


Between two volunteer cultures: Social composition and motivation among volunteers at the 2010 test event for the FIS Nordic World Ski Championships

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Abstract

This paper argues that a reflexive, late modern volunteer culture coexists with a collectivist, traditional one at major sporting events. Those who regularly volunteer at such events and are affiliated with organized sport tend to be older and male, and have higher incomes. Those who are volunteering for the first time and are unaffiliated with organized sport resemble reflexive volunteers to a greater extent: they tend to be younger and female, and their incomes are lower than those of regular sports volunteers. A factor analysis identified sports interest, social motives and qualification/work-related motives as three motivational dimensions for volunteering at sporting events. The first two intrinsic dimensions were more important to event regulars and those affiliated with organized sports. Building qualifications and work-related experience were more important motives for first-timers and unaffiliated volunteers, indicating that these volunteers view event volunteering as an appropriate way of investing in social and human capital. The data come from an Internet-based survey ($n=800$, response rate 77) conducted prior to the 2010 test event for the FIS Nordic World Ski Championships in Oslo, Norway.

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The practice of volunteering is changing concurrently with individualization processes (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2004). High-profile sporting events contain several characteristics that are tailor-made to the motivations of the 'late modern' volunteer. The effort required is limited in time, the purpose is specific, and the activity can prove beneficial for volunteers with regard to building their human and social capital. At the same time, we would argue that these sporting events depend on the experience and commitment of core volunteer groups, whose reasons for participating are to a greater extent related to the values intrinsic to the activity itself. The motivation is expressive rather than instrumental, and not nearly as reflexive and 'late modern'.

We examine whether two such distinct groups can be identified at a major sporting event. We consider differences in demographics, motivation, and volunteering tasks between those affiliated with traditional sports associations and those who are purely event volunteers, and explore the extent to which there are systematic differences between the groups, which would support the notion of viewing sporting events as a meeting place between a traditional volunteer culture and a late modern volunteer one.

Our theoretical point of departure is Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2004) notion of reflexive volunteerism and its ideal typical counterpart, collective volunteerism. These are concepts derived from theories of individualization (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1990). In the first section, we outline the main characteristics of these ideal types. In the second, we assess how well such descriptions fit the Norwegian case with regard to volunteering in general, and sporting events in particular. We then present the setting of the 2010 World Cup in Nordic skiing, which was the test event for the FIS Nordic World Ski Championship the following year. The empirical analyses consist of findings from a survey conducted among volunteers before this event. The implications of the results are considered in a final discussion.

Theoretical background

Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) distinction between reflexive and collective volunteerism represents one of the few attempts in the literature to create a theoretical framework to help understand volunteerism in late modernity. The distinction is based on Beck (1992) and Giddens' (1990) arguments about the dissolution of traditional and rigid social configurations. According to these sociologists, the core family, traditional gender roles, class and religion are all in flux. In modern society, many choices were predetermined, depending on an individual's social class, religion, or family background. In reflexive, late modern society, everyone is perceived as authoring their own, individual 'biographies'. In reality, of course, such authoring is a matter of degree since the power to author one's own biography is socially structured, with higher status groups having more power than lower status groups.

One implication of this diagnosis is that organizational affiliations are less predetermined than before. People are channelled into organizational affiliations on the basis of tradition, religion or class less often than was previously the case (Lorentzen and Hustinx, 2007; Wollebæk and Selle, 2003). Organizational ties will increasingly be the result of individual choices, which is underlined by using the term *reflexive* (derived from reflection).

Although it could be argued that Giddens, Beck and others possibly exaggerate how new and profound these changes are, there are still clear indications that we are dealing with a more individualistic and instrumental volunteerism. Volunteerism is increasingly an arena for personal expression and development and deliberate investment in one's human and social capital, and less of an expression of collective identity and belonging. Reflexive volunteers are far from dominant in organizational society, but they make up an increasing share (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003).

