission and vision, National Trust volunteers are even more likely to be white and middle-class than formal volunteers in England and Wales. The lack of priority that diversity and inclusion have been given in the organisation can be understood as a conflict between the capitals at stake. Past and current priorities, activities and strategies have been defined by values associated with cultural capital (the preservation of buildings, objects and legitimate cultural tastes) and economic capital (business case arguments and financial survival) and, as such, strategies based on the social values associated

with community integration, inclusion and diversity are not given priority within the organisation. The dominance of cultural and economic capital, mean that there is neither a business case incentive nor sufficient desire within the organisation to change this culture or bring about organisational change to become more diverse. As a result the lack of diversity of National Trust volunteers has not been significantly challenged and the National Trust remains a predominantly white, middle-class organisation.

The National Trust does not operate in isolation, unrelated to other organisations in its fields. That the class, ethnicity and age patterns of National Trust volunteers are broadly reflected in the profile of other heritage and conservation volunteers, highlights that an understanding of who volunteers for the National Trust cannot be isolated from an understanding of who participates in the fields of heritage and conservation more widely. Heritage and conservation are fields where cultural capital and the values associated with preservation and conservation are dominant and shape the behaviours and activities of the organisations. As well as being a heritage organisation, the National Trust is also a major tourism organisation competing in a field where economic capital and commercial values dominate, and a third sector organisation operating in a field often led by social values. Recognising the National Trust's location and position in the fields within which it operates has helped to understand and identify the strategies and priorities which affect who volunteers for the National Trust.

While this chapter provides a relatively brief exploration of the conflicts, tensions, culture and behaviour of the National Trust and the fields it operates in, what it highlights, in the endeavour of understanding who volunteers, is the importance of examining volunteering in the context it occurs in. It makes little sense to focus on explaining patterns in the National Trust without recognising that similar patterns exist among people who volunteer and participate in other heritage and conservation organisations. It makes little sense to try to explain the class and ethnicity patterns of National Trust volunteers without recognising that similar patterns are also reflected among National Trust members. While the specific details outlined in this chapter may

only apply to the National Trust and the fields of heritage and conservation, the principles learnt are generalizable. The field and organisational context matter. While cultural capital is important in the fields of heritage and conservation, different forms of capital are likely to be important in defining who volunteers in different fields. Analysing the fields in which the volunteering occurs, for example social welfare, sports, religion, the arts, or education, and identifying the forms of capital at stake and looking for patterns within these fields, may be more useful than attempting to explain who volunteers in general. Moving beyond attempts to explain who volunteers in general, to approaches which explain volunteering by field could improve understanding of inequality in volunteering. Bringing the concept of field into a resource and capital explanation of volunteering can potentially explain some of the variation that the 'resource model' cannot – the 'resource model' can be improved by recognising that the capital needed to volunteer can vary depending on the organisational and field context of the volunteering. The next chapter focuses in detail on what resources – what volume and composition of capital – enable individuals to volunteer for the National Trust. This chapter has prepared the way by analysing and describing the fields in which these individuals are operating in.

Chapter 5: Volunteering and capital

The previous chapter focused on what it is about the organisation – its culture, history, aims and priorities – which stops the National Trust being more inclusive. While I argued that the contestation over the dominant forms of capital in the National Trust has stopped the National Trust being proactive in increasing diversity, it must be recognised that people do not just become involved with organisations because the organisation does or does not actively seek to engage them. People also become involved in organisations where their habitus fits, where their composition of capital reflects the values of the organisation and where they can acquire more capital. This chapter expands on the findings from the last chapter by looking in greater detail at the relationship between the possession of capital and who volunteers. As outlined in Chapter 1, one of the key limitations of resource literature is the overemphasis on the possession of social capital. In this chapter, drawing primarily on data from the 40 volunteer interviews, I question this emphasis on social capital by examining the relationship between volunteering and all forms of capital.

As illustrated in the last chapter, taking educational level, housing status and financial situation as indicators of social class, the Volunteer Survey reveals a predominantly white, middle-class profile¹¹. The social profile of the 40 interview participants broadly reflect these class and ethnicity patterns. Excluding the young people who lived with their parents, just four volunteers were not owner occupiers. Based on the participants' main job or profession during their working lives (or parents' occupations for the young people who have not had a paid job), 37 out of the 40 interviewees have what would be described as middle-class or professional occupations, with just Jeremy (a self-employed gardener and handyman), Lyn (an unemployed graduate whose mother is a hospital caterer) and Dave (who has worked in heavy industry for most of his working life) having working-class occupations. Thirty-one out of the 40 participants

¹¹ It should be remembered that the Volunteer Survey does not represent volunteers who have volunteered through external groups or employer-supported volunteering and may under-represent episodic and casual volunteers, including working holiday volunteers (see Chapter 3 for full details)

were educated to degree level or higher. Thirty-nine out of the 40 volunteers interviewed were white. The volunteer interviewees therefore have similar class and ethnicity profiles as the volunteers included in the Volunteer Survey.

The possession of capital varies in volume and composition by class and by ethnicity. In this chapter I identify the resources or capital needed to enable volunteering for the National Trust, and show how this relates to the class and ethnic origin of National Trust volunteers. I show that economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital, as well as social capital contribute to enabling volunteering for the National Trust. In particular, in the case of the National Trust I show that it is human capital in the form of education and work-related skills acquired through middle-class experiences of work, and cultural capital in the form of cultural preferences and tastes acquired through white, middle-class leisure participation in heritage and the countryside that are key to explaining the very distinctive white, middle-class profile of National Trust volunteers.

5.1 Social Capital

Resource literature stresses the role of social capital in explaining class patterns of volunteering, arguing that people of higher occupational status, higher income and higher levels of education are more likely to volunteer primarily because of their more extensive social ties and networks. Although relatively limited, there was some evidence of National Trust volunteers becoming involved through a social contact. For example Kathy, aged 57, was actively looking for a volunteering opportunity having taken early retirement from the civil service and her friend mentioned that Norwood House were looking for buggy drivers. Roger, 62, also retired, gave his wife a lift to a recruitment open day and through this decided he would like to volunteer himself. Margaret, 67, had decided she wanted to volunteer at The Cottages because of her interest in local history, but the fact that her friend volunteered there meant she could introduce her to the manager. Similarly there is some evidence of “knowing the right person” playing a part in getting access to volunteering opportunities. Ben, 17, who

came to the Moors for a week of work experience three years ago and has carried on volunteering since, was able to arrange this through a friend of his mother's who worked at the Moors. When Adam, 53, was looking for something to do with his time after winding up his business, a head warden who Adam had got talking to through walking his dog in the area, suggested that he volunteered for the National Trust. Blake, 22, a countryside volunteer, alludes to a well-connected friend in the "*forestry and deer management world*", but in practice his connection played little part in securing his volunteering opportunity. Despite research which suggests that being asked is one of the main reasons for volunteering, none of the people I interviewed were actually *asked* to volunteer by a friend or acquaintance. Most volunteers had made a decision that they wanted to volunteer and did not wait to be asked, but sought out the opportunity themselves. Most properties have a relatively structured application process open to anyone, and applications for working holidays are processed through the central office.

Membership of organisations and associations is often used as a measure of social capital (e.g. Warde et al., 2003). The Volunteer Survey found that just 14 per cent of respondents had never been a member of the National Trust, and six per cent had become a member since volunteering. The remaining 80 per cent of volunteers had been members before they became volunteers. When membership is considered to be an indicator of social capital, the assumption is that the membership is participative and that it opens someone up to more social contacts. Membership, in theory, could increase the likelihood of being asked to volunteer, or provide social contacts that can help access volunteering opportunities. However, for the large majority of members, National Trust membership is entered into as a season ticket for entry, not as a way to participate with the organisation and other members in it. A survey of National Trust members shows that the most common reason for joining the National Trust was for "pleasant places to visit" and the second most common reason was for "free admission" (National Trust, 2009b). Interviewees talked almost exclusively of using their membership to visit properties with close family members. As I argue below, there are links between National Trust membership and volunteering, but this is

because it works as an introduction to a form of cultural participation not because it creates social contacts or extends social networks.

Although some individuals' social capital contributed to enabling their volunteering this was not common and not required. Although social capital plays a role in enabling volunteering for the National Trust, it is difficult to argue that it is sufficient to explain the class and ethnicity of volunteers. While social networks and ties are very important in enabling volunteering in many organisations, social capital is not the most significant enabling resource for volunteering for the National Trust, and at least in the case of the National Trust, the role of social capital is not as important as the resource arguments suggest.

5.2 Economic Capital

Based on level of home ownership and reported financial situation, the indicators are that National Trust volunteers are financially comfortable and have high levels of economic capital relative to the general population. In theory, when an organisation covers the costs incurred by volunteering such as travel, equipment and uniform, which the National Trust does, economic capital, or the lack of it, should not be a barrier to volunteering. However, in practice economic capital can be needed to volunteer for the National Trust in certain areas, properties or in certain roles.

5.2.1 Affordability

"People perhaps can't afford to work for nothing. Which is an obvious thing that strikes me, they might even want to, but they can't afford to work for nothing." Roger, 62, buggy driver, Norwood House

The fact that volunteering is unpaid means it is not open to everyone. This is particularly noticeable in the case of young volunteers who were volunteering for work

experience. All of the young volunteers and interns lived with their parents while they were volunteering, with the exception of Elena, an intern, whose parents paid her rent during the period of her internship. Although some did part-time work alongside their volunteering, several were fully financially dependent on their parents. The only young volunteer who this was problematic for was Lyn, an intern. Lyn, 23, was unemployed and claiming Jobseeker's Allowance. After graduating and finding it difficult to find paid employment she started an internship with the National Trust to gain work experience. Lyn lives with her mother who is a low paid hospital caterer. She does not have her own transport and travels an hour and a half each way on public transport to get to the location of her internship. When I asked about any negative sides to her volunteering, she explained:

"Definitely money issues. Because, I get to claim expenses but I haven't received any yet. So I'm owed about £140... I put my first claim in and that still hasn't come through and I've put in a second claim because I don't have any money. So. But my mum is paying for me at the moment. It's twelve pounds a day." Lyn, 23, intern

Although she will get her travel expenses for her journey from home to the National Trust office refunded, having to pay them up front was difficult on Jobseeker's Allowance, and she would have been unable to do this without the help of her mother. Lyn's ability to continue with the internship was further threatened by a possible stop to her Jobseeker's Allowance. At the time of the interview Lyn's benefits were at risk of being stopped because she was not considered to be 'available for work' (a condition of eligibility for Jobseeker's Allowance) due to her participation in the internship. Although Lyn was able to live with her mother, and her mother was able to help her out with the travel costs, she was financially dependent on her Jobseekers Allowance and would not be able to continue the internship if it was stopped. In this case, limited economic capital in terms of lack of transport, low income and a limit to the financial support available from her family, threatened Lyn's ability to continue her internship. Although the National Trust is sometimes able to offer accommodation for people doing full-time work experience and internships, and they structure their internships

to enable interns to do part-time paid work, in practice most young people need some kind of financial assistance from their parents to enable this type of volunteering.

Because of the time commitment expected of regular property-based volunteers, volunteering in these roles is rarely an option for individuals who need to work full-time for financial reasons. Sixty five per cent of National Trust volunteers are retired and a further 12 per cent work part-time (see Appendix J). The retired and part-time volunteers interviewed did not need to do full-time paid work as they had a pension income. The only volunteer to sustain a full-time job and volunteer regularly was Dave, 64, a tour guide at The Cottages. He had initially started volunteering every Saturday until he eventually found it too much to manage with a full-time job and seeing his grandchildren. As an experienced tour guide who the property manager did not want to lose, Dave was able to reduce his commitment to volunteering every two to three weeks, but he would not have been taken on initially if this was all he could offer. The few interview participants who volunteer regularly but are not retired, each have their own way of financing their unpaid volunteering. Having run a financially successful property development business Adam, 53, is able to afford to volunteer unpaid while he considers what he wants to do next. Rosie, 38, who has made an active lifestyle choice to work part-time and spend the rest of her time volunteering, is able to do this as she lives in her brother's property. Ian, 29, who fits volunteering around his supply teaching work lives with his parents so is able to manage on a part-time and fluctuating income.

Although they only represent a small proportion of volunteers, participation in working holidays, incurs a direct financial cost. Current costs, which cover food and accommodation, are from £85 for a weekend and £135 for a week, and participants cover the cost of transport to the location. While these are low cost holidays, those on benefits or very low income would be unlikely to be able to participate in working holidays. The Volunteer Survey shows that it is relatively rare for people to volunteer without being a member first. Annual membership fees for 2014 are £58 for an individual and £98 for a family. There is a youth membership rate of £27 but there are

no concessions for people in receipt of benefits or low income. Although membership offers good value in providing entry to properties, it is not within the reach of those on a low income. It needs to be recognised that those who are unable to participate with the National Trust as a visitor or member for financial reasons, are unlikely to become more actively involved as a volunteer.

5.2.2 Geographical location and accessibility

When discussion about the diversity of volunteers arises informally within the National Trust, it is often suggested by staff and volunteers that the class and ethnicity of volunteers can be explained by the geographical location of National Trust properties and sites where the volunteering occurs. Bev's view reflects what I heard voiced by staff and other volunteers in the organisation:

"Well a lot of the properties are in areas which are still predominantly white. Come on, rural England is still predominantly white, and that's, their volunteers are the local people. Not all, but many of their properties are in relatively affluent areas, so the people living there who are volunteers, are, well educated, have decent jobs who are living there. So in a way it's a bit of catch twenty two there." Bev, 61, education volunteer and tour guide, The Cottages

Although the National Trust has been actively trying to address this geographical inequality in its more recent acquisitions, the majority of National Trust sites are in rural, relatively affluent areas. According to the National Trust's Urban Programme documents, fewer than 30 properties can be described as urban (National Trust, 2011b). Exacerbating the geographical location factor, many National Trust properties and areas are not accessible to people without their own transport.

"I mean if I didn't have a car I couldn't come, because there isn't a bus" Edith, 85, room guide, Norwood House

As a researcher without my own transport I experienced the difficulties of accessing National Trust properties on public transport. Norwood House was only accessible by bus one day a week. I conducted interviews at four locations in the Moors area: of these locations two were not accessible by bus at all, one was accessible by bus at weekends, and the fourth was accessible by one bus a day, a 40 minute walk away from the site. To get to Norwood House and the Moors to carry out the interviews I relied on a combination of walking, taxis, and lifts from friends, family and National Trust staff and volunteers. The Cottages were the exception being in the city centre and well serviced by buses and trains. Access to transport is a particular issue for young volunteers. Before she started working for the National Trust as a volunteering and community involvement consultant, Leah worked as a volunteer broker encouraging young people to get involved in volunteering. Reflecting on whether she got any young people volunteer placements with the National Trust she says:

“Transport was a problem you see... I rang up West Hall once and asked them if they provide transport for the volunteers from [the town] but they didn’t. So transport’s a massive thing, so straight away if you’re going to get young volunteers, you need them to have a car or a mum or dad who’s willing to take them.” Leah, volunteering and community involvement consultant

The young volunteers at Norwood House and the Moors – Ben, 17, Danielle, 18, Jamie, 21, Blake, 22, and Sadie, 23 – were all able to volunteer because they had their own transport. The lack of access to properties by public transport has been acknowledged as a problem over the years by the National Trust, but this has usually arisen out of environmental concerns rather than concerns about access (Dickinson et al., 2004; National Trust, 2013a). Although the cost of public transport would be reimbursed, in reality it is not possible to get to many properties by public transport, therefore people without access to their own transport are excluded from many volunteering opportunities. Having the economic capital to live in the geographical location of a National Trust property, and to own a car is necessary for many of the volunteering opportunities in the National Trust.

5.2.3 Limitations to the role of economic capital

Having the financial support of parents, being in a position to work unpaid, not experiencing barriers to National Trust membership for financial reasons, possessing the economic capital to live close to a National Trust property, and having access to transport, all enable volunteering for the National Trust. The lower levels of income in both lower socio-economic groups and ethnic minority groups (Brynin and Güveli, 2012) contributes to explaining the class and ethnicity patterns of volunteers in the National Trust. However, there are several gaps in these explanations which emphasise that economic capital alone does not explain why National Trust volunteers are predominantly white and middle-class.

Firstly, there are limitations to the affordability explanation. Recognising that some people are enabled to volunteer because they can afford to do unpaid work does not explain why volunteers for the National Trust are more likely to be middle-class and more likely to be white than volunteers for other organisations requiring similar levels of commitment. While the cost of working holidays and membership may exclude those on benefits and a low income, there are many within lower socio-economic groups who have surplus income available to spend on leisure pursuits and holidays who do not spend it on National Trust membership or working holidays.

Secondly, the geographical location explanation rests on the argument that volunteers reflect the local population of the properties. However, my fieldwork at The Cottages, revealed that this is not necessarily the case. The Cottages are situated in the centre of Newborough, a large multi-ethnic city in an area with high levels of social housing and low levels of home ownership. Fifty-five per cent of residents in the area are non-white compared to 14 per cent in England and Wales, 29 per cent live in social housing compared to 18 per cent in England and Wales, and five per cent own their home outright compared to 31 per cent in England and Wales (Nomis, 2013; Office for

National Statistics, 2013b)¹². The property is within walking distance of a wide network of buses and a large train station, areas of the city populated by Black, Asian and Chinese communities, and areas densely populated by social housing. Despite this, there is little evidence of The Cottages attracting a more diverse profile of volunteers as Lewis, a volunteer tour guide and receptionist, observes:

"Newborough's full of Black people and Asian people. We get very few... we certainly don't get them volunteering much... I mean tour guides, I may be wrong here, because I'm not here every day, but I don't know of one Black or ethnic, I hate the word ethnic, but anyone who's not a white person, not one." Lewis, 69, tour guide and receptionist, The Cottages

Although there are some indications that there is wider class diversity at The Cottages than in other properties because of the working-class history of the property, as Margaret, an education volunteer, comments *"There's still a core of white middle-class."* A similar observation was also made by Leah, volunteering and community involvement consultant, about a property in her regional area. She notes that despite the fact that the property is in a very deprived area, the volunteers still match the "stereotypical" National Trust profile. When National Trust properties are not in rural, white, affluent areas, they still attract the same profile of volunteers. This is also confirmed when we look at working holiday leaders and participants. People who go on working holidays do not usually participate in their local area, and they are able to travel by public transport to the holiday locations, yet they appear to be as white, highly educated and of high occupational status as other volunteers. Dan, 51, a working holiday leader reflects on the profile of people at reunion events for working holiday volunteers, which can be attended by several hundred volunteers:

"At the reunions there was an Indian, an Arabic person I think, but there's never been a Black person." Dan, 51, working holiday leader

¹² At the Middle Layer Super Output Area level which has a minimum size of 5,000 residents and 2,000 households.

Although the Volunteer Survey is limited by an under-representation of working holiday volunteers, other research undertaken for the National Trust found that 95 per cent of working holiday participants were white (Stuart et al., 2008). Research on National Trust working holiday leaders found that 74 per cent were in managerial or professional occupations, and just 14 per cent were in manual and service or clerical and technical positions (Jackson, 2011). The level of education among working holiday volunteers seems to reflect the high levels of education found among other types of National Trust volunteers. Keith, 57, who has been on 28 working holidays as a working holiday leader, noting how highly educated the working holidays volunteers seem to be, commented:

"I did one holiday at a base camp... and just sitting around... saying what we did and whatever, and it transpired that three of the people had PhDs... three or four people had MScs, others had degrees, and a couple of students who were actually at University at the time. It was just amazing." Keith, 57, working holiday leader

The suggestion that volunteers simply reflect the profile of the local community of properties cannot explain why volunteers in properties in multi-ethnic urban areas, and working holiday participants are predominantly white and middle-class. These points suggest that although the possession of economic capital undoubtedly enables volunteering for the National Trust, it cannot fully account for the predominantly white middle-class profile of National Trust volunteers.

5.3 Human Capital

As explained in Chapter 2, although Bourdieu rejects the concept of human capital, I have found it a useful concept to use to differentiate between some of the different forms of cultural capital that Bourdieu refers to, in particular education and work-related skills. Although rarely a formal requirement of the National Trust, there is

evidence that the possession of human capital in the form of education, knowledge and work-related skills enables volunteering.

5.3.1 Education, knowledge and skills

The Volunteer Survey shows that a significant proportion of National Trust volunteers are older and retired. Eighty-four per cent are aged 55 or over and 65 per cent are retired. All of the volunteers that I interviewed who were retired, or who were working part-time as a transition into retirement, had experienced full, successful and often professional paid careers. One of the explanations put forward to explain why people of high occupational status are more likely to volunteer is that they are more attractive to organisations because of their skills and experience (Pearce, 1993). This argument would suggest that the National Trust's highly educated and experienced volunteer workforce can be explained by the National Trust selecting the most highly educated and skilled volunteers.

In terms of formal requirements and recruitment procedures I found no evidence of the National Trust being selective in this way. The National Trust does not stipulate minimum educational requirements for any of the volunteer roles; indeed, even applicants for the internship programme do not have to be graduates. On some occasions properties seek out volunteers for specific roles with particular skills or experience, but for the vast majority of the regular house, coast and countryside based roles, and for participation in working holidays, there are no formal skill requirements. Properties usually operate a relatively formal recruitment process, sometimes holding recruitment days and events, and often requiring application forms and interviews. The National Trust does not appear to adopt targeted recruitment strategies aimed at highly skilled potential volunteers. Indeed, often recruitment strategies are not needed at all as Damien, a property manager notes:

"We've been very lucky with this property in the sense that up until this year, 2011-12, we haven't really had to advertise for volunteers, they've come to us. You know we've

had a continual stream of people, you know making enquiries and being interested in volunteering” Damien, property manager

It also seems that selection on the basis of skills at the interview stage is rare. Damien explained that they very rarely turn people down at interview. Similarly, Jennifer, another property manager comments:

“The number of people we get that are turned down at interviews are pretty small, I mean we take on everybody that volunteers” Jennifer, property manager

However, although there is little evidence of formal selection occurring, there is evidence of informal, unspoken and accepted expectations. There is evidence among the volunteers of a perception that a level of education or knowledge is needed to fulfil certain roles. Alan, aged 70, is a retired country planner, who has been volunteering at Norwood House for 11 years. He comments:

“This sounds awful but, I think probably (pause) to be a walks and talks guide, and to be a garden guide, I think you probably need to have a certain level of educational attainment. I mean you know, you need to know something about history, you need to know something about the English landscape movement in the eighteenth century, and you need to know something about, you need to know a bit about architecture as well.”
Alan, 70, garden, walks and talks, and estate guide, Norwood House

A certain level of education and knowledge, which he possesses – in part acquired through his professional career – is seen by Alan as necessary in order to be able to carry out the role of a guide. Geoff, 64, a retired university lecturer who also volunteers at Norwood House, reveals similar expectations:

“It surprises me that some people turn up, they want to be volunteers, they know nothing about this place!... They come and they don’t know much about the garden, they don’t know much about the house, and [the visitor and volunteering experience manager] said

well really it's got to be a bit of self-education. We were looking at each other and said well surely if they're going to volunteer you need to know a bit about the place... we certainly did before we became volunteers here." Geoff, 64, garden guide, Norwood House

There is an expectation from volunteers themselves that volunteers should come to the property with a certain level of education or knowledge, but Geoff's comment also highlights that there is an expectation from paid staff that volunteers will self-educate. This expectation is illustrated well at The Cottages. The Cottages are accessed by guided tours only, so most volunteers at the property are tour guides. Each tour lasts around an hour and a quarter. Although the volunteer tour guides are given in-depth training on the history of the property during their induction, there is no set script and the volunteers are responsible for how they deliver the information to the visitors. Doreen, 73, who has been volunteering as a tour guide at The Cottages for seven years, told me how it worked:

"So we did a ten week course... and during that ten weeks you learnt all the practical skills and everything else, you learnt about the history of the place; you learnt how to talk to people... Now when you've finished it... all you had was a skeleton about various people. Well if you'd have just gone and said what it said on there, you'd have been round in 15 minutes, let alone an hour and a quarter. So you've got to have something to talk about and you've got to know about things." Doreen, 73, tour guide, The Cottages

The tour guides in The Cottages all prepared their own tours and carried out their own research to add to the basic information they were given. The majority of volunteer roles in the National Trust (53 per cent) are room guides or stewards, tour guides or garden guides. Although knowledge of the property and its history is not a formal requirement for volunteering, there is an expectation that volunteers in these positions either have some prior knowledge, or have the skills and ability to self-educate and carry out their own research in order to fulfil the roles. Rather than the National Trust formally selecting the most highly skilled, educated people to volunteer, individuals are self-selecting based on their expectations of what they anticipate – often quite

rightly – that volunteering for the National Trust entails. When Judith, a voluntary volunteer co-ordinator who is responsible for recruiting volunteers at Norwood House, was asked how often she turns down volunteers who apply she replied:

“Oh, very rarely. People who volunteer to come here usually know what’s involved and they know that they’re the, the right sort of person.” Judith, 67, voluntary volunteer co-ordinator, Norwood House

The National Trust does not need to stipulate formal requirements, because people who are highly educated and experienced know they are “the right sort of person” to volunteer for the National Trust. If volunteers perceive that their high levels of education, skills or knowledge make them suited to the role, then the implication is that people with lower levels of education, skills or knowledge also know they are the “wrong sort of person” and do not consider volunteering for the National Trust.

5.3.2 Using, maintaining and building human capital

As well as recognising that certain skills, education and knowledge are needed, or perceived to be needed, to volunteer for the National Trust, it is also important to recognise that volunteering provides people with a way of using, maintaining and building their human capital in retirement. It has been argued that seeking a continuity of work in retirement through formal volunteering in this way is more common among those who have experienced professional occupations. In a study of work in retirement, Parry and Taylor (2007) found a distinction between those who identify as ‘workers’ and those who identify as ‘professionals and creatives’. They found that while ‘workers’ saw retirement as a time to relax and a reward for their hard work, ‘professionals and creatives’ saw less distinction between work and other aspects of their lives, and continued to work in some form on retirement. They found that voluntary work offered ‘professionals and creatives’ an alternative strategy for continuing to gain occupational satisfaction (Parry and Taylor, 2007). Among the interviews there was evidence that volunteering for the National Trust provided those

with middle-class or professional experiences of paid employment a way to use their human capital or develop more. Sadie, 23, has volunteered as a conservation assistant at Norwood House over the last two years. At the time of the interview she was temporarily working as a paid acting assistant head steward, which involved signing the volunteers in and checking how they were through the day. Through this role Sadie had come into contact with many volunteers. She observed:

“It just seems to attract a certain type of person... it seems a lot of people that have either had management experience, or, particularly people management experience, but quite a high up position and quite a lot of responsibility, and I think they like that management side of things and having the authority to tell people about stuff... they’re... confident and they like telling people where to go, how to do it and give introductory talks.” Sadie, 23, conservation assistant, Norwood House

It is not uncommon for volunteers to be given considerable autonomy and responsibility in their roles. The National Trust is currently pursuing a policy of encouraging the involvement of voluntary volunteer co-ordinators to recruit and manage other volunteers. Greenhalgh’s study of the management of volunteers in a National Trust property found that the volunteers self-managed their day-to-day work with little input from paid staff (Greenhalgh, unpublished). Confidence and authority to deliver information to the public, management experience, autonomy and responsibility are skills which are more likely to be acquired through middle-class than working-class occupations. As well as being needed to fulfil the volunteer roles, individuals are also looking for ways to continue using these skills once they have retired.

As well as noting that volunteers tend to come from middle-class professions in general, Sadie also observed that volunteers from certain specific occupations were over-represented:

"It's interesting looking at the types of jobs they've had in the past, because I'd say you can probably get about five or six job types and probably everyone might fit into these (laughs)" Sadie, 23, conservation assistant, Norwood House

Sadie explains there are a lot of teachers, nurses and military personnel at Norwood House. Similar patterns are also noted by Roger at Norwood House, and by Margaret at The Cottages: *"I mean it does appeal to the ex-teachers, there's no doubt about it"*. The volunteer interviewees included two university lecturers, six teachers, two special needs teachers and two trainers. Much of what is involved in volunteering for the National Trust – conducting tours, being a room or garden guide or being an education volunteer – directly uses the skills these people have built throughout their paid careers as educators. National Trust volunteering seems to be particularly suited to people seeking to use and build on the human capital they have acquired through their working lives, providing the retired volunteers with a way to use the skills they have, and develop more.

Although there are rarely formal requirements to volunteer for the National Trust, there is evidence of an unspoken expectation both in The Cottages and Norwood House that a certain level of education or knowledge, the ability to self-educate, and the confidence and authority to provide information and conduct tours, make people aware that they are the right kind of person to volunteer for the National Trust. Furthermore, volunteering for the National Trust seems particularly suited to retired professionals who are seeking a way of using and maintaining their work-related skills and knowledge. Possession of human capital in the forms of education and skills acquired through middle-class experiences of work can explain some of the class patterns among National Trust volunteers, and fill some of the gaps that cannot be explained by the possession of social and economic capital.

5.4 Symbolic capital

As was outlined in Chapter 2, I refer to position, affiliation, prestige or reputation as symbolic capital. Through the fieldwork I did not come across examples of symbolic capital being directly used to secure or enable access to volunteering. However, what was clear is that as well as volunteering to maintain and develop their human capital, the retired volunteers were also volunteering as a way to maintain the status and prestige associated with their professional lives, and to give them an alternative role identity in retirement. Alan and Geoff's comments above about the need for certain levels of education and knowledge reveal more than their perception of what is needed to volunteer. It also reveals that they are doing a role which they perceive is suited to their own level of education and professional status. This is not just about maintaining their skills – they are also seeking a volunteer role which will maintain a professional identity. In volunteering for the National Trust individuals are seeking a respected, relatively high status volunteer role. This reflects the findings of a study of women in retirement, which found that one way that professional women maintained an association with their former work identities was by practising their professional expertise through community work (Price, 2003). People with high levels of symbolic capital, acquired through their middle-class experiences of employment, find in the National Trust a form of volunteering which is suited to their status and allows them to maintain their symbolic capital.

5.4.1 Limitations to the role of human and symbolic capital

These arguments about human and symbolic capital seem to fit those volunteers carrying out various guide roles. However, evidence from the Volunteer Survey suggests that the volunteers in coast and countryside roles – which are often unskilled physical roles such as beach cleaning or plant clearing, which offer little opportunity to use knowledge or skills or maintain a professional identity – are equally highly educated. Indeed, 25 per cent of coast and countryside volunteers are educated to postgraduate level and just two per cent of coast and countryside volunteers have no

qualifications. The beach clean volunteers who were interviewed told me that the whole of the beach clean team were of a similar demographic to themselves – retired, white, highly educated people who had had professional careers. Picking up litter does not use their skills, offer a continuity of their paid careers and does not give them a respected high status role identity. Ethnic minorities are over-represented in some working-class occupations and under-represented in some of the occupations I have noted that many of the volunteer interviewees come from such as teaching (Brynin and Güveli, 2012; Cracknell, 2014). However, they are not excluded and this does not offer a sufficient explanation for why professional people of Black and ethnic minority do not volunteer for the National Trust. In the final section of this chapter I argue that cultural capital can fill the gaps in explanation of class and ethnicity patterns that possession of social, economic human and symbolic capital cannot fill.

5.5 Cultural Capital

As was highlighted in Chapter 2, it is cultural capital which has been particularly neglected from volunteering literature. Where it has been referred to, the emphasis has been on religious participation which has led to a limited understanding of the link between cultural capital and volunteering. While the possession of social, economic, human and symbolic capital all contribute to explaining the class and ethnicity patterns of National Trust volunteers, in this final section I argue that it is the possession of cultural capital, in the form of cultural tastes and practices which is key to explaining the very distinct profile of National Trust volunteers and can fill the unexplained gaps. I show some evidence of a disposition for formal volunteering which is rooted in social upbringing and part of a middle-class habitus, but I argue that it is the cultural capital acquired through white middle-class leisure participation in heritage and the countryside which is key to explaining the class and ethnicity of National Trust volunteers.

5.5.1 Formal volunteering as a middle-class cultural practice

It has been argued that the practice of formal volunteering is part of a middle-class habitus (Dean, 2011; Taylor, 2005). Based on a small study of serious leisure participation in Australia, Parker (1996) found that volunteering as a form of serious leisure was more likely to be undertaken by the middle-class participants (Parker et al., 1993; Parker, 1996). Among the interviews there was some evidence to support these arguments. Harriet, 72, who has volunteered as a room guide in Norwood House for five years, describes her own parents as volunteering *“all the time”*. Her father, who worked as an aircraft designer, volunteered for the Scouts and her mother, an administrator:

“My mother? Everything! She was sort of on committees here, there and everywhere.”

Harriet, 72, room guide, Norwood House

Harriet, who had a very successful professional career in banking and marketing, has volunteered extensively throughout her life. As a child she volunteered through Brownies and through her school, and as an adult she has volunteered for a residents' association, for an organisation supporting children in care, as a fundraiser for her church, as a committee member of the Women's Institute, and as a hockey selector and coach for around 20 years. She explains:

“That was our ethic. We were brought up if you joined anything, whatever you took out of it, like Brownies or whatever, you had to give it back, more. And that's how we were brought up always. I still believe that today.” Harriet, 72, room guide, Norwood House

Sean, 63, whose father was a university lecturer, similarly talks of his mother as a frequent volunteer:

“My mother cared full-time, she was a full-time housewife. But she did lots and lots and lots of volunteering. So there's a big history of volunteering on my mother's side. She volunteered for everything.” Sean, 63, estate volunteer, Norwood House

Sean has also gone on to volunteer extensively himself as a Beaver, Cub and Scout leader for many years, for the Stroke Association for several years, and in various church roles throughout his life.

However, the evidence to support the idea that formal volunteering is part of a middle-class disposition is mixed. Firstly there are some volunteers whose parents are clearly middle-class but did not volunteer. Neither Blake, Geoff, Judith nor Keith, who came from middle-class families can recall their parents volunteering at all. Secondly, there are those volunteers whose parents were working-class and did not volunteer, who have gone on to volunteer extensively themselves. Margaret, a former teacher, who volunteers at The Cottages, though she would be described as middle-class now, came from a low income household, whose family did not volunteer:

“Oh absolutely not. No. They weren't of that background to volunteer – they'd grown up where you had to struggle for your existence, you know struggle for your wages, you know put hours in at work, so volunteering wasn't really in their thing.” Margaret, 67, education volunteer and tour guide, The Cottages

This has not influenced Margaret, who volunteered as a hospital visitor when she was at university, helped at her children's playgroups, was on the parent teacher association (PTA) at their schools, has been helping with reading at her grandchild's school, and is now a Magistrate. Thirdly, although there are some lifetime volunteers like Harriet and Sean, whose National Trust volunteering could be explained by their disposition for formal volunteering, there are also several for whom volunteering only started on retirement. The only other volunteering Kathy could recall prior to retirement was a brief spell collecting money for the Samaritans, and other than being on the PTA when her children were at school, Eve's volunteering did not start until retirement when she began volunteering at Norwood House and for the Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB). Kathy and Eve could not be described as having a disposition or inclination for formal volunteering in general. Although there was some evidence of a

middle-class ethic towards volunteering, there was also evidence of volunteers who grew up in both working- and middle-class households without the influence of parental volunteering, who have volunteered extensively, and those who have grown up in households who do volunteer, who have not volunteered extensively themselves. Although some people who volunteer for the National Trust seem to have acquired a disposition towards formal volunteering as a form of cultural participation through their family, this is not universal. Furthermore, while this explanation may help to explain the class patterns in formal volunteering in general, it does not explain the particularly distinctive class and ethnicity patterns of National Trust volunteers.

5.5.2 Cultural participation in heritage or the countryside

It was highlighted in the previous chapter that similar class and ethnicity patterns are found among volunteers in the fields of heritage and conservation, and that participation in heritage and the natural outdoors in general is more common among white, middle-class groups. Robert, a Council member and volunteer who had been a project manager in his professional career, reflecting on the difference between the diversity of his paid employees and National Trust volunteers, observed:

"In my project management career, I ran very mixed multi-racial teams, and it was never ever an issue... You know if you look at our volunteer base, room stewards and that... You're actually bringing them with personal interests aren't you? They like old houses, and they meet and they socialise when they come." Robert, Council member

Robert's observation about the link between cultural participation and the profile of volunteers is key; individuals volunteer for the National Trust because of their personal interests – their cultural preferences – and as was highlighted in the previous chapter, not everyone shares an interest in heritage or conservation equally. One of Bourdieu's arguments about cultural capital is that it can explain inequality which cannot be explained by economic capital. Commenting on participation in various sports he states:

“Thus it can be seen that economic barriers – however great they may be... are not sufficient to explain the class distribution of these activities. There are more hidden entry requirements, such as family tradition and early training” (Bourdieu, 1984, p214)

In ‘Distinction’, Bourdieu particularly stresses the importance of social origin in determining tastes and practices (Bourdieu, 1984). There is evidence from the interviews that an interest in heritage or the countryside was often something that volunteers acquired through their childhoods, influenced by the tastes and practices of their family. For several of the countryside volunteers, their interest in the countryside can be related directly to their upbringing. Ben, Jeremy and Jessica all grew up in farming families. Jessica, 34, who works full-time and volunteered on a working holiday because of her love of the outdoors, talks of the influence of her step-father, who worked on a farm, on her interest in the countryside and conservation. Ryan, 36, who, as well as participating in working holidays is a member of a walking group and an orienteering group, suggests his leisure interest in the countryside comes from his father who worked for a national park authority:

“I mean you could say obviously growing up there with father very interested in the countryside, that’s, you could say, the background for getting into some of this countryside type of things... I mean we always used to camp every year. Both my parents were keen walkers so I was walking – basically from when I could walk I was out in the countryside... I mean basically most of my life I’ve spent every weekend out in the country somewhere.” Ryan, 36, working holiday participant

Ryan’s interest in the countryside was acquired during his childhood, through his family upbringing, and this has had a clear influence on his current leisure participation. Similarly, there was also evidence of family upbringing being important in introducing people to heritage. Ian, 29, volunteers as a tour guide at The Cottages

because of his interest in heritage. He puts this interest down to the influence of his grandparents:

"I suppose I got into the National Trust - er my grandparents really... I can remember going to my grandparents in Whitehaven in Cumbria loads of times, and they used to drag me out in the school holidays to National Trust properties... And I suppose that's how I got into heritage." Ian, 29, tour guide, The Cottages

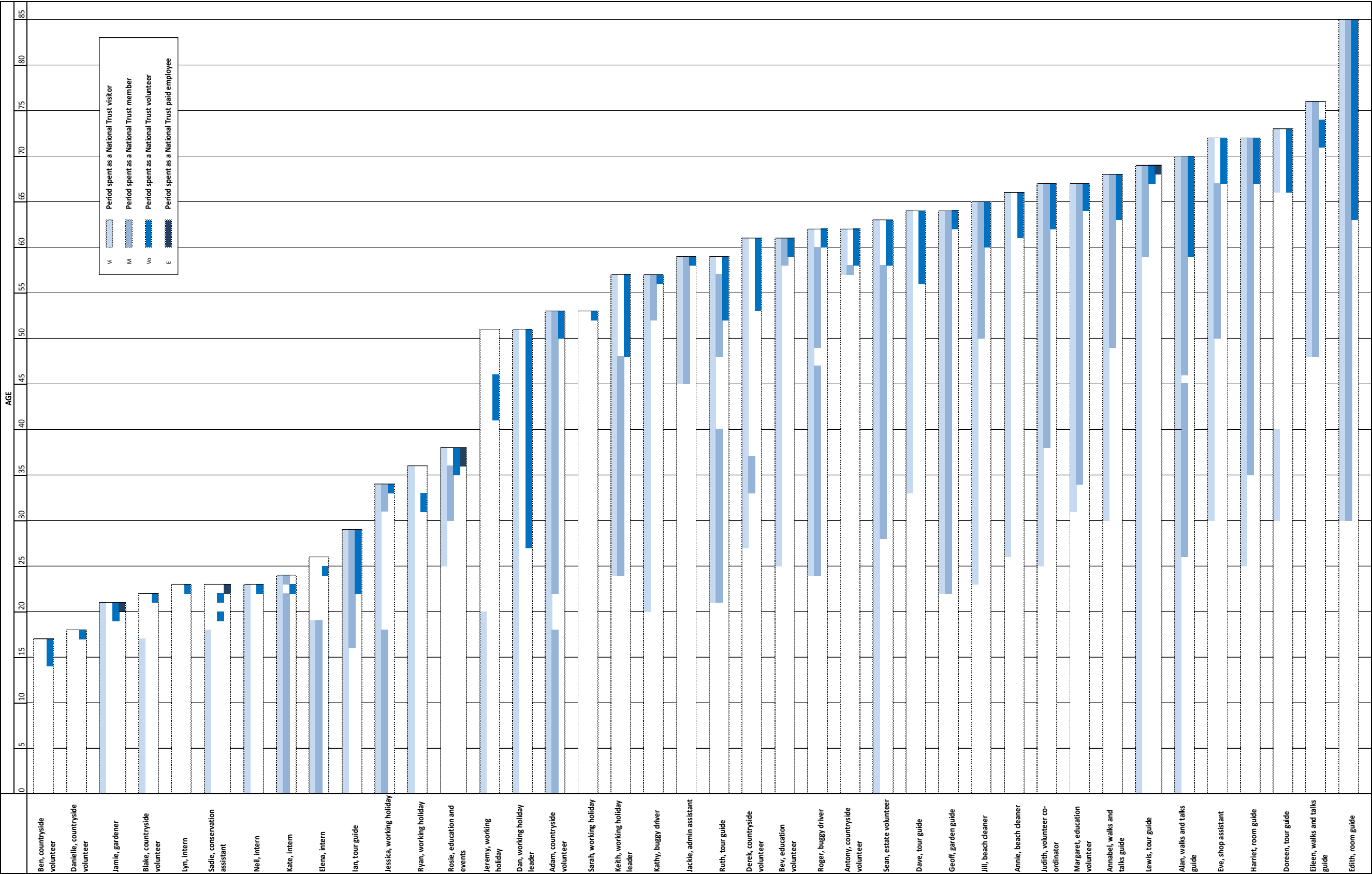
Several of the volunteers talk about either "being dragged" around heritage sites or "dragging" their own children around them. Adam comments on how, having been reluctantly taken around country houses and stately homes as a child by his parents, he now does the same to his own children:

"They sometimes moan oh yeah Dad's going to find a National Trust property - and then when it comes to it they don't want to leave." Adam, 53, countryside volunteer, the Moors

Having acquired an interest in heritage from their own parents, some of the volunteers are passing this interest on to their own children and grandchildren. These examples highlight how a disposition for participation in heritage or the countryside is acquired as part of the habitus. At least for some of the volunteers, their white, middle-class background, upbringing and family influence are important in shaping and influencing their cultural tastes and preferences.