One fundamental question in this regard is whether or not this represents the dissolution of existing structures or adaption to new structures. It is clear that the expectations of building a career, continually developing personal competencies, and engaging in meaningful leisure activities largely regulate people's ways of life. The demands to individually succeed in all areas of life naturally limit the types of actions that are socially accepted. Both now and previously, individual choices are made within the limits set by social structures. Moreover, social structures are still apparent in people's organizational behavior. Several studies have shown that there are increasing social differences among the members of volunteer organizations in Norway, even when measured by traditional indicators such as income and education (Enjolras and Wollebæk, 2010; Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010).

Therefore, while increasingly reflexive volunteering is in our view a growing reality and a central part of the story, a caveat is also in order. The term 'reflexivity' could leave an exaggerated impression that people's actions used to be predetermined but now are free, or that reflection is something new. The implicit assertion of greater freedom for each individual is problematic. Increasingly individualistic or instrumental behaviour could be perceived as adaption to new structures (e.g. conforming to the expectation that volunteering is an integral part of resumé building and subsequent professional success) rather than the elimination of existing structures. For this reason, we wish to stress that our use of the concept refers to a weakening of the collective's interests and an ideological superstructure, and an increased propensity to rely on individually based assessments of what one can get out of an activity.

Reflexive and collective volunteer models

The ideal types of collective and reflexive volunteerism have distinct characteristics containing both objective and subjective elements. The objective conditions are centred on the background characteristics of the participants and the organizational context in which participation takes place. The subjective conditions are concerned with individual motivations for participation. It is thought that these objective and subjective factors are empirically correlated.

Objective conditions

In an organizational setting, collective volunteerism is related to permanence in location and affiliation, in which participation is a way to confirm group identity and fellowship. The organizational socialization is strong, meaning that the organizations do not merely have an impact on the associated individuals during the time they spend on the activities, but also have an impact on other aspects in the individuals' lives. There are close ties between formal membership and volunteerism; the volunteer is, above all, an organizational member, and he or she takes responsibility for the organization as well as the tasks being carried out (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003).

In contrast, reflexive volunteerism is typically characterized by a weak connection between the volunteer and the organization. Common institutional frameworks here are professionally driven non-profit organizations, volunteer centres or short-term events. The volunteer offers his/her service but does not have ownership over, or responsibility for, the organization in the same way as a member would. The organization's role is more peripheral than it is within the collective type of volunteerism; it is a facilitator for an activity, and has less inherent value. Reflexive volunteerism is often limited in time and episodic in character, as reflexive volunteers prefer project-based, ad hoc events (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003). This form of participation is becoming more and more common (Macduff et al., 2009).

Event volunteerism is a typical reflexive form of participation. It is the event (activity), not the host organizer (the organization), that is centre of attention. The activity of and community between volunteers are highly time-limited. However, as many volunteers at sporting events are also members of a traditional sports organization, this setting may represent an opportunity to maintain and nurture existing ties. The traditional pairing of membership and involvement (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2004) has been even stronger in Norway than it is in most other countries (Wollebæk and Selle, 2003). Within Norwegian sports, events have always been organized by sport clubs and their members (Seippel, 2006; Solberg, 2003). The sporting event being explored in this paper cannot be unequivocally placed in either of the categories described above; rather, it is located at the point of intersection of two volunteer cultures. The paper will proceed with a comparison of these categories of volunteers as representatives of two cultures: those who volunteer only at events ('pure event volunteers'), and those who are also linked to traditional forms of participation.

Social background. It is a basic assumption that the most reflexive attitudes towards volunteering are found among the most modern and individualized participants. Younger age and higher levels of education are the most commonly used measures of cultural modernization at the individual level (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2004). It is therefore expected that pure event volunteers are younger and have a higher level of education than those who also participate in organized sport.