Further emphasising that volunteering for the National Trust should be understood as a form of cultural participation in heritage or the countryside is the evidence that it is rarely the only form of participation volunteers have with heritage or the countryside. As has been highlighted, volunteering usually follows National Trust membership. As part of the interviews I asked volunteers about their history of involvement with the National Trust and created timelines to track periods of visiting, membership and volunteering (see Figure 6). The timelines show that many of the volunteers had had

Figure 6: National Trust volunteers' participation timelines



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decades of participating in heritage and the countryside through visiting and membership before they started volunteering. A third of the interviewees had been members of the National Trust for over 20 years. Volunteers also participate with other heritage and conservation organisations – the Volunteer Survey found that 53 per cent of National Trust volunteers have volunteered for another heritage, conservation or environment organisation either now or in the past. A National Trust members survey found that 47 per cent of members are also members of one of a list of 12 other heritage, conservation or environment organisations (including English Heritage, RSPB, Royal Horticultural Society) (National Trust, 2009b). Volunteering for the National Trust is rarely an introduction to historic buildings or the countryside. Most volunteers are used to spending time in country houses, gardens or countryside areas before they start volunteering. Volunteering for the National Trust is just one form of cultural participation in heritage or the countryside – fields which white, middle-class people are more likely to participate in. The possession of cultural capital in the form of a taste or disposition for participation in heritage or the countryside is key to explaining volunteering for the National Trust.

5.5.3 Part of a white, middle-class lifestyle

As well as acquiring a disposition for participation specifically in heritage and the countryside, this cultural participation also reflects and represents broader cultural tastes, lifestyles and values. The central argument in Bourdieu's 'Distinction' is that lifestyles are the totality of cultural tastes and practices. Cultural tastes and practices form distinct lifestyles which can be differentiated by social class. Bourdieu describes the dominated classes as those who have low levels of both economic and cultural capital, and the dominant classes as being divided between those who have high levels of cultural capital (e.g. academics and artists) and those who have high levels of economic capital (e.g. business owners) (Bourdieu, 1984). While Bourdieu's division is too distinct – there are clearly those who have high levels of both economic and cultural capital – the general distinction between those who value money and those

who value culture, the arts and education is useful when we look at National Trust volunteers. Bourdieu argues that there is a strong relationship between occupation and choice or preference in cultural participation (Bourdieu, 1984). As well as noting that volunteers seem to come from certain types of profession, as Sadie did, Roger also notes that there is a certain type of profession that he does not see among volunteers:

“Most of the people I’ve talked to have come from professional careers... I would say far and away it would seem to be people who have perhaps been in the military at some stage, or in the civil service, teachers, or administrators, things like that... we don’t have any people here who are bankers as far as I’m aware, things like that, people who’ve been fairly money, money, money type of jobs.” Roger, 62, buggy driver, Norwood House

Roger’s observation that volunteers do not tend to come from professions based on “money, money, money”, was confirmed among the interview participants’ occupations. Although there were a few people who ran their own businesses, and people who worked for private companies, the education and public sector workers clearly predominated. The National Trust seems to attract volunteers who have high levels of cultural capital, who value art, history, wildlife and conservation, over money. Reflecting on his observation that both visitors and volunteers seem to be from “comfortable middle-class backgrounds” Roger reflects:

“I’m reasonably comfortable. Fortunately. So again I’m putting myself in that group really, to be fair who can afford to, to work for nothing, you know. But I don’t think that’s all it is, I think there is a mentality as well, a certain upbringing. If you’re in that sort of middle area I certainly like to think that most people bring their family up with a, some sort of values towards nicer things” Roger, 62, buggy driver, Norwood House

Roger highlights that participation with the National Trust is not just about economic capital, being able to afford to work for nothing, but also about an interest in “nicer things” – countryside, stately homes and heritage. What Roger calls upbringing,

mentality and values towards nicer things, Bourdieu would call habitus, dispositions, tastes and practices.

In 'Distinction' Bourdieu examines a vast range of lifestyle practices including taste in art, photography, leisure activity, food, newspapers, books, how people like their homes, moral attitude, beauty care and political opinion. Taste, Bourdieu argues "is what brings things and people that go together." (Bourdieu, 1984, p238). People become involved in organisations where their habitus fits, which reflect their tastes and lifestyles. While the National Trust may, at some periods in the past, have been more closely associated with the lifestyles of landed upper-classes, it is now firmly associated with the tastes and lifestyles of the middle-classes. The items on sale at many National Trust gift shops reflect white, British, middle-class, tastes and lifestyles – walking and gardening equipment and books, English garden fragranced toiletries, old-fashioned English recipe books, traditional jams and preserves, and woollen picnic blankets. The food served at the restaurants is often organic and locally produced; eating choices associated with middle-class lifestyles (Padel and Foster, 2005; Guthman, 2003). Marketing brand research finds the National Trust brand is associated with other known middle-class brands such as John Lewis and Radio 4 (Britain Thinks, 2010). People from white, middle-class backgrounds find in the National Trust an organisation which reflects their own middle-class values, lifestyles and tastes. Just as this middle-class culture attracts some people, the association with middle-class tastes and lifestyle can be a barrier to people who do not share the same tastes. Jeremy, 51, a self-employed gardener and handyman, explains why, although he enjoyed the working holidays he went on, he would not become a National Trust member and rarely visits National Trust properties:

"The whole business of the shop and the tea rooms and that whole, that whole area of stuff just turns me a bit cold, it looks all a bit sort of middle-class... I like what the wardens do... that bit's interesting, but the tea towels and all that, and the gift shop I can't stand...it's too middle-class orientated, it's too expensive... It's too middle-class and exclusive and I've got no time for that really." Jeremy, 51, working holiday volunteer

Those who lack the cultural tastes reflected throughout the organisation may be put off from both volunteering and participation with the National Trust more widely.

5.5.4 A National Trust 'type'

Cultural capital also manifests in an embodied form (Bourdieu, 1986). As well as acquiring preferences and tastes for cultural participation through being involved in heritage and the countryside in childhood, and throughout their lives, people learn how to act, behave, and feel comfortable in these environments. Elena, 26, who had a private school education, reflecting on the fact that she had been brought up going around National Trust properties as a child, comments that as a result:

"I've never felt a sense of awkwardness vis-a-vis the National Trust. Despite their really elegant properties I've never felt awkward about going." Elena, 26, intern

In contrast she wonders what someone who has not had the upbringing she has had, would feel about visiting stately homes:

"If you are for example a kid growing up in Peckham and you've never seen a stately home, it could be that for you that is, that is alien and intimidating." Elena, 26, intern

Feeling comfortable and at ease, or at least not awkward or intimidated by the environment that National Trust volunteering occurs in, is embodied cultural capital acquired unconsciously through the habitus – through years of participation in these environments.

As with human capital there is also some evidence of an unspoken expectation that certain levels of embodied cultural capital are expected of National Trust volunteers. Accent, being an identifiable and definable form of embodied cultural capital, emerged

a number of times in the interviews. Ian, who volunteers at The Cottages, is aware that his strong local accent is not what is expected of National Trust volunteers:

“The impression I’ve got when people have phoned here, they expect, they expect, when somebody picks up the phone, either to be elderly or speak in a very posh voice. Because I remember one of the tour guides... saying once she was doing the booking line and this woman says I don’t want to speak to somebody with a common voice... that’s what she said!... because when you go to most National Trust, that’s what you see when you go to most National Trust properties.” Ian, 29, tour guide, The Cottages

Ian’s comments reveal that there can be an expectation of a certain well-spoken National Trust “type” from visitors to National Trust properties. Dave, a volunteer tour guide at The Cottages is from an Irish immigrant family, his father was a factory worker and he has worked most of his life in heavy industry. He recognises that he is not the typical National Trust volunteer:

“I always say to my tours that we’re not your typical National Trust property and I’m not your typical National Trust guide. I like to think I’m not anyway! (laughs).” Dave, 64, tour guide, The Cottages

Dave is aware that his working-class background makes him not the “typical” National Trust guide. While this clearly has not put Dave off from volunteering, it may be that, as he points out, The Cottages with its working-class roots is not the typical National Trust property.

As well as living in the geographical location of a National Trust property, having access to transport, possessing the skills, education and confidence acquired through paid work, volunteering for the National Trust requires a taste or preference for participation in heritage, the countryside and the National Trust itself. This form of cultural capital, acquired through upbringing and a lifetime of participation in these fields, is a form of capital more likely to be possessed by white, middle-class people.

Cultural capital acquired through white middle-class experiences of leisure, as well as human capital acquired through middle-class experiences of work enable volunteering for the National Trust.

5.5.5 The hidden capital

Bourdieu argues that cultural capital is the most hidden form of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). As it manifests in particular cultural tastes and practices it serves to “legitimize inequality by making the divisions of social space appear rooted in the inclinations of individuals rather than the underlying distribution of capital.” (Wacquant, 2008, p272). Among the volunteers, there was a common view that the class and ethnicity inequality in participation with the National Trust could be explained by the inclinations of individuals. Dave, Jackie, Margaret and Lewis all suggested that a “lack of interest” is the reason for the lack of ethnic diversity among volunteers:

“They’re different from we are... they’re not interested in history that’s what I’m trying to say. They’re not interested, it’s not in their mind to go round these big stately – why, why do we, why are we wasting money on all that sort of stuff for?... When they go out somewhere, they don’t think oh we’ll go to a stately home today, let’s see how the posh English and British people used to live years ago – they’re not interested! It’s not in their psyche.” Lewis, 69, tour guide and receptionist, The Cottages

Similarly, several of the volunteers also suggest that a “lack of interest” is the reason for the lack of class, as well as ethnic, diversity among volunteers:

“Why should that be? Now you could look at this in various ways. I mean one of them might be that people from say a lower-class background, they might, they might just have different interests... whatever their interests are it doesn’t occur to them to even try perhaps.” Ryan, 36, working holiday participant

These volunteers explain and accept inequality as the responsibility of those who are not participating. They do not recognise that by failing to reflect the histories of ethnic minorities and people from lower-classes in the properties, and by being an organisation which caters to the tastes and lifestyles of the white middle-classes, the National Trust is being exclusionary. People may instinctively know they are the “wrong kind of person” because they lack the appropriate tastes, or because they do not have interest in a history that has no relevance to them. Inequality based on distribution of cultural capital is more likely to be accepted both by those who experience it, and the organisations or institutions that exclude, than inequality based on the distribution of other forms of capital. Those who experience exclusion accept it as “not for the likes of us” (Jenkins, 2002, p5) and cultural institutions exclude people who do not have the appropriate capital or background while giving the appearance of being available for everyone (Webb et al., 2002). Economic capital and human capital barriers are more visible, and can more easily be identified and addressed. The lack of cultural resources behind an apparent “lack of interest” is harder to recognise, identify, and implicitly more difficult to overcome.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has confirmed the fundamental argument behind the ‘resource model’ by showing that the possession of resources, or capital does enable formal volunteering. However, in contrast to the emphasis in resource theories, in the case of the National Trust whilst the possession of social capital does play a role in enabling participation in volunteering, it is insufficient on its own to explain the almost exclusively white, middle-class profile of National Trust volunteers. For many of the volunteering opportunities in the National Trust, possession of economic capital – living in the often affluent geographical location of National Trust properties, having access to a car, and being able to afford to work unpaid – are needed to volunteer. In addition, there is an unspoken but implicitly accepted recognition that, for certain volunteer roles, possession of human capital in the form of a certain level of education, skills and knowledge are needed to volunteer. In the case of the National Trust, possession of

cultural capital in the form of a disposition for participation in heritage or the countryside, fills the gap that cannot be explained by the possession of other forms of capital. Possession of all of these forms of capital together contribute to explaining the almost exclusively white, middle-class profile of National Trust volunteers. Frequently it is their cultural capital, combined with human capital, supported by having economic capital, which enables someone to volunteer for the National Trust. Having a history of participation in heritage, having the skills and confidence to be a tour guide, and living in the geographical location of a National Trust property all contribute to explaining the very white, middle-class profile of National Trust volunteers. In order to address inequality in volunteering it is important to recognise that economic, human, symbolic and cultural, as well as social capital can be required to volunteer. Economic disadvantage, lack of skills, or the wrong kind of interests can be a barrier to volunteering. Explaining inequality primarily on the basis of the possession of social capital can have the effect of ignoring other barriers to participation in volunteering.

Following on from the previous chapter, it is important to highlight that the composition of capital needed to volunteer described in this chapter is particular to the National Trust. Cultural capital is particularly important in understanding who volunteers for the National Trust and, I would suggest, in the fields of heritage and conservation. Although this research has not explored this, volunteering in museums, theatre, music and the arts – all fields which tend to involve volunteers – may also require cultural capital. As was argued in the previous chapter, different forms of capital are valued in different fields, and as a consequence the composition of capital needed to volunteer in different fields is likely to vary. It is important to recognise that some resources may be needed to volunteer formally per se, other resources may be needed to volunteer in the fields of heritage and conservation, other resources may be particular to the organisation, and yet other resources may be specific to particular volunteer roles. Recognising that the capital needed to volunteer varies by field, organisation and role can be used to extend the ‘resource model’.

I have shown that volunteering for the National Trust offers a continuation of middle-class experiences of paid work, and a continuation of white, middle-class leisure participation in heritage and the countryside. Human capital acquired through middle-class experiences of work and cultural capital acquired through white, middle-class experiences of leisure enable volunteering for the National Trust. Recognising the link between volunteering, work and leisure stresses the importance in not only what forms of capital are *needed* to enable volunteering, but also in recognising what forms of capital are *acquired* through volunteering. People do not only volunteer because they have the social, economic, human and cultural capital to enable them to do so, but also because they want to use, maintain and acquire more capital. In the final chapter of analysis, I show how recognising that volunteering is a form of work or leisure is a useful way of understanding why people volunteer and the resources they are seeking to acquire.

Chapter 6: Volunteering as work, volunteering as leisure

Based on the 40 interviews with National Trust volunteers, in this chapter I look at the relationship between volunteering, work and leisure. I argue that volunteering can be conceptualised as a form of work or leisure which is intricately connected to other forms of work and leisure that the individuals participate in through their lives. Recognising volunteering as work or leisure can help to explain age and gender, as well as class and ethnicity patterns of volunteering. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to build up a rich contextual understanding of why people volunteer, how it fits in with their particular life course stage, how it relates to their social location and what role it fulfils in their lives. The interviews reveal that people volunteer for the National Trust as a replacement for the positive aspects of paid work in retirement, as a way of gaining work experience, for enjoyment, and as a way of participating in heritage or the countryside. Volunteering for the National Trust is embedded in the lives of the individual volunteers and highly related to their participation in other forms of leisure and work. Convincing arguments have been made for the value of conceptualising volunteering as unpaid work (Taylor, 2004) and conceptualising volunteering as leisure (Stebbins, 1996). I show that the two concepts can usefully be integrated to improve understanding of both why people volunteer and who volunteers. I identify three types of National Trust volunteers; those who volunteer primarily as leisure, those who volunteer primarily as work, and those who volunteer as both leisure and work. I show how volunteers across the three groups are united in terms of their class and ethnicity, but have distinctive characteristics in terms of age, occupational status and the type and frequency of volunteering. I reflect on gender patterns of National Trust volunteers and suggest that these can be understood in relation to the work histories of the individuals.

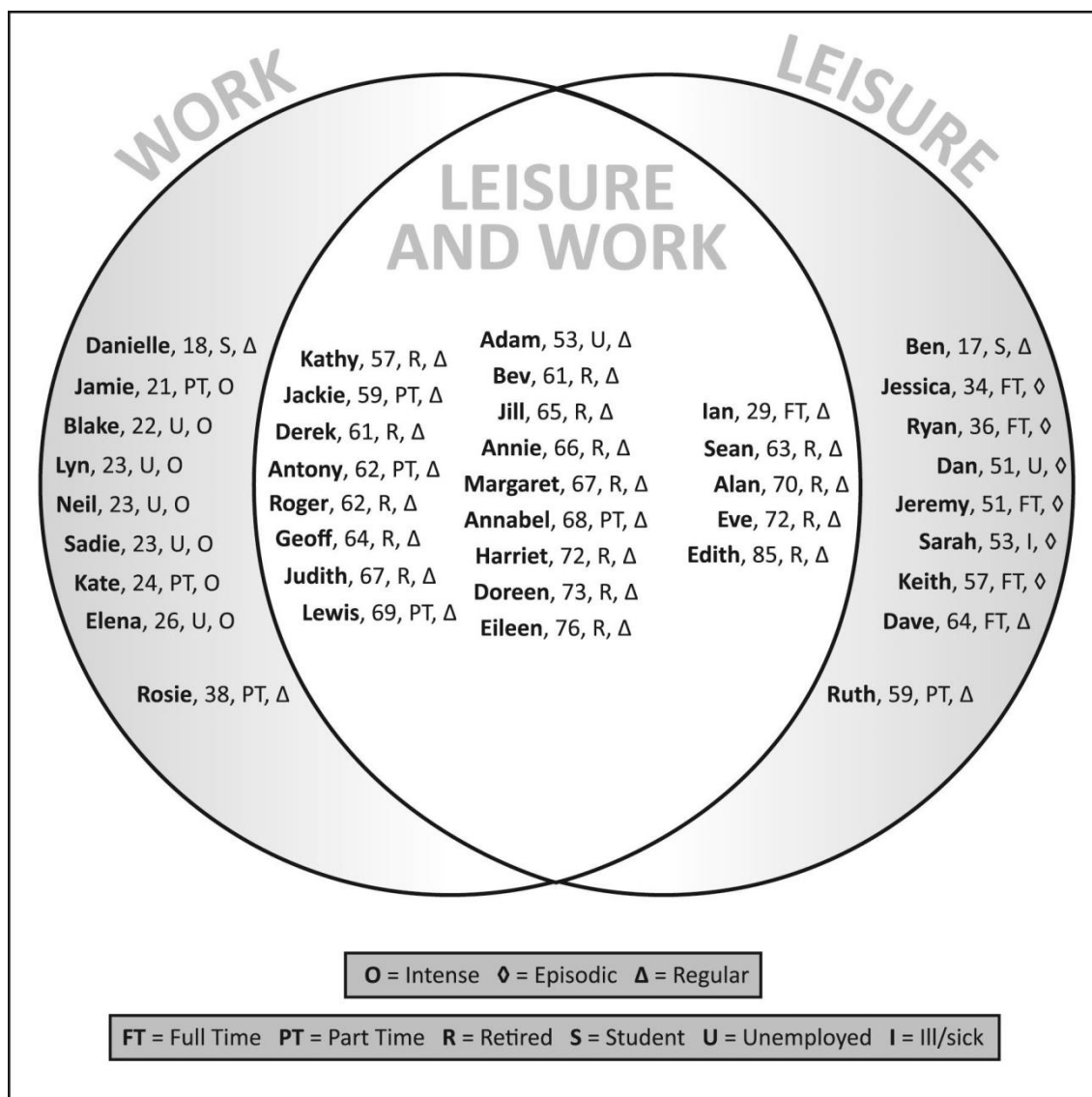
Recognising volunteering as work and leisure helps to understand both why inequality in participation in volunteering exists, and why it matters. Work and leisure require capital to participate, and people also gain further capital through participation in work and leisure. I show how volunteering for the National Trust can be highly

rewarding in terms of the acquisition of social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital. This is important as it challenges the 'dominant paradigm' assumption that the 'resource model' rests on – that volunteering is an act of giving, generosity or altruism. white, middle-class, older individuals do not volunteer for the National Trust because they are more altruistic than non-white, working-class, younger people, but because volunteering for the National Trust requires the composition of capital they possess and provides them with an opportunity to acquire more.

6.1 Three types of volunteers

As outlined in Chapter 2, volunteering has been usefully conceptualised as a form of work (Taylor, 2004) and as a form of leisure (Stebbins, 1996). While both arguments proved useful in my analysis of the volunteer interviews, what became clear at an early stage was that neither on their own offered a satisfactory explanation for understanding all volunteering in the National Trust. Lockstone-Binney et al, questioning where work experience fits with volunteering as leisure, raise the possibility of there being a continuum between leisure and work, or leisure and unpaid work (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2010). Stebbins also infers the notion of some kind of continuum when he notes that volunteering for work experience is perhaps where leisure and volunteering most diverge (Stebbins, 1996). In Figure 7, rather than a continuum, I depict volunteering as work and volunteering as leisure as two overlapping circles. As I outline in Chapter 2, work and leisure are social constructs and can mean different things, for different people, at different times. I have located each volunteer based on how they describe their reasons for volunteering, and how they experience their volunteering, not whether I perceive the role or activity they are doing to be a leisure or work activity. On the left hand side is the 'work' circle. Those in the non-overlapping section of this circle are the volunteers who describe their volunteering as an experience of work, whose volunteering it would be difficult to describe as leisure. On the right hand side is the 'leisure' circle. Those in the non-overlapping section of this circle are the volunteers who describe their volunteering as a leisure experience, whose volunteering it would be difficult to describe as work.

Figure 7: Participants' volunteering experienced as work, leisure or both



Those located in the section where the circles overlap are those whose volunteering cannot be explained without acknowledging both the work and leisure aspects of their experience. Those towards the right of the middle section are those I identify as seeking more of a leisure than a work experience, and those towards the left are those I identify as seeking more of a work than a leisure experience. The volunteers' names are followed by their age, an abbreviation for their occupational status¹³ (full-time (FT), part-time (PT), retired (R), unemployed (U), ill or sick (I) or student (S)), and a symbol

¹³ At the time of their volunteering if they are no longer a volunteer

which represents whether they volunteer regularly (Δ), episodically ($\diamond$) or for a short but intense time period (i.e. for several days a week for a few months) (O).

The diagram shows that three groups of volunteers emerge. We can see that the volunteers in each section have broadly distinctive characteristics in terms of age, occupational status, and frequency of volunteering. Those in the 'leisure-work' section are mainly 55 or over, retired (or work part-time) and volunteer regularly. Those in the 'leisure' section are mainly in their 30s to 50s, work full-time and volunteer episodically. Those in the 'work' section are in their late teens to 20s, are students or unemployed (usually unemployed graduates) and volunteer intensively. Putting volunteers into these three broad groups is a useful way to analyse their relationship with work and leisure and how this relates to their social characteristics.

Table 6 provides an overview of the characteristics of the three groups. In the sections below I look at these three groups in turn, describing their characteristics, identifying the main aspects of work or leisure that they are seeking to fulfil or experience, and describing a typical volunteer from each group.

Table 6: Characteristics of typical ‘work’, ‘leisure’ and ‘leisure-work’ volunteers

	LEISURE-WORK	LEISURE	WORK
ROLE	House, garden or countryside volunteers	Working holiday participants and leaders	Interns and young countryside volunteers
FREQUENCY	Regular (usually weekly) over relatively long periods (usually years)	Short episodes but often repeated	Intense (several days a week) but relatively short term (usually several months)
AGE RANGE	55+	30s - 50s	Late teens - 20s
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	Retired or retiring	Full-time employed	Student/unemployed graduate
CLASS	Middle-class	Middle-class	Middle-class
ETHNICITY	White British	White British	White British
GENDER	More female than male but varies by volunteer role	More female than male	Varies by volunteer role
REASON FOR VOLUNTEERING	A more serious form of participation in existing hobby A replacement for the positive aspects of paid work	Primarily as a holiday Related to an interest in the countryside or heritage	To gain skills and experience for paid work To ‘get a foot in the door’ to access paid work
ESTIMATE OF PROPORTION OF NT VOLUNTEERS¹⁴	Up to 75-80%	5-10%	2-5%

¹⁴ This is a rough estimate based on the National Trust Volunteer Count 2009-10 (employee volunteers and external groups excluded) which counts number of volunteers by volunteer type, and the Volunteer Survey 2011 age results

6.2 'Leisure-work' volunteers

The 'leisure-work' group is the largest group of volunteers. I estimate that they could represent 75 to 80 per cent of volunteers (excluding employer-supported volunteers and external group volunteers). They typically start volunteering either as they reduce work and enter retirement, or very soon after entering into retirement. They volunteer regularly, very often weekly, in house, garden or countryside roles. They have often been members of the National Trust for many years prior to their volunteering. For this group of retired, regular volunteers, volunteering fulfils two key functions. Firstly, it provides them with a replacement, sometimes in a very clearly planned way, for paid work. Their volunteering gives a structure to their week, a way to use the skills that they acquired through their paid careers, and fulfils some of the social integration functions of a job. Secondly, it provides them with a leisure activity; a way of participating in a more serious way in heritage, history, or the countryside, fields in which they have participated through visiting and membership for many years prior to their volunteering. The fact that they are volunteering for a cause and organisation they believe in is important, but is not the key driver for their volunteering.

6.2.1 Replacement for the structure of paid work

Research has found that the need to establish structure in the adjustment to retirement is important (Price, 2003). Volunteering offers many of the 'leisure-work' volunteers an important replacement for the structure of their paid employment. Many of these volunteers enter into volunteering either while they are winding down their paid careers, or once they retire. Judith, 67, a former library manager described her planned move from paid work, to retirement, by volunteering for the CAB, and then her transition from volunteering for the CAB to volunteering for the National Trust:

"I finished work on a Friday and started my training with CAB on the Monday. I had it all planned out, must keep busy, mustn't be twiddling my thumbs and wondering what to do." And "I didn't resign from the CAB until I got somewhere else set up... that was

necessary. I've got into this routine of working two mornings a week at the CAB and I wanted to replace it." Judith, 67, voluntary volunteer co-ordinator, Norwood House

Judith describes herself as a workaholic in her paid career and her need to continue to have the structure of work when she retired was very important for her. Antony, 62, a countryside volunteer in the Moors, who worked as a teacher throughout his paid career, describes the importance of the structure his weekly volunteering provides for him:

"I think when I retired, if I didn't have those two days structure, well... you sit at home and you think I shouldn't be doing this because I've not done anything to deserve it. Whereas I've got a structured week now. I've got a day's teaching, a day's Grandad duty, a day with the National Trust... but you know it's, it gives me the structure which I wouldn't have." Antony, 62, countryside volunteer, the Moors

Antony has created a structured week by combining a bit of paid work, unpaid childcare and unpaid volunteering to replace his full-time employment as a teacher.

6.2.2 Replacement for social interaction of paid work

As well as providing structure, an important aspect of work that volunteering provides is the opportunity for social interaction. Roger, who started volunteering after he had retired from his job in management, explained that part of his reasons were to replace the interaction with people that he had enjoyed in his paid work:

"My work you see... you were working with people... you were dealing with people you know, and I thought, you know, I don't really want to stagnate and not really talk to people you know and just get boring." Roger, 62, buggy driver, Norwood House

Having had an uninterrupted career working in banking and marketing, Harriet wanted to replicate some of the social interaction she was used to through working with colleagues as part of a team:

“I was very conscious that I wanted to be at the weekend because, it would be busy and because I would be part of a team. And get to know people. And that’s exactly what’s happened.” Harriet, 72, room guide, Norwood House

Many of the retired volunteers talked about the importance of meeting people – both visitors and other volunteers. The social interaction that volunteering provides plays an important role for many of the older volunteers in preventing loneliness and isolation that can come with retirement as the interaction with colleagues, clients or customers is lost.

6.2.3 Continuity of paid work

As we saw in Chapter 5 volunteering can be a way of using the skills that volunteers had acquired through their paid working lives. It was apparent through the interviews that for some volunteers it was important that the specific volunteer role they were doing offered a continuity of their occupation or profession. For Annabel, 68, her volunteering as a garden guide at Norwood House enabled her to make use of her early career skills as a teacher, alongside her later career skills as a garden designer:

“Well I suppose I thought that, that it would be a good use of the skills that I’ve got... I thought well gardens are my thing. It doesn’t worry me in the least to stand up and talk to people. You know, and I’ve had a life time – albeit children – but encouraging others to see things and become aware of things. So you know it would be a, for me it would be using those skills that I’ve achieved over my life” Annabel, 68, room guide and walks and talks guide, Norwood House

While Annabel actively sought something that would use the skills she had acquired through her paid work, others felt that their skills were what “qualified” them to do their specific volunteer roles. Doreen, 73, felt that her skills, of being able to stand up and deliver information as a result of her teaching experience, were needed in her role as a tour guide, and Margaret, 67, felt her skills of working with children, again from teaching experience, made her well-suited to the role of education volunteer. We saw in Chapter 5 that a high proportion of the volunteers interviewed had careers as teachers, lecturers and trainers - volunteering as a guide offers these people a continuity of these role as educators.

6.2.4 Similar but different

Although we have seen above that volunteering can be a replacement for paid work on retirement, it is important to highlight that it is often only particular aspects of paid work that the volunteers are seeking. They seek the positive aspects of work but avoid the negative aspects; volunteering gives people the work role, activity and structure of paid work, but with some of the mundane activities, or responsibility removed. For Antony, volunteering gives him something to do and a structure to his week, but without the paperwork, planning and meetings he had to do as a teacher:

“With teaching it’s so bureaucratic... exams and parents evenings and planning... I hate it. And here I don’t have to fill in anything, I just come here and do what they ask me and that’s it, you know, it’s good.” Antony, 62, countryside volunteer, the Moors

This difference is also important for Jill, 65, who had an uninterrupted paid career nursing at a senior level and teaching nursing, and who now volunteers as a beach cleaner. When she told me she did not feel part of the National Trust, I understood her to mean she had not been made to feel part of the organisation, but she clarified:

“But I don’t want to be part of them! I don’t want to get that involved that I’d have to worry about when things aren’t, let’s say the funding is bad, or – I don’t really want to know! (laughs).” Jill, 65, beach cleaner, the Moors

Jackie, 59, started volunteering at the Moors at the same time as reducing her paid work as a freelance trainer, as part of a planned transition to retirement. She highlights the difference between the two:

“I think whoah, I’m stressed out at the college with Ofsted this week, I was in there yesterday and I got back and felt completely wrung out with it... And it was just so, oh lovely I can unwind now, I’m up at the Trust tomorrow.” Jackie, 59, volunteer admin assistant, the Moors

Jackie talks about her volunteering keeping her busy and making her feel useful, but it does not give her the stress that comes with her paid freelance work. Volunteering gives these volunteers some of the positive experiences associated with paid work but without some of the administration, the responsibility, or the stress.

6.2.5 Pleasure and enjoyment

Importantly, this group of volunteers are not only seeking a work replacement experience, they are also seeking a leisure experience. It was clear from the pleasure and enjoyment expressed by the volunteers that volunteering is experienced as leisure for many of these volunteers. As Roger puts it:

“I mean, goodness me, I mean you don’t get paid to do it but sitting on a little buggy going between the azaleas which are scented in the spring, birds are singing, I mean goodness me, is that not what life’s about you know?” Roger, 62, buggy driver, Norwood House

Some of the volunteers deliberately sought out their volunteering based on the anticipated pleasure or enjoyment they would experience. Although it was important for Judith to volunteer to keep busy and replace the structure of her paid work, her decision about where to volunteer was influenced by the pleasure she had experienced as a regular visitor to Norwood House:

"I suppose I kept just waiting for something to strike me that I wanted to do and... I just, one day I thought well crikey, where's the place you like more than anywhere in the area? Wouldn't it be wonderful to work at Norwood House?" Judith, 67, voluntary volunteer co-ordinator, Norwood House

For others, the fact that their volunteering was a pleasurable and enjoyable activity was an important reason for continuing to volunteer, as Edith who has volunteered in Norwood House for 22 years explains:

"Friends say to me why the hell do you keep on doing it? It's be-, well I love it, that's the thing. I love it." Edith, 85, room guide, Norwood House

While people do gain pleasure and enjoyment from work, the level of pleasure expressed by the volunteers highlights that their volunteering is more than a purely work-like experience.

6.2.6 Pursuit of a hobby or interest

As was shown in Chapter 5, volunteering is not an introduction to leisure participation in heritage or the countryside. A consistent finding across the vast majority of the interviews is that volunteering for the National Trust relates to an existing personal interest in heritage, or the countryside. In many cases the individuals deliberately sought out a volunteering experience which was related to their interests. Adam and Sean, countryside and estate volunteers explain that their volunteering was an intentional continuity of their interest in the outdoors:

"I've always had an interest in the outdoors... I'd spend quite a bit of time in these environs in any case in my spare time."... "I think it was certainly outdoorsy stuff that I wanted to do." Adam, 53, countryside volunteer, the Moors

"I've always enjoyed the outside, the main hobby of my wife and I is walking. So all our, all our holidays tend to be walking holidays, both love the outdoors. We wanted to volunteer outdoors" Sean, 63, estate volunteer, Norwood House

Similarly, Bev, a volunteer at The Cottages, was looking for some volunteering related to her personal interest in social history:

"I have an interest in history, but very much social history... So of course this suits" Bev, 61, education volunteer and tour guide, The Cottages

Many of the volunteers were looking for a way to participate in heritage or the countryside in a more involved or serious way in a period of their lives when they have more time available. As well as giving them the opportunity to participate in areas in which they have an interest, volunteering gives people the opportunity to develop these interests further:

"I've always loved history... the house has opened this vast door to the 18th Century and of course the garden with all its classical elements has opened the door into classical history." Annabel, 68, room guide and walks and talks guide, Norwood House

Several of the volunteers in Norwood House and The Cottages talked about taking on additional projects to research elements of the property's history that had a particular interest to them.

The link between visiting National Trust properties, membership of the National Trust and volunteering for the National Trust that was outlined in Chapter 5, illustrates that

volunteering can be understood as one form of leisure participation in an often lengthy history of participation in heritage or the countryside. The timelines of the volunteers' involvement with the National Trust (Figure 6, page 163) illustrate how most volunteers have participated with the National Trust as a visitor and as a member, before they start volunteering, and, as was detailed in Chapter 5, many of the volunteers have participated in other heritage and countryside organisations. In particular the timelines provide a visual illustration of how, following many years of participation as a visitor or member, volunteering often starts as people retire. As well as replacing the work elements of the careers they have retired from, retirement also gives these people who have visited heritage sites or the countryside for most of their lives, the opportunity to participate in a more committed way by volunteering.

These findings are consistent with Holmes' (2003) study of the motivations of heritage volunteers, which found that for the majority of volunteers in the heritage sector volunteering is an extension of visiting. The study found that the primary reason given by heritage volunteers for starting to volunteer was in order to pursue an interest (Holmes, 2003). Another study found that heritage volunteers had interests, careers or hobbies related to the subject matter of the organisation (Graham, 2004). Orr's suggestion that "there are those people who are seeking more than a consumption experience and pursue their interest in heritage not only by visiting museums but by volunteering to help." (Orr, 2006, p197) seems to be confirmed in the case of the National Trust. The 'leisure-work' volunteers are seeking a more involved way of pursuing an interest or hobby in heritage or the countryside.

6.2.7 Therapeutic leisure-work

Both work and leisure can contribute to positive well-being (Haworth, 2004). The experiences of work which are important for well-being – structure, social contact, collective effort or purpose, social identity or status, and regular activity (Jahoda, 1982) – can also be experienced through leisure. As we have seen, most of the 'leisure-work' volunteers start volunteering when they reach retirement age, and are seeking

continuity of the positive aspects of their experiences of paid employment. By offering individuals a way to both avoid the negative aspects of paid work and experience pleasure in an area of personal interest, volunteering can provide significant therapeutic effects. At the age of 45, Derek retired from his work as a Community Service Officer for the Probation Service on grounds of ill health, due to severe depression. Derek explains how this eventually led him to volunteering for two to three days a week as a countryside volunteer for the Moors:

"I'd retired, ill health retirement, I'd suffered from severe depression. And I needed to get out. I was sort of vegetating at home, so I needed the impetus to get out and have something on a regular basis really." Derek, 61, countryside volunteer, the Moors

Derek volunteered as a way of dealing with his depression, and his later comment *"It's been a life saver for me"* was meant literally. While he could not cope with the stress of continuing his paid employment, some elements of the experience of work were important for his mental well-being – getting out of the house, having structure, having a role, and doing something productive and useful. Derek has had a love of the countryside since he was a child, has enjoyed active outdoor leisure pursuits through his life and goes walking on the Moors daily. Derek was seeking a less stressful alternative to his paid work, but the fact that it is in the countryside, which has always been a source of pleasure for him is an important element of its therapeutic effects. It has been argued that volunteering can contribute to well-being in the workplace in three ways: by compensating for dissatisfaction in the workplace, by changing working conditions, and by providing a way for individuals to gain new skills to facilitate a career change (Roth, unpublished). Derek's case suggests that volunteering can contribute to well-being in the workplace in a fourth way – by being an *alternative* form of work to paid employment. Although in Derek's case his volunteering had clear and very significant therapeutic effects for him, the combination of both elements of work and elements of leisure seem to make a significant contribution to the well-being of many of the retired volunteers.

Box 2: A typical 'leisure-work volunteer'

Margaret has volunteered as an education volunteer and tour guide for The Cottages for three years. She is 67, married, has two children and three grandchildren. Margaret went to university at aged 18 to study English and then trained to be a teacher. She taught for around 30 years, with a gap of seven years when she had her children. Margaret sums up her reasons for volunteering:

"I wanted to keep meeting people. Because my job's always been interacting with people... I was looking for something that would interest me. And getting me out of the house and meeting people. And particularly the history - I'm quite enthusiastic about the history."

This short summary in Margaret's words, highlights that there were many reasons contributing to her decision to volunteer. On the one hand volunteering for Margaret is a form of leisure. She has a long standing interest in history since her Grandmother who had a passion for local historic buildings took her to visit them as a child *"I was only about nine, but I got the spark"*. As a member of the National Trust for 33 years she has been an active participant in heritage as a visitor. She also has an interest in local history and genealogy, having researched her own family history and the links it has to The Cottages area. Volunteering gives Margaret a chance to learn more about a subject that she is interested in. Furthermore, volunteering gives her a huge amount of pleasure:

"It is the best thing I've ever done. I can honestly say that it is absolutely fantastic. I get up on a Friday and I think it's like a party day (laughs). And as I come down the road my mood lifts. I'm really buzzing."

She enjoys the social aspect of volunteering and her volunteering gives her the chance to meet and socialise with people with similar interests to her own:

"They're all people with a similar interest – I mean they will have other interests but they've all got heritage in common. So whoever you talk to they've been somewhere, they're going somewhere, they've seen something, they'll tell me about some meeting. They've all got that common core."

Cont.

As well as enabling her to pursue her interest in local history, it has also been an important replacement for work when she retired:

"I was 62 when I retired, so I taught full-time until I was 62. So my way of life was getting up and going out. To me getting up and staying in is like a punishment. I mean some people would love to stay in and relax. But I would feel what a waste of time. So when I retired I was looking for things, well to be useful, but also to entertain myself, give myself a structure."

Replacing the structure and the social interaction that her paid career as a teacher provided was clearly important, and the specific role she does as an education volunteer working with children uses the skills she has acquired through her teaching career.

The comment above "well to be useful" is the only suggestion Margaret gives of how her volunteering helps others. This does not mean that she is not an altruistic person – she also volunteers a lot of her time as a Magistrate, and she is supportive of the National Trust and what it does – but her volunteering for the National Trust is not primarily altruistically motivated.

6.3 'Leisure' volunteers

I estimate that the 'leisure' group of volunteers is smaller in number – perhaps five to ten per cent of National Trust volunteers. Although there are some regular and long-term volunteers in this group, it is mainly made up of working holiday volunteers and working holiday leaders in their 30s to 50s. These working holiday volunteers and leaders are primarily volunteering as a holiday. It is a particular and very specific type of holiday, but the participants are doing it for a break from their normal lives or jobs, and they are seeking an enjoyable time. They are looking for an opportunity to do something active, in beautiful surroundings, with a chance to meet new people. The working holiday volunteers I interviewed were not using the working holidays to test

out potential career changes, or acquire skills for their CVs, although it is conceivable that working holidays could offer a way of doing this. The fact that the work they do helps the National Trust and a cause they generally believe in is an added bonus but they do not sacrifice a week of their annual leave primarily for the cause. For some of this group, volunteering plays an important social role in their lives; it provides them a way of doing the type of holiday they are interested in, with people with similar interests, and is a way of meeting new people. Although most 'leisure' volunteers are working holiday volunteers, a few in this group volunteer regularly. For these people volunteering is not a way to get experience for a career change, or a way to gain or use work related skills, but is a hobby or an interest which they do alongside paid work or studies.

6.3.1 Enjoyment and pleasure

While for the 'leisure-work' volunteers enjoyment is one element of their volunteering, for 'leisure' volunteers, the enjoyment and pleasure experienced is often the most important element of volunteering. Ben, 17, did a week's work experience several years ago in the Moors, and has carried on volunteering weekly since. His reasons for continuing to volunteer are simple:

"It was just the enjoyment. It wasn't really to get a job out of it... I just enjoy it really. It's a good laugh." Ben, 17, countryside volunteer, the Moors

Ben has decided he does not want a career in this field, he is not doing his volunteering out of a desire to preserve the area for enjoyment of others; he volunteers for the fun and enjoyment he experiences. Sarah, 53, who cares for her children, explains why having done her first working holiday this year she has booked onto another one:

"Well it was just lovely, it was just lovely being out with a group of people from different walks of life, sharing experiences, in a different place which is absolutely stunning."
Sarah, 53, working holiday participant

The pleasurable, sociable experience in a beautiful location was more important to Sarah than the activity she was carrying out, or the impact it had.