Late modern society, which includes new types of organizational participation, requires a world of what Giddens calls *clever people* (Giddens, 1994), who constantly question and check specialist opinions, authorities, and obvious choices. Inspired by this, Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003: 183) refer to *smart volunteers*. Smart volunteers are able

to connect their biographical preconditions with corresponding opportunities for volunteering; they actively pursue their private interests and have the necessary qualifications to meet requirements for increasingly specialized and self-organized volunteer activities. Even though education and cleverness are not the same, it is reasonable to expect that the higher the proportion of highly educated people, the more individual and reflexive, and the less collective, volunteer activity will be found.

According to Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003), collective volunteerism reproduces complementary and traditional gender roles. It is also the case that a large, yet clearly decreasing, part of Norwegian organizational society is marked by the traditional division of labour between women and men (Wollebæk and Selle, 2004). Sport has traditionally been a predominantly male arena, but in the course of recent decades, the proportion of women among volunteers and active members has increased (Enjolras and Wollebæk, 2010; Wollebæk and Selle, 2004).

Research on major sporting events has shown that age and gender composition among volunteers is largely a reflection of the age and gender composition within the sport that the event represents, given that most of these volunteers are recruited through the organization's network. Yet the broader and more unique the event is, and thereby the looser the link to the organized sport is, the more complex the volunteers' profiles become (Downward et al., 2005; Pauline and Pauline, 2009). Several studies have shown a female majority among volunteers at major sporting events (Doherty, 2009; Farrell et al., 1998; MacLean and Hamm, 2007; Pauline and Pauline, 2009; Strigas and Jackson, 2003). If it is the case that reflexive volunteerism dissolves social categories, while collective volunteerism reproduces them, we should expect a higher female majority among the pure event volunteers than among those who are more connected to the sport and its organizations. Similarly, we may assume that other groups who are underrepresented within organized sport, such as ethnic minorities, will be better represented among the event volunteers.

Subjective aspects

With regard to motivation, the bulk of the literature on volunteers' motives is, either implicitly or explicitly, based on social exchange theory: volunteer effort is seen as an exchange relationship where individuals offer their time, skills, and energy to contribute to a cause, and receive benefits (and sometimes additional costs) in return (Doherty, 2009). In an exchange theoretical perspective, the potential volunteer carries out a rational cost/benefit analysis of what he or she can get out of the activity, and acts accordingly.

This calculation appears to be quite different in the reflexive and collective models. In the collective model, aspects that are not included in exchange theory, such as duty, habits and tradition, will appear to a greater extent. Furthermore, inner (intrinsic) motives are more in focus: the task is performed because it is satisfying in itself. Satisfaction increases because one maintains the network and field of interest that s/he is familiar with. For the same reasons, many potential external motives, such as networking and gaining new competencies and skills, are already exhausted and are therefore less salient. The core motives are meeting friends, maintaining traditions and having a good time. Newcomers among the volunteers cannot maintain a tradition because it has not been established yet.

Within reflexive volunteerism, by contrast, the decision to participate depends on personal judgements based on individual circumstances, experiences and desires. The motivation may be self-realization, personal development or consciously building up social or human capital by means of establishing new contacts, developing new skills or improving one's resumé. Thus, we are talking mainly about instrumental or, using the terms of self-efficacy theory, external (extrinsic) motives: the individual goal of the activity is not directly linked to the activity itself, but is a by-product (Allen and Shaw, 2009; Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010). This does not exclude altruism and a genuine interest in the cause as complementary motives. Yet the core motivation is related to the activity's perceived externalities.

Taken together, it can be expected that the pure event volunteers will have a lower score on the motivational factors attached to the core activity (intrinsic). Similarly, those with loose ties to the sport can also be expected to display a lower interest in the sport, as well as having less contact with the rest of the volunteer group, resulting in a lower saliency of intrinsic motivational factors. These people will, to a greater extent, use their volunteering as a lever to achieve byproducts of the activity, primarily human (qualifications) or social capital (networks).