6.3.2 Pursuit of a hobby or interest

For some of the 'leisure' volunteers, the opportunity to pursue a particular interest or hobby is their primary reason for volunteering. Dave, who fits his volunteering around a full-time job and family commitments as a grandfather, has a passionate interest in local history. Before volunteering at The Cottages he had volunteered helping out a local historian with some archiving, and as he describes, *"got the local history bug"*. When the archiving came to an end, he was looking for another way of pursuing his interests:

"Well as I just said I'm into social history, interested in the history of Newborough, interested in buildings. So the three of them just gel together like." Dave, 64, tour guide, The Cottages

All of Ryan's leisure and social life is centred around active pursuits in the countryside, spending most weekends doing activities with his orienteering club or walking group. He has volunteered in various ways for both of these organisations, as a formal committee member and planning and leading group walks. For Ryan, volunteering on working holidays is just one element of his active outdoor lifestyle which frequently involves volunteering.

6.3.3 Distinctly different from work

The 'leisure' volunteers volunteer for many of the same reasons as the 'leisure-work' group. What makes this group distinctly different is that while many of the 'leisure-work' volunteers are seeking a continuity or substitute for work, for the 'leisure'

volunteers it is often the fact that it is distinctly different from their paid work that is important. Ryan has an office based job in the civil service. He explains his reasons for going on working holidays:

“Being in a job which is basically fully office-based, people sometimes say well why do you go on a working holiday? Well I’m not somebody that likes doing nothing, and for me it is a holiday to be outside doing something like manual work when I’m normally sitting at a computer.” Ryan, 36, working holiday participant

The fact that it is completely different from his paid job, means his working holidays are seen by him primarily as a holiday. Jeremy, 51, also described similar reasons for going on working holidays. Although he has spent much of his life doing practical landscape and handyman work, he spent a few years doing office-based charity work. It was at this point that he did several National Trust working holidays. Now he has left the office job and returned to outside manual and landscaping work, he has stopped doing working holidays as they are not distinctly different enough from his paid work to give him the holiday that he needs. Ben is quite clear that he does not consider his volunteering to be work:

“It’s just not work at all. You know, I work in McDonalds, that’s hell, I hate it. But you know, when I come up here I have a laugh, do a bit, you know, I don’t see it as work at all.” Ben, 17, countryside volunteer, the Moors

For Ben the element of fun and enjoyment distinguishes his volunteering from work, which in his experience is something unpleasant and done purely for remuneration. Volunteering can be experienced by the individuals that do it as a leisure experience, but importantly it is experienced as such because of how it relates to their individual experiences of work.

Box 3: A typical 'leisure' volunteer

Dan, aged 51, has participated in 38 working holidays over 25 years, five as a participant and 33 as a leader. For most of his life Dan has worked as a dental technician, for 22 years of it in the same company. He has a partner who he met on a working holiday. Dan has always enjoyed leisure pursuits in the countryside such as walking, cycling, caving and rock climbing. He spent a lot of time in the outdoors growing up, as his family had a second home in the countryside. He visits National Trust properties and wildlife sites such as the local arboretum with his partner, family and friends in his leisure time.

Dan went on his first working holiday purely as a way of having a cheap holiday. Having bought a house and then been affected by huge interest rates rises, he did not have spare money for a holiday.

"I couldn't afford a holiday and my mum saw about National Trust holidays in a magazine, and I started doing them." "It was because I didn't have any money. That was the main reason. It was because I didn't have any money."

Dan got on well with the other people on the first holiday, found it really enjoyable, and decided to do more. After a few holidays he was asked if he would be a leader. Despite having the responsibility of leading the holidays, he still finds them very enjoyable and still considers them to be holidays. The enjoyment and fun has continued to be the most important element for Dan. The social life associated with the holidays is important; he enjoys cooking and drinking in the evenings, and going to the pub with the other volunteers. He tried volunteering with a local conservation group but he did not continue with it as it did not provide him with the social element he was looking for. In his job as a dental technician he worked on his own for long hours, and describes not having much of a social life, or a way to meet people. He recognises that working holidays over the years have provided him with an important part of his social life.

Learning skills or getting experience for work from his volunteering has not been important for Dan. He refers to the skills of dry stone walling and hedge laying that he has learnt as nice to learn but not something he would do as a job. He describes it as rewarding to see what they have achieved and how they have helped wardens do tasks but this is not an important motivation for his volunteering.

6.4 'Work' volunteers

I estimate that the 'work' group of volunteers are the smallest proportion of National Trust volunteers, possibly around 2 to 5 per cent. They can be found both in the opportunities labelled as internships and in less formal routes, most commonly doing outdoor countryside roles. For this group of young volunteers in their late teens and early 20s, their volunteering is entered into with specific aims of preparing for paid employment. Although some of the young 'work' volunteers enjoy leisure interests in the countryside, or have been regular visitors to the National Trust with their family, and this may have influenced their choice of vocations, their volunteering is not primarily about seeking a leisure experience.

6.4.1 Preparation or route into paid work

Unsurprisingly the young volunteers who were volunteering as part of an unpaid internship – Elena, 26, Kate, 24, Neil, 23, and Lyn, 23 – were very clear that their volunteering was primarily to gain work experience in order to get paid employment. Elena, an intern describes her reasons for volunteering:

"It was purely career driven... I knew what the National Trust represented as well, I knew that it would be, on a CV, the name National Trust would be well recognised. I was very self, self-interested, I think. I mean I was delighted to be able to help as well, but it was clear what I was getting from the deal so to speak." Elena, 26, intern

Elena was happy to be helping an organisation she respected and believed in, but was clear that her main reason for volunteering was to help her to access the paid career that she wanted. The interns had mixed career plans, and were often using their internships for the transferable skills they could gain, and for the prestige of having a respected organisation on their CV to help them get paid employment in another organisation.

For those hoping to get paid work in the countryside as a warden or similar, spending time volunteering was accepted as a requirement of getting a paid job. Danielle, 18, who is doing a course in countryside management volunteers one day a week on the Moors to get practical experience. She has been told that to get into a paid job in the field she should expect to do a substantial amount of volunteering first:

"My tutor now he did five years volunteering for the National Trust and then got a job... He said you do have to volunteer a lot in these kind of things... he's urged that we're gonna have to do a lot of voluntary work if we wanna get in this kind of job." Danielle, 18, countryside volunteer, the Moors

Danielle, 18, Jamie, 21, and Blake, 22, had all accepted that that spending some time doing unpaid volunteering was necessary to get into the gardening or countryside careers that they wanted. As well as volunteering to gain the specific experience needed to volunteer, some young countryside volunteers also saw it as a way of getting access to the organisation, with a view to getting paid work specifically with the National Trust:

"I saw it maybe at the time, maybe getting a foot in the door as it were with the Trust."
Blake, 22, countryside volunteer, the Moors

Volunteering seems to be a common route into paid employment with the National Trust. Sadie, Jamie, Rosie and Lewis who I interviewed as volunteers had all got some kind of paid work with the National Trust through volunteering first, and Ellie and Jennifer, two of the paid staff interviewed had also started off as volunteers.

While these volunteers tended to enjoy what they were doing, they did not talk about their volunteering as a leisure experience – they were doing work that was unpaid and directly related to work that they hoped to eventually be paid for. Indeed, other than the fact it was unpaid, volunteering for some of these volunteers was almost indistinguishable from paid work:

"I mean they definitely treated it like a job, which is difficult because you know you're working to like deadlines and you're being treated like a paid member of staff, like expected to do the same as a paid member of staff when actually you're not being paid... So it did feel like work. Um, but it was unpaid so yes I suppose it was, I did think of it as volunteering as well." Kate, 24, intern

The fact that it was unpaid, seems to be the only element that made Kate think of her internship as volunteering. It was not only for the interns that lack of remuneration was the only factor that distinguished volunteering from paid work. Having volunteered for five months at Norwood House, by the time I interviewed Jamie he was doing paid seasonal work for three days a week and volunteering unpaid for a fourth day. There was no difference between what he did on his paid or unpaid days.

6.4.2 Alternative to paid work

While most of the 'work' volunteers volunteered as a preparation or route into paid work, one exception was Rosie. Rosie, 38, is single and does not have children; she is at the age and stage in life where full-time paid work would usually occupy her time. A few years ago, having been to university and then worked her way up to senior levels of a company, she decided to have some time out of paid employment and go travelling. Since then she has not re-entered her previous paid career and instead has held low-paid, part-time jobs and volunteered unpaid. She currently works part-time in a paid role for the National Trust as a car park supervisor on the Moors and she volunteers unpaid at one of the Moors locations doing events and education work. As well as volunteering for the National Trust she also volunteers for the RSPB, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA), the Wildlife Trust, Butterfly Conservation, and Plantlife. She does a combination of shop work, reception work, practical wildlife reserve work, and she carries out plant and wildlife surveys. Spending her time doing a range of volunteering instead of working full-time was

something that Rosie had chosen to do as an alternative to paid work. She explains her reasons:

"It gives me a chance to do a little bit of everything. So rather than saying I'm going to work in the RSPB shop forever, I can do all of those things. A little bit for everybody. And as well if you're only a volunteer, only temporary, you don't have to do most of the boring everyday stuff. So it cuts out a lot of the paper work.... and as well you can pick and choose... you can say no... You can't do that in a paid job. So I've got the experience of all of these things, and the fun of all of these things, but not necessarily being tied down." Rosie, 38, education and events volunteer, the Moors

Rosie's volunteering fills the space that paid work is expected to take for someone of her age and stage in life, but she has opted out of pursuing the career she started out on and chosen it as an alternative. Volunteering allows Rosie to do a lot of different activities and roles that she would not necessarily want to do full-time, pick and choose the bits of work that she wants to do, and avoid the responsibility or the commitment of paid employment. Although her volunteering is closely related to her leisure interests and she finds it fun, Rosie sees her collection of low paid part-time work and various volunteer roles, collectively as work, not leisure.

Box 4: A typical 'work' volunteer

Jamie, 21, volunteers as a gardener at Norwood House. After doing A Levels he took two gap years, one working a ski season and one working to save money for university. When the degree course in Arboriculture that he had planned to do got withdrawn, he decided that an alternative way into his chosen career was to get some experience at Norwood House gardens. He contacted the head gardener directly and describes "pestering him" until he agreed to meet with him. The head gardener suggested he volunteered for a couple of weeks to see how he got on. Jamie ended up volunteering for five months, and was then offered some part-time paid seasonal work. He is now paid for three days a week and continues volunteering for one day a week.

Jamie was primarily interested in the gardens, the arborists that worked there and the experience he could gain.

"To learn more than anything... I came here to learn off of [the head gardener]... That was my main objective really. Just to learn."

His reasons for volunteering were to gain work experience to prepare him for paid employment. There does not appear to be any element of altruism involved in why he volunteered, although his interest and respect for the National Trust and what it does has grown as he has got to know the organisation. While Jamie's general leisure interest in outdoor activities and sports may have influenced his choice of vocation, he did not volunteer as a leisure activity.

These summaries of the characteristics and examples of 'leisure-work', 'leisure' and 'work' volunteers highlight that volunteering can be experienced as work, volunteering can be experienced as leisure, and for many National Trust volunteers, there are elements of both leisure and work in their volunteering. Employment, work and non-work are all interconnected and boundaries are constantly shifting (Glucksmann, 2005). Whether for the majority of National Trust volunteers who I have placed in the 'leisure-work' group, volunteering is better described as a leisure-like

form of work, or work-like form of leisure is less important than the recognition that volunteering for the National Trust cannot be understood in isolation from either the individuals' experiences of leisure or their experiences of other forms of work.

6.5 Work, leisure or altruism: does it matter?

Recognising that volunteering is a form of work or leisure is important in understanding inequality in volunteering. As well as recognising that volunteering is a form of work or leisure that requires capital to participate, it is also important to recognise that it is a form of work or leisure through which people benefit personally and acquire resources. Volunteering for the National Trust is rarely done primarily as an act of altruism, giving or generosity, but as a form of work or leisure which individuals enter into with the expectation of experiencing the benefits or rewards associated with engaging in work or leisure. I illustrate this below, firstly by highlighting the limited role of altruism as a motivating factor for National Trust volunteers, and secondly by identifying the capital gained through volunteering by the 'leisure-work', 'leisure' and 'work' volunteers. Conceptualising volunteering as work and leisure helps to identify the benefits gained from volunteering as well as the resources needed to volunteer.

6.5.1 Altruism

As I argued in Chapter 1, conceptualising volunteering as an act of altruism, or giving, or motivated by moral incentives has been a limitation of existing theoretical attempts to explain who volunteers. Among the National Trust volunteers, while altruistic reasons – benefiting others, giving something back or supporting the cause – were a factor for many of the volunteers, they were rarely a primary motivating reason for volunteering. Among the 40 interviewees, the most strongly expressed altruistic reasons for volunteering, came from Ruth and Annie. Ruth, a tour guide at The Cottages explains her reasons for volunteering:

"Simply because I thought it was really, really important for the city of Newborough that it had this link with all those people in the past, all those ordinary people. It values ordinary people's lives... Having something like this is I think important." Ruth, 59, tour guide, The Cottages

An important factor for Ruth is her passion for preserving the property and for sharing this with the people of the city. For Annie, a beach cleaner in the Moors area, her volunteering allows her to contribute locally, to a global problem which she cares about:

"Well it's my local beach. I'm appalled at the waste and rubbish there is in the world. Ok it's a tiny little – not even a drop – in the ocean here, doing this. But you know when you just see the mess that there is in the world, and the rubbish and the garbage... I do feel that the world is just dying under plastic." Annie, 66, beach cleaner, the Moors

While these altruistic reasons are important for Ruth and Annie, Jackie, who we have seen started volunteering as part of a transition to retirement, readily emphasises her self-interested reasons for her volunteering:

"I'm being selfish now I guess. I've worked for most of my life, well for all of my life, since I was 19. I've had breaks but I never stopped working, I never stopped... So, I just think to myself, I want to do something for me now. Do I want everyone's problems? No not really... So I just want some me time now." Jackie, 59, volunteer admin assistant, the Moors

It was clear through the interviews, however, that altruism and self-interest are not mutually exclusive. Although Jackie is keen to highlight her self-interested motivations, it was also important to her that she was useful to the National Trust. While Ruth and Annie expressed the most strongly voiced altruistic reasons, they both readily acknowledged their self-interest; Ruth would not continue to volunteer if she

did not get a lot of enjoyment from it, and Annie values the chance to spend time on the beach and get some exercise. After having what he describes as a fortunate life, a successful business, good health, and healthy children, Adam talked about feeling good about being able to give something back. When I asked whether that was part of the reason for him volunteering, he responded:

"(Long pause) I think that my drive is probably very much doing something that I want to do. The fact that it is benefiting others and therefore I'm sort of giving back I think is part of the equation but not the main – it's like all these things there's more than one component isn't there?" Adam, 53, countryside volunteer, the Moors

Adam's comment is a good illustration of many of the volunteers' positions: altruism was rarely the main driver for their volunteering, but it was often a factor or "part of the equation". The 2012 National Trust Volunteer Survey, which included questions around motivations confirms this. It found that the statement of motivation that most respondents agreed with was "my volunteering allows me to enjoy being in a beautiful setting" (62 per cent strongly agreed). The second strongest motivation was "my volunteering allows me to help preserve our heritage for future generations" (48 per cent strongly agreed), and the third was "my volunteering is fun" (45 per cent strongly agreed) (National Trust, 2012c). Preserving heritage for future generations is important, but so is being in beautiful surroundings and having fun.

Altruism is one motivating factor that is involved to a greater or lesser degree in combination with self-interested reasons. This does not mean that the individuals who volunteer for the National Trust are particularly self-interested people. Several of the volunteers also volunteer for other organisations – such as CAB, the Samaritans, youth groups, and disability organisations – or have done at other stages in their life, where the altruistic motivation may be stronger. But altruism does not define the volunteering they do for the National Trust – volunteering for the National Trust is not first and foremost an act of altruism. As Taylor states "Altruism does not define the volunteer anymore than self interest defines the employee" (Taylor, 2005, p122). This

recognition highlights the inadequacies of theories such as the 'resource model' which are based on the assumption of altruism. White, middle-class, older people are *not* more likely to volunteer for the National Trust because they are more altruistic than non-white, working-class, younger people.

6.5.2 Capital needed, capital gained

In Chapter 5 I explored in detail the different forms of capital which enable volunteering for the National Trust. This highlighted the link between leisure, work and volunteering in particular by showing how human capital acquired through middle-class experiences of work, and cultural capital acquired through white, middle-class experiences of leisure enables volunteering for the National Trust. By breaking down the volunteers into three groups of 'leisure-work', 'leisure' and 'work' we can see that different compositions of capital are needed to enable volunteering for each group. Recognising why people volunteer – as work, leisure or both – also emphasises what people are seeking to gain from their volunteering. The idea of looking at the impact of volunteering in terms of the capital acquired has been suggested as part of the IVR Volunteering Impact Assessment Toolkit (Rochester et al, 2010, pp166-173). In Table 7 I summarise the capital needed to volunteer and the capital gained through volunteering for each of the three groups of National Trust volunteers.

This table emphasises that volunteering for the National Trust is a productive activity. As well as needing economic, human and cultural capital to volunteer, the 'leisure-work' volunteers potentially gain social, human, cultural and symbolic capital. As outlined above, social contacts that the volunteers make with like-minded people and their widened social network are often significant for 'leisure-work' volunteers. These volunteers can acquire further human capital, and learn new skills, but we have seen that what is more important is the opportunity to continue to make use of the skills they have. As important as the human capital they gain, is often the symbolic capital acquired in the form of maintaining some form of work role, identity or status, and an

Table 7: Capital needed and capital gained through volunteering for the National Trust for ‘leisure-work’, ‘leisure’ and ‘work’ volunteers

	LEISURE-WORK	LEISURE	WORK
CAPITAL NEEDED	Economic – Live in geographical area of site; own transport Human – Work-related skills and confidence; knowledge; education Cultural – Interest in history, heritage, art or the countryside; preference for participation in heritage or the countryside; familiarity and ease with surroundings	Economic – Cost of holiday and transport Cultural – Preference for participation in the countryside	Economic – Parental support to enable unpaid work; own transport Human – Perceived requirement of degree for internships Cultural – Vocational interest in heritage or the countryside
CAPITAL GAINED	Social – Widened social network Human – Maintain skills Cultural – Increased cultural knowledge and experience Symbolic – Replacement work role identity; association with the National Trust	Social – Widened social network Economic – Low cost activity holiday Human – Potential to learn new skills Cultural – Increased cultural knowledge and experience	Social capital – Social contacts with potential employer Economic – Other forms of capital ultimately transfer to economic capital in the form of paid employment Human capital – Specific and transferable skills and knowledge Symbolic capital – Association with National Trust on CV

association with an organisation as well-respected as the National Trust. Many of the volunteers in this group volunteer specifically to enhance their cultural capital – to participate in, and learn more about an area they are particularly interested in. There is no evidence of economic gain for the ‘leisure-work’ volunteers - in fact many of them do not claim back travel costs as a way of donating to the National Trust.

For the 'leisure' volunteers, it is often the social capital that they acquire in the form of widened social networks which is important. Although this is primarily for social reasons, rather than an investment in potentially useful contacts and networks, it is an important factor. As well as having an enjoyable time, volunteers also get to enhance their cultural capital, spending more time and gaining more knowledge in the areas that they are interested in. Working holidays are a low cost holiday option, and participants benefit economically if the cost is compared to many alternative active holidays. The 'leisure' volunteers often acquire human capital in the form of new skills learnt – although for the people I interviewed there was no evidence of them intending to apply these skills in an employment situation, there is the potential for these skills to be used in this way.

The young 'work' volunteers potentially have a lot to gain through their volunteering. They acquire social capital in the form of social contacts with people who can potentially offer them paid work. They gain human capital in the form of the work-related skills that they enter into the volunteering in order to gain – often specific skills for the countryside volunteers and transferable skills for the office-based interns. They acquire symbolic capital in the form of having an association with the National Trust, a large and well-respected employer, on their CV. Ultimately for these volunteers, the expectation is that these other forms of capital will translate into economic capital in the form of paid employment.

We know from the vast body of literature on the benefits of volunteering (see Chapter 1) that volunteering is associated with many and wide ranging benefits to the volunteers themselves, and this is confirmed by recognising the capital gained through volunteering for the National Trust. However, as emphasised by Table 7 above, while capital or resources are acquired through volunteering, it is those with already high levels of capital who are benefiting from the opportunity to accrue more. For example, the capital gained through volunteering for the young 'work' volunteers puts them in an advantageous position in securing the limited paid jobs that are available, but it is those with economic capital that are able to access these volunteering opportunities.

Recognising the link between the capital needed to enable volunteering and the capital gained through volunteering in this way, highlights that rather than being a solution for tackling inequality and social exclusion, volunteering can actually exacerbate existing inequality. As Hustinx et al argue, efforts to encourage volunteering can perpetuate existing power imbalances by giving those who already possess ample resources the chance to enhance their human and social capital (Hustinx et al., 2010a, p427). Research in the UK has suggested that social capital acquired through membership of voluntary associations operates to entrench class inequalities (Li et al., 2003; Warde et al., 2003; Li et al., 2008). Li et al and Warde et al found that social capital in Britain was not distributed evenly across classes, with the benefits of social capital increasingly going to professional and managerial classes relative to other social class groups; “we are forced to conclude that social capital primarily operates to entrench privilege, within and across generations... Thus efforts aimed merely at increasing social capital by encouraging greater formal civic engagement without tackling the root causes of socio-economic disadvantage may well aggravate rather than ameliorate social division.” (Li et al., 2008, p407). Recognising the link between the possession of capital needed to volunteer and the capital gained, can explain why efforts to simply increase volunteering, without addressing the barriers as a result of a lack of capital can exacerbate inequality.