Thus, the analysis of the volunteers during the WSC test event is expected to reveal two coexisting cultures of volunteerism – one reflexive and one collective. We expect to find a correlation between objective, structural conditions (e.g. attachment to the sport and socio-demographic factors, such as sex, age and education) and subjective conditions related to motivation.

The collective volunteers, who are attached to the organized sport and/or are regulars at these types of events, are expected to reflect the social composition among sport volunteers in general. They are often recruited through existing networks, and they are expected to have both social and traditional motives for participation. In contrast, we expect to find an overrepresentation of younger and more highly educated people within the group of reflexive volunteers, as Hustinx and Lammertyn (2004: 558) 'consider age and education as the key proxy indicators for the central assumption of a reflexive monitoring of the individual life course characteristic of the late modern era'. The proportion of women is also expected to be higher in this group, as traditional gender differences are less likely to be sustained within reflexive modes of volunteering (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2004). Finally, we also expect that the reflexive volunteers will have more instrumental, external motives to participate.

Sporting event research has largely been based on concepts and measures from volunteers in other contexts than sport (Green and Chalip, 1998). One of the first studies on volunteer motivation in sporting events (Farrell et al., 1998) was influenced by Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991), who conducted research on volunteers in social service agencies. Farrell and his collaborators developed a 28-item special event volunteer motivation scale (SEVMS) based on Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen's study and researched volunteers at the Canadian women's curling championship. They found that the volunteers' motivations could be divided into four categories: purposive, solidary, external traditions and commitments. This was in contrast to the Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen study (1991), which found that volunteers in social service agencies would fulfil a combination of motives that led to a satisfying experience. Strigas and Jackson (2003) researched the

demographic profile and primary motives of the volunteers in a city marathon running event in Florida and Tennessee. They built on Cnaan and Goldberg's works and stated that 'there was still a compelling need for an inventory of motives especially designed to reflect in a valid and reliable way the social and psychological functions of volunteers in sport settings' (p. 115). Further, Beard and Ragheb (1983) instrument to measure leisure motivation was used. Several of the leisure items were deleted because they did not apply to the sport volunteers. An exploratory factor analysis by Strigas and Jackson (2003) indicated the appearance of a five-factor model to explain volunteer motivation: purposive, leisure, external influences, material and egoistic. The egoistic motives were found to be most important. All of the abovementioned studies were conducted at national events.

Context: volunteering in Norway

The present analysis relies on data from an event in Norway. Until recent decades, organizational activity was organized according to what we might refer to as the popular movement model. This model is characterized by membership-based, broadly purposed and socially diverse organizations with institutional linkages between the local and national levels (Ibsen and Seippel, 2010). It is the result of centuries of a strong collaborative culture and commitment to volunteer work, combined with mass mobilization and an ideology of equality that both preceded and was reinforced by the universal welfare state. Yet broad societal processes, such as differentiation, individualization, globalization and increasing wealth, have gradually brought these structures out of step with their environment (Wollebæk, 2009).

However, as is the case in many other Western countries, individualized forms of organizing and participating are increasingly common within the Norwegian voluntary sector. Organizations are focusing more on practical problem-solving in their local environments and are less frequently linked to national projects or organizations than they were before (Wollebæk and Selle, 2002). While almost all volunteers were also organizational members a few decades ago, an increasing proportion now volunteer without formal membership. New types of professionally managed volunteerism that are detached from membership organizations are also proliferating (Wollebæk et al., 2000). In general, people now have a weaker attachment to membership organizations, their memberships last for a shorter amount of time and the organizations themselves are more short-lived (Wollebæk and Selle, 2002; Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010).