Defining volunteering primarily as an act of giving is a misleading representation of how it is experienced in the National Trust. Although there is an element of giving involved, portraying it as primarily altruistic would overlook the personal rewards gained by the volunteers. Volunteering for the National Trust is a productive and rewarding form of work or leisure. White, middle-class, older people volunteer for the National Trust because volunteering for the National Trust requires the composition of capital they possess and provides them with an opportunity to gain more, not because they are more altruistic or giving.

6.6 Work, leisure, age and gender

While the focus of this research has been on explaining class and ethnicity patterns, in this final section I briefly reflect on how recognising volunteering as work and leisure can also contribute to explaining age and gender patterns of National Trust volunteers. As well as varying by class and ethnicity, experiences of both work and leisure vary through the life course and by gender. Recognising that volunteering for the National Trust relates to the work and leisure experiences of individuals can contribute to explaining the distinctive age and gender patterns in the National Trust.

6.6.1 Age

As outlined in Chapter 4, National Trust volunteers have a very distinct age profile. Just three per cent of National Trust volunteers are under 25, 13 per cent are between the ages of 25 and 54, and the vast majority – 84 per cent – are aged 55 and over. As detailed in Chapter 1, research has shown that participation varies through the life course (Omoto et al., 2000; Van Willigen, 2000; Oesterle et al., 2004; Tang, 2006; Kaskie et al., 2008; Brodie et al., 2011; Hogg, 2013). The volunteering histories of the National Trust volunteers revealed how participation in volunteering has varied through their lives, both in level of involvement and in the nature of the volunteering.

Elena, 26, has been involved in various forms of volunteering. When she was 17 she took part in a 10 week volunteering expedition in Costa Rica and Guatemala which involved volunteering on community and environmental projects, as well as travelling. When she was at university she served on the committees of the opera society, and a student travel magazine. When Elena finished her undergraduate degree she volunteered for the fundraising department for the National Trust for Scotland to get some work experience. After completing her master's she participated in the National Trust internship, and following this she undertook another unpaid internship at a public affairs consultancy firm. At the time of the interview Elena had started a full-time paid job in London and had just responded to an advert for volunteers at a local

arts centre. She reflects on how this is different to her internships and the volunteering she has done primarily for work experience:

"My motivation this time is entirely different. This is about having something to do, because I don't like to be idle... I've always been involved in the arts, I'm sure I'll get quite a buzz from being a member of this very avant-garde artsy centre. And it's about being entrenched in the local community. Cos I am still new here and when you're in London it can be really hard to meet people, grow your roots and feel you belong to a community as opposed to the whole city. And so I thought it would be a good way to get to know local people." Elena, 26, intern

Volunteering abroad provided Elena with an active leisure experience in her gap year, and her university committee positions offered her a way of being involved in her leisure interests while also gaining some experiences and responsibilities which would add to her CV. Elena's post-university volunteering was very clearly directed at getting work experience in order to gain paid employment. Now that she has secured a position in the paid labour force and no longer needs to volunteer to gain work experience, she is looking to volunteer as a way to meet people and settle into a new area, and as a way of being involved in the arts, an area that she has always had a leisure interest in. Elena's experiences of volunteering show how what she is seeking from her volunteering changes as she moves through life course stages and as her participation in other forms of work and leisure shift.

Sean, 63, now retired, has volunteered throughout his life. As outlined previously as well as being involved with his local church in various roles over several decades, Sean has also volunteered as a Beaver, Cub and Scout leader, and volunteered for the Stroke Association. Sean's involvement with the Beavers, Cubs and Scouts started when his children were attending and there was a shortage of leaders – he volunteered to help keep the groups going so that his own children could continue to attend. This volunteering was related to his role as a parent and supported the leisure activities of his children. Sean's involvement with the Stroke Association was very different.

Having worked in the chemical industry for the first part of his life, he retrained and set up his own business providing training in neuro-linguistic programming. The volunteering that he has done for the Stroke Association was directly related to his business:

"I've done work in the past for the Stroke Association, but that's an extension to my academic work... That's an extension of my role as a psychologist." Sean, 63, estate volunteer, Norwood House

Sean's volunteering for the National Trust relates to his hobbies of walking and spending time outdoors, and helps to keep him busy now that he is retired. Sean's volunteering has varied through his life, related to his own and his children's leisure participation, to his paid work, and to his role as a parent. Sean and Elena's very different volunteering histories illustrate that what people do, and why they do it, varies through the life course and fulfils different work and leisure roles.

It is not only life course stage that affects participation in volunteering but also the period effects on particular birth cohorts (Elder, 1994). For the young volunteers, graduating from university or finishing school at a time of high rates of unemployment, particularly youth unemployment (Office for National Statistics, 2012), gaining work experience through unpaid volunteering is seen as a requirement of getting a job:

"I knew that my degree, no matter how good, it wasn't gonna be good enough sadly. So I applied for various internships either with think tanks or large international organisations." Elena, 26, intern

In contrast, Annie, who was born in 1945, reflecting on her very full career with no gaps in employment says:

"I've been very lucky, when I wanted to work, the work's been there. I have to say it was a golden age when I left school. It was not how many applicants there were for the job, it was how many jobs you were offered. I remember being offered two or three jobs and just having my pick. It's a completely different world." Annie, 66, beach cleaner, the Moors

While volunteering today is seen as important, and sometimes necessary to get paid employment, volunteering for work experience did not feature in any of the older participants' volunteering histories.

The role of volunteering in later life is also changing and there has been a great deal of research interest in volunteering as a retirement role (Musick et al., 1999; Kaskie et al., 2008; Morrow-Howell et al., 2009). People born after the Second World War are commonly referred to as baby boomers, a term which amongst other things refers to a generation who benefitted from full employment, good pension schemes and early retirement options. They are retirees with better health, more money and more time to spend on leisure in their retirement than previous generations (Willettts, 2010). The retired National Trust volunteers interviewed fit this description, having had successful careers, comfortable pensions and the option to retire early. They are retiring at a stage where they are fit and active and looking for ways to fill a potentially lengthy retirement. There has not always been such a supply of healthy, wealthy retired people, and with higher retirement age, and fewer final salary pensions it may not continue to the same extent in the future. It is not only age or life course stage that helps to explain age patterns of volunteering, but also recognising the effects of economic and political situation on different generations and their experiences of work and leisure. Younger people volunteering as preparation for paid work and older retirees volunteering as leisure, are both in part a response to the current economic and political climate.

Categorising National Trust volunteers into the three groups of 'leisure-work', 'leisure' and 'work' volunteers, highlights that each group has distinctive age patterns. Acknowledging that the 'leisure-work' group are predominantly retired, the 'leisure'

group are mainly middle aged and the 'work' group are young, and comparing this to volunteering opportunities in the National Trust explains some of the age patterns of volunteers in the National Trust. There are very few young volunteers and this partly reflects the limited number of opportunities for work experience. Internships are restricted in their availability and there is likely to be a limit to the number of people seeking work experience that properties are able support at any one time. Similarly people who volunteer for the National Trust in their middle ages are primarily working holiday volunteers, but the number of working holidays that the National Trust can, or needs to, offer is limited. Most of the volunteer roles on offer are weekly or fortnightly property-based roles and many properties, including The Cottages and Norwood House, do not take people on unless they can make this kind of commitment. The Volunteer Survey shows that 63 per cent of volunteers volunteer once a week or more and a further 25 per cent volunteer once a fortnight (Appendix K). Most of the volunteer roles therefore are not suited to people who work full-time. As explained in Chapter 5, other than the working holiday volunteers, Dave, a tour guide at The Cottages was the only interviewee who worked full-time. Many properties do not take people on unless they can make a level of commitment which is particularly suited to people who have retired.

Individuals' participation in volunteering varies through the life course in terms of what they do, and what they are seeking to get from their volunteering. Just as work and leisure participation varies through the life course, volunteering fulfils different work and leisure roles for people through different life course stages. These examples show that as well as helping to explain class and ethnicity patterns, recognising that volunteering is experienced as work and leisure also helps to explain age patterns of volunteers. It has been suggested that the variation in participation over the life course can be explained by possession of different forms of capital (Oesterle et al., 2004; Tang, 2006): "volunteers at different life stages relied on resources in forms of human, social, and cultural capital to a varying degree." (Tang, 2006, p387). The examples above suggest that at different stages of their lives individuals use volunteering to acquire capital, or use their capital to access volunteering. Young people use volunteering as a

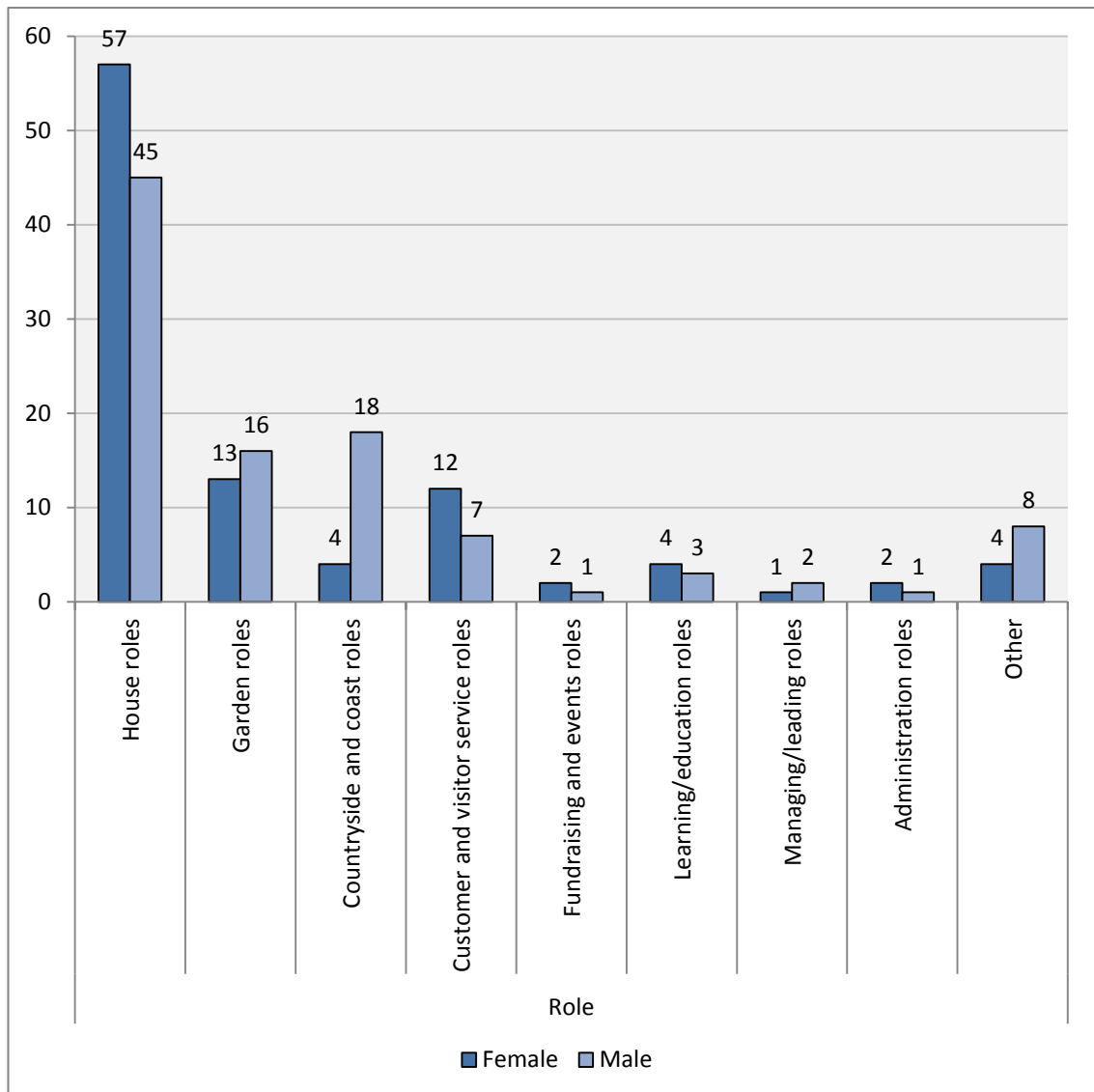
way to acquire social and cultural capital to gain paid work and older people volunteer as a way to use their human and cultural capital in retirement. Furthermore, as we have seen, the supply and the need for capital changes over time. Retirees now have economic capital at an age when they are physically healthy, enabling volunteering in retirement, and younger generations now rely on volunteering to acquire social and cultural capital in order to access scarce paid employment.

6.6.2 Gender

More females than males volunteer for the National Trust. The Volunteer Survey reveals that 62 per cent of volunteers are female and 38 per cent are male. Despite the commonly held stereotype that women are more likely to volunteer in general, volunteering rates for males and females are similar – 26 per cent of women and 24 per cent of men formally volunteer regularly (Communities and Local Government, 2011). As with age patterns, looking at how volunteering relates to the individuals' experiences of work and leisure offers a partial explanation for these patterns.

Within the National Trust there are some gender variations among the different volunteer roles. Particularly notable is the greater proportion of female than male volunteers occupying house roles and administration or customer service roles, and the greater proportion of males occupying outdoor countryside, coast and garden roles. Fifty-seven per cent of female volunteers occupy house roles compared to 45 per cent of male volunteers. Twelve per cent of female volunteers occupy customer service roles compared to seven per cent of male volunteers. In contrast 18 per cent of male volunteers occupy coast and countryside roles compared to four per cent of female volunteers (Figure 8). These patterns to some extent reflect gender roles found elsewhere, with females occupying roles relating to customer services and the home, and males occupying physical, manual outdoor roles.

Figure 8: Volunteer role by gender (%)



Base: Main Volunteer Survey 2011 (12,221)

Given the older age of most National Trust volunteers and my argument that National Trust volunteering is a form of volunteering particularly suited to offering a continuity for professional occupations, it may be expected that there would be more male than female volunteers. Women of this generation in general experienced inequality in education and work; they were less likely to get a university education and their work histories are more likely to feature periods of unpaid domestic work and childcare, and less likely to feature uninterrupted professional careers (Arnot et al., 1999; Crompton, 1999; Bolton, 2012). In fact, the Volunteer Survey and the interviews both show that older females who volunteer for the National Trust do not fit this profile. The

Volunteer Survey shows that the female volunteers have similarly high levels of education to the male volunteers: 23 per cent of male volunteers and 22 per cent of females are educated to postgraduate level and 41 per cent of males and 42 per cent of females are educated to degree level. The women over 55 who I interviewed, without exception, had experienced largely continuous paid careers. Of these 14 women, six did not have children, and the eight who had children all took relatively short periods of time out of their careers for childcare. None of them had spent significant periods of time doing unpaid domestic work or caring. The Volunteer Survey shows that 33 per cent of the female National Trust volunteers do not have children. According to Office for National Statistics figures, 12 per cent of women born in 1939 and 20 per cent of women born in 1966 do not have children by the age of 45 (Office for National Statistics, 2013a). This suggests that National Trust volunteers are not typical of women from their age cohort – the evidence suggests that they are more highly educated, more likely to have professional careers and are less likely to have children. In many ways these women have had very ‘male-like’ experiences of work which have been centred around formal paid work in the public sphere, rather than informal unpaid work in the private sphere. In a qualitative study of retired women in the US, Price (2002) found that both professional and non-professional women got involved in community work when they retired, but in different ways. The professional women volunteered in activities that used their professional expertise and pursued leadership roles, and non-professional women volunteered in support positions and were not interested in pursuing activities related to their former employment. Price also found that although family roles were important for both groups of women, the professional women did not describe family roles as central to their retirement experiences or contributing to their retirement decisions, and spent less time in family roles than non-professional women (Price, 2002). Price’s findings fit well with the findings from this research. The women who volunteer for the National Trust are professional women who want to continue using their professional expertise in retirement. In Chapter 5 and above I noted the high proportion of interview participants who have come from a professional background of teaching or education. The fact that females are over-represented in teaching and education may help to explain the high proportion of

female volunteers. If volunteering in general provides individuals with a way of continuing their professional identity in retirement, it may be that National Trust volunteering in particular offers continuity for certain professions which are female dominated.

Finally, it is well-documented that leisure participation varies by gender (Parker, 1976; Green et al., [1990] 1995; Bennett et al., 2009) and it has been argued that women have more high-brow cultural tastes than males (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Lizardo, 2006). Although I did not find evidence to either confirm or refute this in my research, and this would need further investigation, it may be that the difference between male and female participation in volunteering for the National Trust could be partially explained by gender differences in interest in heritage as a form of leisure participation.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that conceptualising volunteering as work or leisure is a useful way of understanding volunteering and why people do it. Some people volunteer as a replacement for the positive experiences of paid work, or as a preparation for entry into paid work. Others volunteer as an enjoyable or pleasurable experience or a new way of participating in an existing hobby or leisure pursuit. As well as being experienced as work or leisure, importantly their volunteering is highly related to other forms of work and leisure they have participated in. To use Glucksmann's (2005) total social organisation of labour approach, all forms of work and non-work, paid and unpaid are interconnected and have shifting boundaries. Volunteering is not a unique phenomenon which can be studied as separate or distinct from other forms of work and leisure. Recognising that volunteering is experienced as work or leisure and is interconnected to other experiences of work and leisure is important in understanding who volunteers. As experiences of other forms of work and leisure vary by class, ethnicity, age and gender, so do experiences of volunteering.

In the last chapter I argued that the inequality of participation in volunteering can be understood by an unequal distribution of the possession of capital by class and ethnicity. Bourdieu's concept of capital is not merely a way of explaining differences between the social classes, rather he argues that possession of capital reproduces advantage. Conceptualising volunteering as work and leisure helps to identify the benefits gained or acquired from volunteering, as well as the resources needed to volunteer. This chapter and the previous one have shown that volunteering for the National Trust is not a form of giving which is accessible to everyone. It is a form of work or leisure that requires resources to enable participation, and which provides very valuable rewards. The link between the capital needed to enable volunteering and the capital gained from volunteering, suggests that participation in formal volunteering can entrench existing inequalities. At least in the case of volunteering in the National Trust, it is clear that it is those with resources who benefit from the opportunity to gain more.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The aim of this research has been to increase understanding of who volunteers and why participation in formal volunteering varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender. The research is based on the premise behind Wilson and Musick's 'resource model' – that inequality of participation in volunteering can be explained by recognising that volunteering requires resources which are not evenly distributed among the population. Referring to the findings from my research of volunteering in the National Trust I have argued that the 'resource model' can be extended to improve understanding of inequality in formal volunteering. I have identified and addressed three key limitations of the 'resource model': a lack of recognition of the context of volunteering, an overemphasis on social capital, and an underlying assumption that volunteering is primarily a form of help or act of altruism. The limitations have been addressed methodologically by using a mixed methods single organisation case study approach to an area dominated by quantitative analysis of national datasets; theoretically, by applying Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field; and conceptually, by recognising that volunteering can be experienced as work and leisure.

In Chapter 4 I focused on emphasising the importance of the context of the volunteering by exploring why, despite having a mission of "for ever, for everyone" National Trust volunteers are predominantly white and middle-class. Understanding who volunteers for the National Trust cannot be isolated from understanding who participates in the organisation as members, and who participates in the fields of heritage and conservation more widely. Bourdieu's concepts of capital and field, in particular his recognition that different forms of capital hold different value dependent on the field, were used to explain the variation in who volunteers by field and by organisation. In the case of the National Trust the lack of priority that diversity and inclusion have been given in the organisation can be understood as a conflict between the capitals at stake in the organisation. The dominance of cultural capital and economic capital mean that although there is a recognition of the need to diversify and become inclusive by some, there is neither a business case incentive nor sufficient

desire within the organisation to prioritise strategies based on the social values associated with community integration, inclusion and diversity. As such, the organisation remains exclusive in terms of the class and ethnicity of its members and volunteers. Analysing the fields that the volunteering occurs in, identifying the forms of capital at stake and looking for patterns within these fields can help to explain patterns of volunteering. The 'resource model' can be improved by recognising that the capital needed to volunteer can vary depending on the organisational and field context of the volunteering. Chapter 5 focused on understanding the class and ethnicity profile of National Trust volunteers by exploring the composition of capital needed to enable volunteering for the National Trust. I argued that in the case of the National Trust the possession of social capital does play a role in enabling participation in volunteering, but that it is insufficient on its own to explain the almost exclusively white, middle-class profile of National Trust volunteers. Possession of economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital as well as social capital all work together to enable volunteering for the National Trust. It is not just who the individuals know, the contacts they have and the increased likelihood of being asked, but the ability to work unpaid, access to transport, skills, knowledge, inclinations and tastes which enable volunteering for the National Trust. In particular, in the case of the National Trust human capital acquired through middle-class experiences of work, and cultural capital acquired through white middle-class experiences of leisure, are needed to enable volunteering. In Chapter 6 I explored in detail how volunteering is experienced as work and leisure and how it is interconnected to other forms of work and leisure that individuals have participated in through their lives. Participation in work and leisure of all forms varies by class, ethnicity, age and gender. Recognising that volunteering is experienced as work or leisure provides a better explanation of inequality in volunteering than conceptualising it as an act of altruism or giving. Conceptualising volunteering as work and leisure helps to identify the benefits gained or acquired from volunteering, as well as the resources needed to volunteer. The link between the capital needed to enable volunteering and the capital gained from volunteering suggests that participation in formal volunteering can exacerbate existing inequalities. This research has shown that, at least in the case of volunteering in the National Trust, it is those with resources who

benefit from the opportunity to gain more. In this final chapter I consider how the findings from my research can be applied to policy, organisations and volunteering research.

7.1 Extending and applying the ‘resource model’

Wilson and Musick argued that volunteer work is (1) productive work that requires human capital, (2) collective behaviour that requires social capital, and (3) ethically guided work that requires cultural capital (Wilson and Musick, 1997a, p694). Although a large proportion of this thesis has been dedicated to addressing limitations of this model, the findings of my research have confirmed that the basic argument – that capital is needed to volunteer – does offer a useful way of explaining the inequality in participation of volunteering. Based on my research I suggest that a ‘resource model’ can be improved by incorporating more, and better defined, forms of capital, and by recognising that capital is gained from volunteering as well as being needed to enable volunteering. Specifically the ‘resource model’ can be extended in the following ways: by including economic capital and recognising that economic capital is a resource which enables volunteering rather than simply an indicator of human capital; by recognising that human capital – in the form of education and skills – enables volunteering as well as produces social contacts; by recognising that symbolic capital in the form of role, status and prestige can play a role in accessing volunteering; by using an improved understanding of cultural capital which is not restricted to religious participation but recognises that particular cultural tastes and preferences can enable volunteering; and by recognising that social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital can all be gained through volunteering. Extending the ‘resource model’ in these ways improves its ability to explain inequality of participation in formal volunteering, and helps to understand the inequality in the outcomes experienced through formal volunteering. The forms of capital which can be needed and gained through formal volunteering are summarised in Table 8.

Table 8: Capital and formal volunteering

	Enables volunteering	Gained through volunteering
Social capital	Social contacts and networks can expose awareness of opportunities, increase the likelihood of being asked or provide a contact to access opportunities	Social contacts and networks can be increased, leading to specific opportunities or improved social interaction
Economic capital	Financial resources (for example own transport, ability to pay up front travel costs, financial support of family, ability to work unpaid, and ability to cover direct costs) can all enable volunteering	Improved chances for paid employment, or the acquisition of other forms of capital which can be converted into improved opportunities for paid employment
Human capital	Education and work-related skills can be needed, or perceived to be needed for some volunteer roles	New skills can be gained or existing skills can be maintained for use in the labour market or for personal fulfilment
Symbolic capital	Position, affiliation, prestige or reputation can open up opportunities for volunteering	Role identity, status or prestige can be gained for use in the labour market or for personal fulfilment
Cultural capital	Cultural tastes and preferences can be necessary to engage in formal volunteering per se or to volunteer in certain areas	Increased cultural knowledge and experience in an area of personal interest, or social advantage

This list of types of capital is not exhaustive. Bourdieu refers to technical capital (Bourdieu, 2005), and others have referred to emotional capital (Reay, 2000). It may be that research into other organisations or fields find that these types of capital or others also enable volunteering and can be incorporated into a ‘resource model’.

To extend the ‘resource model’, as well as acknowledging that volunteering can require and produce any or all of these forms of capital, it also needs to be recognised that the composition and volume of capital needed to volunteer varies by role, by organisation and by field. Gauging inequality in volunteering by role, organisation or field could be practically assessed by asking two questions: Which form/s of capital are needed or

perceived to be needed to volunteer? Which form/s of capital are gained through the volunteering? (Table 9).

Table 9: Gauging inequality in volunteering

	Social capital	Economic capital	Human capital	Symbolic capital	Cultural capital
Is it needed or perceived to be needed?					
Is it gained?					

These questions could be applied to a whole field of volunteering, a particular organisation, or a specific volunteer role. The most equitable form of volunteering is volunteering which neither requires, nor is perceived to require, any form of capital, but through which capital is acquired – it is open to everyone and everyone has the potential to gain resources (see Table 10).

Table 10: An equitable form of volunteering

	Social capital	Economic capital	Human capital	Symbolic capital	Cultural capital
Is it needed or perceived to be needed?	X	X	X	X	X
Is it gained?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

An example of this is full-time volunteering through Community Service Volunteers (CSV). None of the forms of capital are needed to enable volunteering for CSV. CSV has a policy of non-rejection, an open and formal application process, and volunteers are provided with accommodation and expenses (Community Service Volunteers,

2014a; Community Service Volunteers, 2014b). Depending on the volunteer opportunity, CSV volunteers could potentially gain any or all of the forms of capital.

The least equitable form of volunteering is volunteering which requires all or most forms of capital, and also produces most forms of capital – those who already have resources gain further resources (see Table 11). An example of this is the role of a trustee – social, economic, human, cultural and symbolic capital can all be needed to get a trustee role in some organisations, and social, human and symbolic capital at least are likely to be acquired.

Table 11: An inequitable form of volunteering

	Social capital	Economic capital	Human capital	Symbolic capital	Cultural capital
Is it needed or perceived to be needed?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Is it gained?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

A simple table such as this could be used by organisations or policymakers seeking to understand or address inequality among volunteers. By identifying the specific capital needed to enable volunteering, barriers which may not otherwise be clear can be identified.

7.2 Policy implications

Formal volunteering has been seen as the solution to many of society's problems - volunteering is supposed to create cohesive communities, tackle social exclusion and prepare people for work. In particular volunteering policy has been influenced by Putnam's claims that volunteering creates social capital which can be a solution to many of society's ills (Putnam, 2000). Volunteering has been encouraged by politicians based on the idea that social capital is a public good which generates trust and

reciprocity, and creates cohesive communities. However, my research has shown that the social capital that volunteering produces, along with the other forms of capital it produces, are often individual resources rather than public ones. By focusing on Putnam's notion of how social capital works, the fact that volunteering provides various individual resources to those who already have a high volume of capital is overlooked. The implications are that unless they are carefully targeted, policies which aim to encourage higher rates of volunteering in general may benefit those with already high levels of capital, risking the perpetuation of inequality. If policy is to be directed at increasing levels of volunteering, then policymakers need to reflect on the effects of increasing economic, human, symbolic and cultural, as well as social capital, through volunteering, and who these benefits are going to. If volunteering policy is to be directed at tackling specific social problems such as social exclusion or youth unemployment, the range of social, economic, human, cultural and symbolic barriers which exist need to be acknowledged and addressed, and the expected outcomes need to be clear and not over-claimed or over-generalised. Furthermore, I have shown that who volunteers varies by organisation and field, and that the composition and volume of capital needed to volunteer varies by organisation and field. Therefore policies which are aimed at encouraging volunteering among specific target groups such as young people, older people, or particular socially excluded groups may be more successful if they are targeted at specific types of volunteering or volunteering in specific fields. Extending the 'resource model' to recognise that other forms of capital are both needed to volunteer and are gained from volunteering are important if we are to be realistic about what volunteering can and cannot achieve.

I have highlighted in this research the importance of acknowledging that volunteering is not necessarily best conceptualised as a form of giving, but can be a form of leisure and/or work. While these concepts are quite widely recognised in volunteering literature, they are rarely recognised in, or applied to, policy. For example, the most recent government policy on volunteering is set out in the *Giving White Paper* which encourages the giving of time or money "Our ambition is to stimulate a step change in giving... Together we have to make it easier and more compelling for people to give

time and money and so make the change they want to see.” (HM Government, 2011, p5). While volunteers do provide their time, volunteering is not necessarily best conceptualised as a gift. If politicians and policymakers want to encourage greater levels of volunteering, acknowledging that they are trying to encourage greater levels of a form of leisure or work participation rather than greater levels of a form of giving may produce more successful outcomes. In particular, in light of the enjoyment, pleasure and positive well-being experienced through volunteering as a form of leisure, perhaps volunteering should be part of David Cameron’s ‘happiness’ agenda (Cameron, 2010) rather than his ‘Big Society’ agenda. At the risk of exacerbating the tendency to see volunteering as the answer to all of society’s ills, volunteering may be better at improving well-being than enabling people to be part of ‘Big Society’.

7.3 Organisational implications

For volunteer-involving organisations wanting or needing to diversify, understanding patterns and barriers common to their organisation or field of their organisation is more useful than theory which attempts to explain volunteering in general. It does not help the National Trust in their recruitment strategies to learn that social capital, in particular being asked, is the main reason that people from high socio-economic groups volunteer, when those involved with volunteer recruitment know that this is not the usual route into volunteering for the 70,000 people who volunteer for the National Trust. If the National Trust wants to diversify, it needs to be able to identify the barriers particular to its own organisation, or the field in which it operates.

Recognising that economic, human and cultural capital are needed to volunteer for the National Trust, means that if the National Trust wants to diversify it needs to tackle the economic, human and cultural capital barriers to its volunteering opportunities. It is not difficult to identify economic barriers and solutions to them – improving the expenses systems so that people are not out of pocket, providing transport, offering accommodation for all full-time volunteers and interns, structuring volunteer opportunities which fit with part-time and full-time paid employment – but they can be costly to implement. The National Trust, whose resources are stretched, needs to

balance the costs of being inclusive with its other core purpose of preserving buildings and open spaces. Human capital barriers – in particular for the National Trust the ability to conduct tours or be a source of expertise, and the perception that certain education or skills are needed – are more difficult to overcome but could be addressed by better promotion of the training that is provided, by changing the roles, or bringing in new roles. Cultural capital barriers are the most difficult to identify and implicitly more difficult to overcome. A “lack of interest” in heritage or the countryside for example, is harder to identify and is readily accepted as individual inclination. The barriers of cultural taste and preference are relevant beyond volunteering in the National Trust to participation in the National Trust in general and participation in heritage and the countryside. Attempts to diversify the volunteer workforce without recognising that these cultural barriers exist are likely to fail. Unless the inequality in the organisation and the field more widely is challenged, the diversity of National Trust volunteers is unlikely to change significantly. Although this appears to provide a justification for the National Trust not to take any action, as was highlighted in Chapter 4, the National Trust holds a dominant and defining position in its fields and does therefore have the potential to change the fields. By recognising the social, economic, human, cultural or symbolic capital needed to enable volunteering, organisations can identify and address the specific barriers to volunteering.

7.4 Implications on researching volunteering

Recognising that the capital needed to volunteer and the capital acquired from volunteering varies by field, leads me to suggest a move beyond attempts to generate theory which predicts who volunteers in general, towards approaches which break down the study of volunteering by field. It is unrealistic to attempt to generate a theory which can at the same time explain who helps on a soup run, who coaches a football team, who leads a prayer meeting, who collects tickets at the theatre, who builds a classroom in Africa, and who helps out on school trips. Explaining who volunteers in the fields of, for example, social welfare, sports, religion, the arts, overseas

development or education, and looking for patterns within these fields may be more useful than attempting to explain who volunteers in general. This research suggests that there is more similarity between people who visit heritage and those who volunteer in it, than between someone who volunteers in heritage and someone who volunteers in social welfare organisations. Breaking down the study of volunteering at least into broad fields will generate results which have more useful application. As well as producing a better understanding of who volunteers, taking a field approach may also be useful in answering other key volunteering questions of interest such as why people volunteer and the benefits of volunteering. Rather than looking at what motivates volunteers in general, looking at what motivates volunteers by field may produce interesting and useful information. Rather than assuming any or all volunteering can produce the same benefits, looking at which fields allow participants to experience different types of benefits may be more enlightening. Research in this area needs to recognise the heterogeneity in volunteering, and studying volunteering by field is one way of approaching this.

Finally, I want to reflect on how volunteering is conceptualised by researchers, and the impact of the 'dominant paradigm' perception of volunteering, in particular the impact on how inequality in volunteering is understood. While it may be difficult to shift the public perception of volunteering, researchers whose focus of attention is understanding volunteering have a responsibility to challenge the 'dominant paradigm' assumptions that volunteering is formal, occurs in social welfare organisations and is altruistically motivated. While I acknowledge that few volunteering researchers would insist that volunteering must be formal, occur in a social welfare organisation or be altruistically motivated, throughout the period of my research I have remained convinced that there is an unintended default position whereby researchers return to these assumptions through their research and this perpetuates the power of the 'dominant paradigm'. As I outlined in Chapter 1 there is a tendency to study volunteering in social welfare organisations. By focusing on volunteering in a heritage organisation my research has revealed findings that would not have emerged if the case study was a social welfare organisation. To develop

understanding of volunteering it is important to ensure that the field of study focuses on volunteering in a broad range of fields. Secondly, while it is frequently acknowledged that volunteering can be both formal and informal, as I highlighted in Chapter 1, a great deal of research on volunteering focuses on formal volunteering without stipulating that it is doing so. I have been clear that my research focuses on formal volunteering and many of the findings from this research in terms of the capital needed to volunteer and the capital gained through volunteering are very specific to formal volunteering – the fact that the volunteering occurs through an organisation is important. Formal volunteering attracts social, economic, human, symbolic and cultural capital rewards in a way that informal volunteering may not. As research suggests that the social profile of formal and informal volunteers is different, it is important to recognise that much of volunteering research is not focused on understanding the form of volunteering more common in deprived neighbourhoods, certain geographical regions, within Black and minority ethnic groups, and amongst young and disabled people (Lukka and Ellis, 2001; Williams, 2003a; Williams, 2003b). It is important that volunteering researchers distinguish between whether they are studying formal or informal volunteering – referring to volunteering when actually they are studying formal volunteering serves to ignore the activities of particular groups of the population. Finally, reflecting on the findings from this and other research, in particular the evidence that volunteering can often be experienced as a productive form of leisure or work, I question the impact of defining formal volunteering as a form of help, giving, altruism, generosity or benevolence when it is not necessarily. Although few researchers would insist that volunteering must be altruistic, as I argued in Chapter 1, there is a tendency among some prominent volunteering researchers to use volunteering as a measure of generosity, or to seek to explain an altruistic, giving or helping behaviour guided by moral incentives. We have seen that the individual benefits of formal volunteering can be wide and rich – volunteering can be a source of pleasure, a way for people to learn more about something they have an interest in, a way of accessing scarce jobs and a way to replace the positive and fulfilling elements of paid work. Researchers of volunteering need to be wary of the implications of defining volunteering as altruism, giving, helping or

motivated by moral incentives when it is not necessarily, or not primarily. Defining volunteering as altruism risks implying that wealthy, highly educated people with higher occupational status are more altruistic than people with lower income, lower education and lower status jobs. Researchers need to challenge the 'dominant paradigm' assumption that volunteering takes place in formal organisations, in the field of social welfare and is altruistically motivated – not just by acknowledging that the literature on volunteering as leisure exists, or by including informal volunteering in a definition of volunteering, but by integrating it into how we think about, discuss, understand and theorise about volunteering. If we do not do this then we are colluding in perpetuating the 'dominant paradigm' perspective of volunteering which affects how inequality in volunteering is understood.

7.5 Limitations and further research

While the National Trust has been a fascinating case study in which to examine patterns of volunteering, any case study research will have limitations. I have identified that there appear to be broad class, ethnicity and age characteristics common to volunteers in the fields of heritage and conservation. As the Citizenship Survey and Helping Out survey record volunteering by type of organisation helped, the survey data exists to conduct a much more in-depth look at how the socio-demographic characteristics of volunteers vary by field. I have suggested that the composition of capital needed to volunteer in other fields may be different to the capital needed to volunteer in the fields of heritage and conservation. While my research has looked in depth at volunteering in a heritage organisation, it would be interesting to repeat the research design by conducting research in similar depth in other fields – for example a social welfare organisation, a religious organisation, a grassroots organisation, or a sports club – to look at the composition of capital required in different fields. As suggested above, this may reveal that other forms of capital, such as emotional capital can be incorporated into an extended 'resource model'. A further area of interest would be to study the relationship between capital and informal volunteering, to explore whether the concept of capital can explain volunteering informally.

Using the National Trust as a case study has some specific limitations. In particular there are some limitations to exploring how volunteering relates to other forms of work. The Citizenship Survey data shows that it is those who are employed who are most likely to volunteer. National Trust volunteers are predominantly either young and not in paid employment, or retired and no longer in paid employment and while I have shown that their volunteering relates to other forms of work, it rarely occurs concurrently with paid employment. Furthermore, the volunteer participants' work histories have been dominated by formal full-time paid employment in the public sphere – this has not given me a chance to explore the link between informal work in the private sphere, or part-time work, and volunteering. Further research which looks at the type of volunteering that those currently in paid work, and those currently and previously in other forms of work, participate in would be useful to increase understanding of the relationship between work and volunteering. The gender patterns that are observed in the National Trust are interesting but as I highlighted in an earlier chapter, the female National Trust volunteers are 'male-like' in their work and childcare histories. Further research which looks at the difference between the volunteering that males and females do and how this relates to the gendering of both work and leisure would be valuable.

In this research I have used Bourdieu's concept of forms of capital to make sense of patterns and inequalities in the participation of volunteering. However, even Bourdieu acknowledges that "collective events - war and crises etc.", and "individual events such as encounters, affairs and benefactors" can have an influence on life trajectories (Bourdieu, 1984, p104). Not everything can be reduced to the possession of capital – personal, community and world events also have an impact, and this research has not focused on these. I would anticipate that there are organisations, fields or causes that people volunteer for which are significantly influenced by such events. These types of triggers may or may not be affected by class, ethnicity, age and gender; and it would be an interesting area to research further.

Appendices

Appendix A Participant information sheet

Participant information sheet

About the research

I am a University of Southampton PhD student conducting research as part of an Economic and Social Research Council studentship. The studentship is a partnership between the National Trust and the Third Sector Research Sector at the University of Southampton.

The research aims to get a greater understanding of patterns of volunteering amongst different groups of people. In particular I am interested in looking at what role the organisation plays in explaining these patterns of volunteering by exploring the relationship between the organisation and the volunteer. I am interested in finding out about how volunteering for the National Trust relates to other types of involvement with the organisation, and how involvement with the organisation fits in with other events and commitments in the lives of individuals.

In order to research these areas, one to one interviews will be conducted with National Trust volunteers from a range of locations, carrying out a variety of different types of volunteer roles. These interviews will last around 60 minutes and will be audio-recorded to enable their transcription.

By consenting to take part in these interviews you will help to greatly enhance knowledge and understanding about volunteering. I understand the considerable limitations on your time but if you are able to take part, I will ensure that the interview is conducted at a time and location to best suit you. Most interviews normally take around an hour, but I will work within your time constraints.

How this research will be used

The research for this study will be used primarily for my PhD thesis. Findings will also be shared with and produced for the National Trust, and may also be presented at academic or sector conferences or in journal articles.

The ethics of this research

The integrity of my research rests on good ethics so this research is in line with current guidance from the Economic and Social Research Council (www.esrc.ac.uk). This means that:

- Your participation is voluntary.
- Any information that you give me will remain confidential and will be anonymised in all research outputs. This means that I will not share your name and other details with anyone else and they will not be mentioned in any outputs from the research (unless you tell me otherwise).
- Neither your role title nor verbatim quotes will be used in publicly available reports or findings or reports written for the National Trust if their inclusion could identify you.
- The recording and full written transcripts of your interview will not be shared with the National Trust.
- At any time during the interview you are able to withdraw your participation.
- Data arising from this project will be kept securely.

Researcher contact details

If you have any queries about this research, please contact me:

Naomi Harflett

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Building 58

University of Southampton

Southampton

SO17 1BH

Email: njh2g10@soton.ac.uk

Appendix B Consent form

Consent Form

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study about the National Trust and its volunteers.

Please read the statements below carefully and **initial** the relevant boxes. If you have any questions or would like further information, please do ask.

1. I confirm that the research project has been explained to me via the information sheet and I have been given the opportunity to ask questions ☐
2. I confirm that I consent to take part in this research, but I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time during the interview ☐
3. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential and that any reference to my interview will be anonymised in all work ☐
4. I understand that my responses will be audio-recorded and transcribed to assist in later interpretation ☐
5. I understand that the recording and full written transcript will not be shared with the National Trust ☐
6. I understand that all data from this project will be kept securely ☐

Name of participant:

Signature:

Date:

Name of researcher:

Researcher's signature:

Date:

I very much hope that this project will produce information that will be of interest to National Trust volunteers, and therefore would be very happy to provide you with a summary of the findings.

Please tick if you wish to receive this:

☐

Appendix C National Trust volunteer numbers and hours 1989-90 to 2011-12

Year	Number of volunteers	Number of hours volunteered
1989-90	18,014	985,516
1990-91	20,008	1,154,306
1991-92	23,363	1,244,616
1992-93	26,465	1,378,754
1993-94	28,070	1,634,504
1994-95	28,839	1,703,641
1995-96	34,082	1,902,452
1996-97	35,179	2,123,014
1997-98	37,425	2,247,940
1998-99	38,519	2,211,277
1999-00	39,771	2,400,516
2000-01	38,838	2,179,230
2001-02	38,179	2,179,895
2002-03	34,380	2,137,563
2003-04	39,476	2,564,000
2004-05	43,317	2,624,959
2005-06	47,156	2,522,723
2006-07	49,358	2,983,954
2007-08	52,644	3,093,771
2008-09	55,264	3,085,926
2009-10	61,200	3,499,764
2010-11	61,642	3,572,559
2011-12	66,731	4,001,836
2012-13	70,494	3,770,630

Source: National Trust, 2012b

Appendix D National Trust volunteer count 2009-10

Volunteer type		Number of volunteers	Per cent
Individual	Regular	29994	49
	Casual	2913	5
	Placement	478	1
Programmes	Working holidays	3289	5
	Employer-supported volunteers	3979	7
Groups	Internal – National Trust groups and associations	3273	5
	External – e.g. Princes Trust, Scouts	15748	26
Other	Talks service	84	0
	Council and committee	1441	2
	C&A committee members	1	0
TOTAL		61200	100

Source: National Trust, 2010d

Appendix E Volunteer interview participant profiles

Participant		Site	Gender		Ethnicity		Age				Housing			Education			Occupation			Volunteer role				Length of volunteering			
			Female	Male	White	Non white	<25	25-54	55-64	65+	Parents/family	Rented	Owner occupied	No	quals/other	GCSE/A level	Degree or higher	Unemployed/student/sick	Full time/part time	Retired	House	Garden	Countryside	Other	< 2 yrs	2-10 yrs	> 10 yrs
Sean		Norwood		✓	✓			✓					✓				✓		✓							✓	
Kathy		Norwood	✓		✓			✓					✓				✓					✓					
Alan		Norwood		✓	✓					✓			✓				✓										✓
Eve		Norwood	✓		✓					✓			✓													✓	
Harriet		Norwood	✓		✓					✓			✓								✓					✓	
Roger		Norwood		✓	✓								✓									✓					
Sadie		Norwood	✓		✓		✓				✓				✓											✓	
Judith		Norwood	✓		✓					✓			✓											✓		✓	
Annabel		Norwood	✓		✓					✓			✓						✓			✓				✓	
Edith		Norwood	✓		✓					✓										✓	✓					✓	
Jamie		Norwood		✓	✓		✓						✓														
Geoff		Norwood		✓	✓				✓				✓							✓		✓					
Eileen		Norwood	✓		✓					✓			✓							✓						✓	
Lewis		Cottages		✓	✓					✓			✓													✓	

Participant	Site	Gender		Ethnicity		Age				Housing			Education			Occupation			Volunteer role				Length of volunteering		
		Female	Male	White	Non white	< 25	25-54	55-64	65+	Parents/family	Rented	Owner occupied	No quals/other	GCSE/A Level	Degree or higher	Unemployed/student/sick	Full time/part time	Retired	House	Garden	Countryside	Other	< 2 yrs	2-10 yrs	> 10 yrs
Margaret	Cottages	✓		✓				✓				✓			✓		✓		✓				✓		
Bev	Cottages	✓		✓			✓					✓			✓			✓	✓				✓		
Ian	Cottages		✓	✓			✓			✓					✓				✓				✓		
Ruth	Cottages	✓		✓				✓				✓			✓				✓				✓		
Doreen	Cottages	✓		✓					✓			✓			✓			✓	✓					✓	
Dave	Cottages		✓	✓			✓					✓				✓			✓				✓		
Adam	Moors		✓	✓								✓				✓					✓				
Rosie	Moors	✓		✓			✓			✓					✓						✓				
Derek	Moors		✓	✓				✓				✓			✓						✓			✓	
Antony	Moors		✓	✓								✓			✓						✓			✓	
Janet	Moors	✓		✓				✓				✓			✓			✓			✓			✓	
Annie	Moors	✓		✓					✓			✓			✓			✓			✓			✓	
Blake	Moors		✓	✓						✓					✓						✓				
Danielle	Moors	✓		✓		✓				✓				✓		✓					✓		✓		

Participant	Site	Gender		Ethnicity		Age				Housing			Education			Occupation			Volunteer role				Length of volunteering		
Jackie	Moors	Female	✓	Male	✓	White	✓	Non white		< 25															
Ben	Moors	✓		✓																					
Elena	Intern	✓		✓																					
Kate	Intern	✓		✓																					
Neil	Intern	✓		✓																					
Lyn	Moors	✓																							
Dan	WH leader	✓		✓																					
Keith	WH leader	✓		✓																					
Ryan	WH volunteer	✓		✓																					
Jeremy	WH volunteer	✓		✓																					
Jessica	WH volunteer	✓		✓																					
Sarah	WH volunteer	✓		✓																					

Appendix F Interview schedules

The volunteer interview schedule:

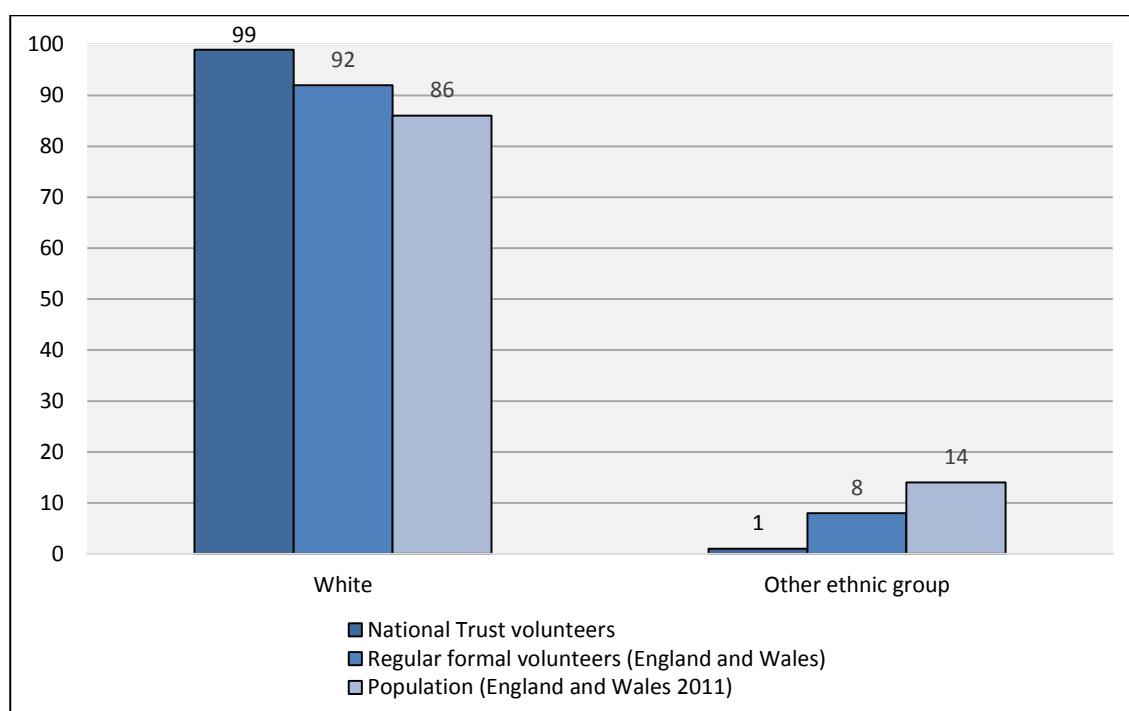
- Life history
 - Childhood, occupation of parents and education
 - Employment/occupation
 - Relationships/family
 - Other – health, religion, other significant life events
 - Current situation
- Other volunteering
 - Parents' volunteering
 - Throughout life
 - Other current volunteering
- Involvement with National Trust
 - Awareness of the National Trust
 - Visiting
 - Membership
 - Donations or other support
 - Feelings towards the organisation –
identity/closeness/loyalty/negatives
- Current National Trust volunteering
 - Role, activities, frequency, length
- Reasons for volunteering
 - Initial reasons, motivations or circumstances
 - Benefits – anticipated and actual
 - Why the National Trust?
- Diversity of volunteers
 - Observations of range of backgrounds

- Perceived reasons
- Views on action to attract volunteers from different backgrounds

Staff interview schedule:

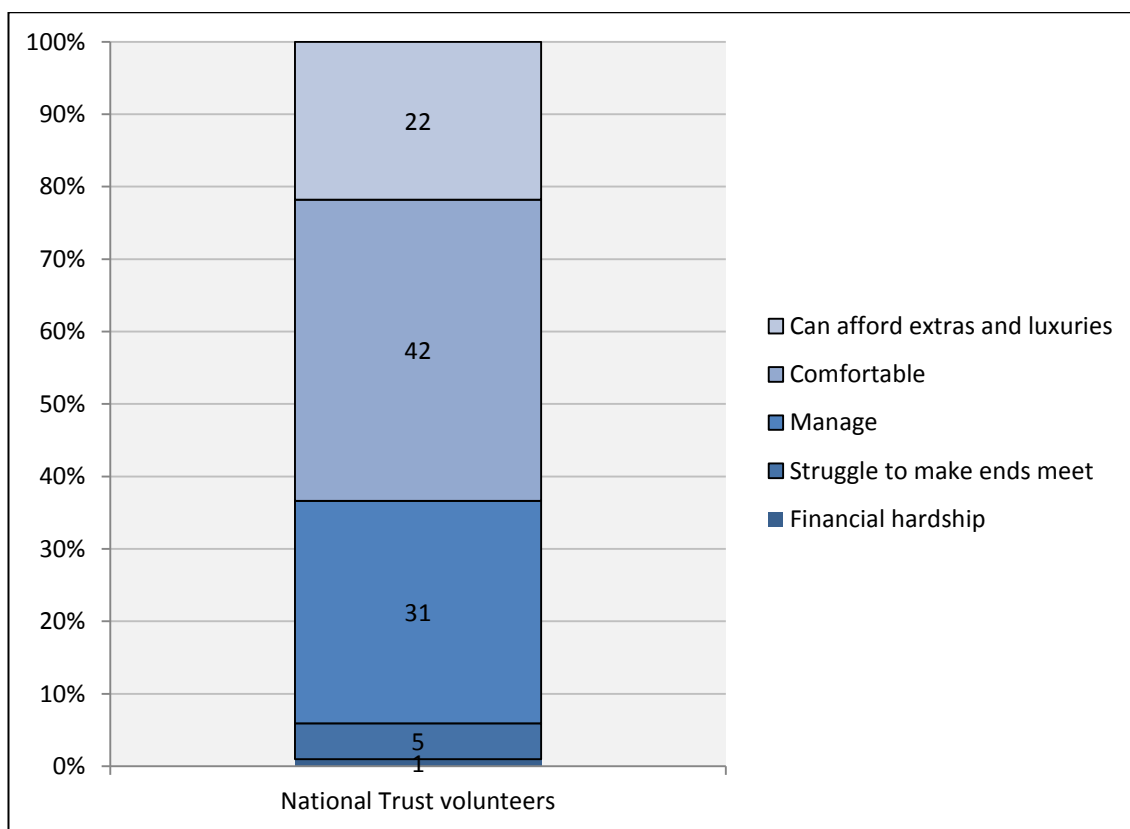
- Current position
- Responsibility for volunteers
- Responsibility for strategy relating to volunteers
- Involvement with achieving vision and mission
- Views on accountability and social responsibility of the National Trust
- Views in diversity within the National Trust
- Views on diversity of volunteers
- Views on strategy to diversify volunteer workforce

Appendix G Ethnicity of National Trust volunteers, formal volunteers in England and Wales and population of England and Wales 2011 (%)



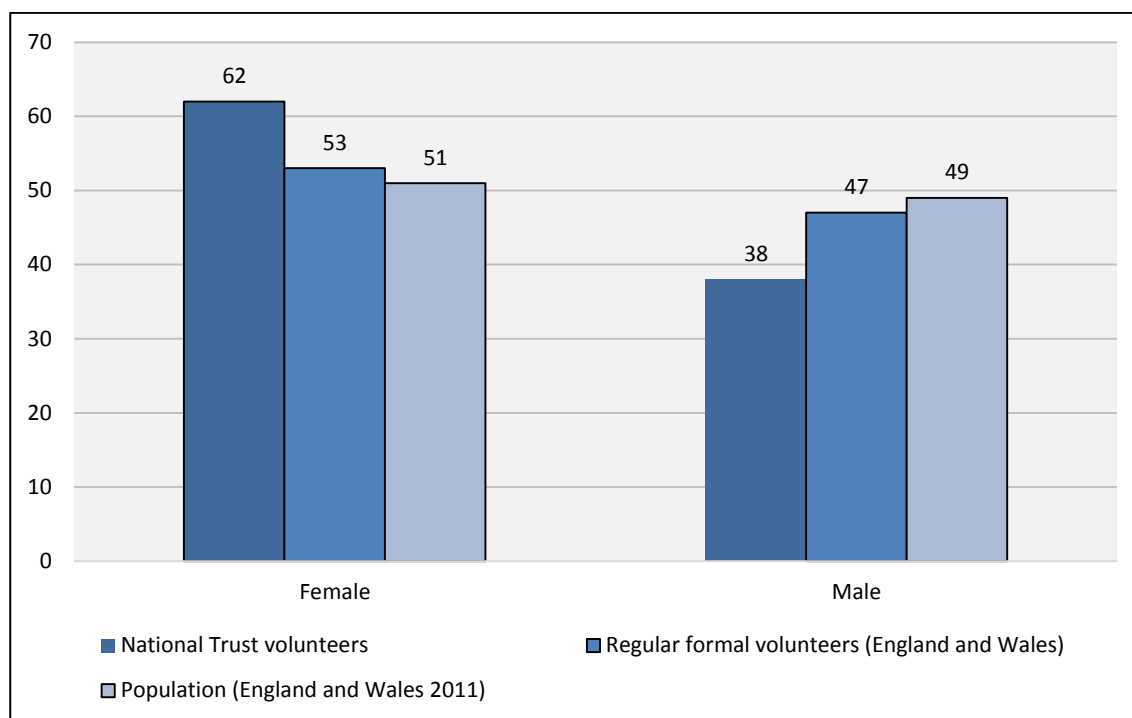
Base: Main Volunteer Survey 2011 (12,262), Citizenship Survey 2009-10 (2,340)

Appendix H Financial situation of National Trust volunteers (%)



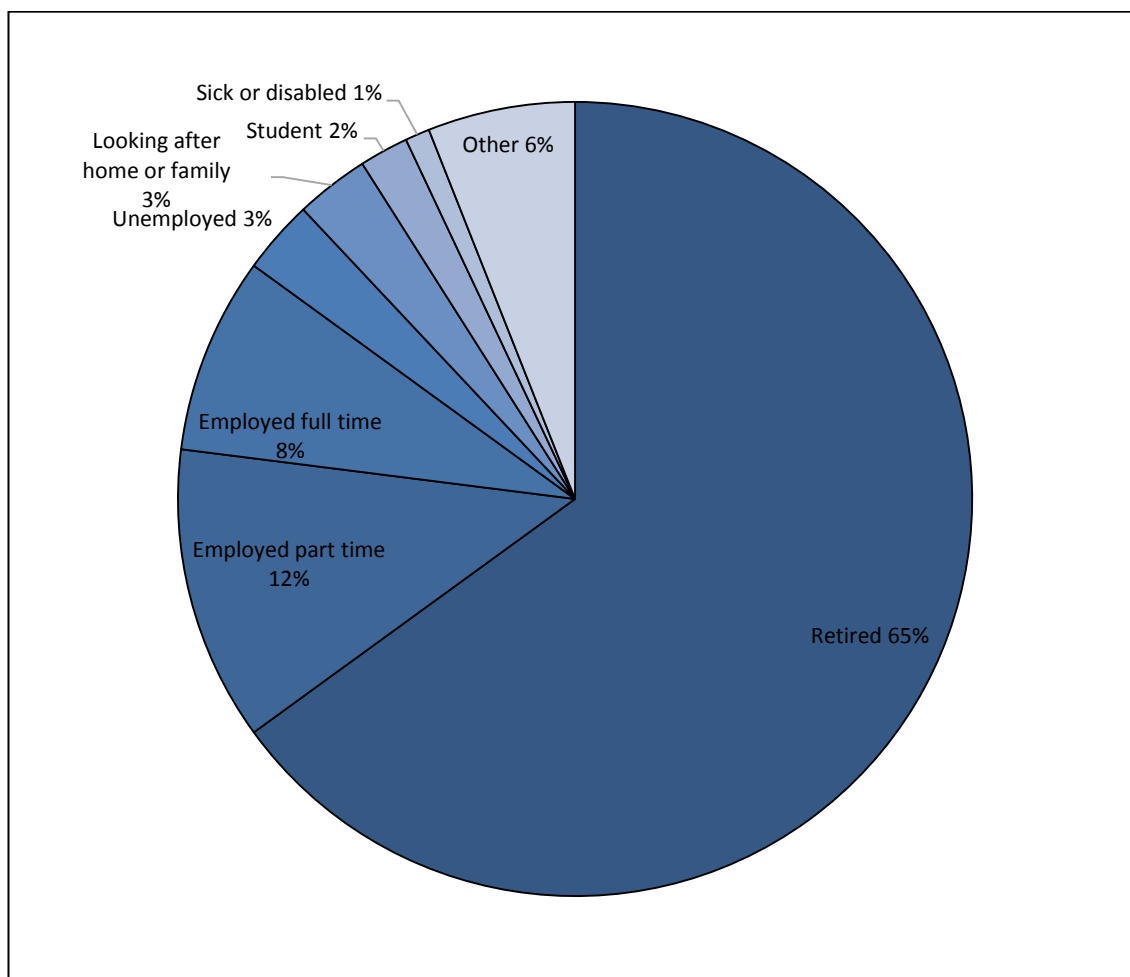
Base: Supplementary Volunteer Survey 2011 (3,934)

Appendix I Gender of National Trust volunteers compared to volunteers in England and Wales and the population of England and Wales (%)



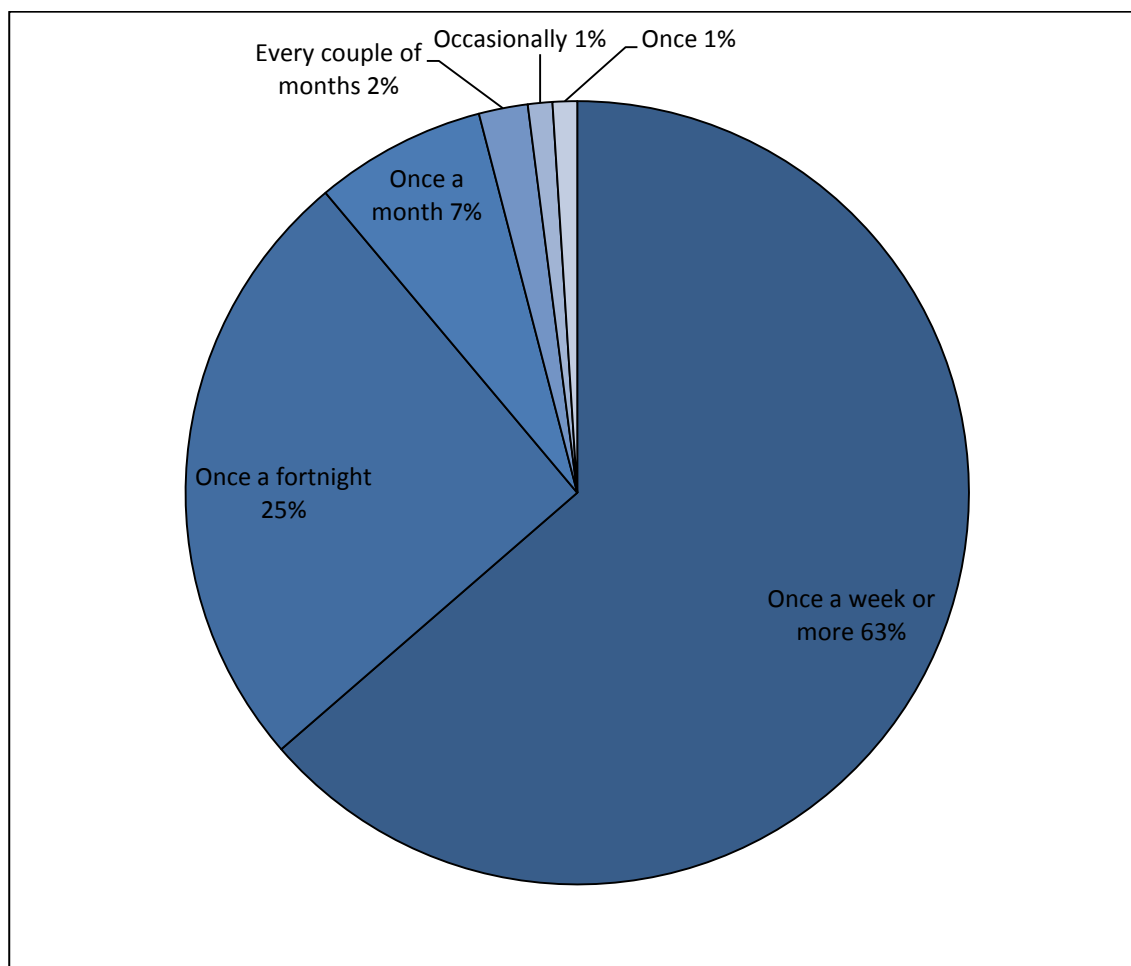
Base: Main Volunteer Survey 2011 (12,646), Citizenship Survey 2009-10 (2,340)

Appendix J Occupational status of National Trust volunteers



Base: Supplementary Volunteer Survey 2011 (4,389)

Appendix K Frequency of volunteering by National Trust volunteers



Base: Main Volunteer Survey 2011 (12,713)

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