Because of the historically strong collective features of Norwegian organizations, the aforementioned changes are particularly conspicuous in this country. Nevertheless, the same trends of change have also been highlighted in a number of countries within and outside of the Nordic region. These trends include the de-ideologization of organizational life (Ibsen, 2006; Jeppsson-Grassman and Svedberg, 1999; Siisiäinen, 2003; Vogel and Statistiska centralbyrån, 2003; Wollebæk and Selle, 2002), increased individual or so-called 'reflexive' volunteerism (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003, 2004), the disconnection between volunteerism and membership (Goss, 1999), a weakening of organizational socialization (Wuthnow, 1998), and weakened ties between local activities and national objectives (Skocpol, 2003).

A natural outcome of this development is a shift from member organizations to short-term events. This new type of voluntarism fits perfectly with sporting events, which are limited in time, hold modest expectations of contributors, and are neutral in terms of politics and ideology. Nevertheless, while the events are attractive to modern volunteers, they cannot work with 'one-off volunteers' alone; they are totally dependent on a core group of people who have participated in similar events before, and/or who are familiar with sport through affiliations with sport teams.

Thus, a major sporting event represents a meeting place for two different volunteer cultures – one late modern and one traditional. The late modern volunteerism culture finds its expression in weak ties to the organized sport, instrumental motives, and an overrepresentation of groups who reflect cultural modernity (being young and highly educated). The traditional culture is represented by volunteers who also participate in organized sports on a regular basis, are motivated by tradition, companionship and socializing, and who reflect and reinforce the social composition of sport in general. Below, this idea will be explored further, utilizing a survey of volunteers for the 2010 test event (hereafter referred to as the 'WSC test event') for the FIS Nordic World Ski Championships (WSC) in 2011.

Methods

Setting

The FIS World Cup, held at Holmenkollen, Oslo, Norway on 13–14 March 2010, consisted of seven events and was considered to be the test event for the FIS Nordic World Ski Championships one year later. About 370 athletes from 24 countries participated, and about 300 members of the media covered the event. Approximately 40,000 tickets were sold (Ski-VM 2011 AS, 2011). Holmenkollen has had more than 30 years of specific FIS World Cup and World Championship organizational history. Still, due to the events' growing scope and the new organizational model for Ski-VM 2011 AS, many of the 2010 sport staff and volunteers were new to a number of aspects of the organization. A total of 1045 volunteers were involved. They were recruited through an electronic application process via a proprietary online staff portal. The application process started in August 2009, and most of the volunteers from the test event continued for the World Championships.

Sample, variable construction and analysis

The e-mail addresses were obtained from the 2011 event organizer. The data were generated from an internet-based survey (QuestBack) sent to all of the volunteers ($N=1045$) by e-mail three weeks prior to the event, which took place over 13–14 March 2010. Three reminders were sent out. The response rate was high, at 77% ($n=800$ persons). We compared the sociodemographic characteristics of the volunteers with the sports volunteers identified in a national survey of volunteering conducted in 2009 (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010). This was a telephone survey with total N of 1695, of which 380 had volunteered for a sports organization in the course of the past year.

Motivation was measured by a battery of 20 statements, where the respondents were asked to indicate their agreement on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) Likert-type scale. The statements were developed on the basis of the available sporting event volunteer research outlined above (Farrell et al., 1998; Strigas and Jackson, 2003). Based on Doherty's (2009) research, which also includes motives that are specific to a sporting event such as seeing athletes perform, we added the item 'you gain insight into the sport of skiing at an elite level'. Further statements linked to the specific sport and the volunteers' involvement at the WCS test event are found in Figure 1.

In the analysis, we compare four groups of volunteers based on their affiliation with organized sports and previous experience as volunteers at events. Respondents are assigned to one of the four groups based on two dimensions: organized sport affiliation (being a member of a sports club and/or having done volunteer work for a sports club during the past 12 months), and previous experience of volunteering at sporting events (see Table 1 for frequencies).

In order to investigate the differences between event volunteers and sports volunteers in general, we also compare these four groups with people volunteering for sports organizations, drawing on a Norwegian population survey on volunteering carried out in 2009. The response rate of the telephone survey was 53% and included responses from 380 persons

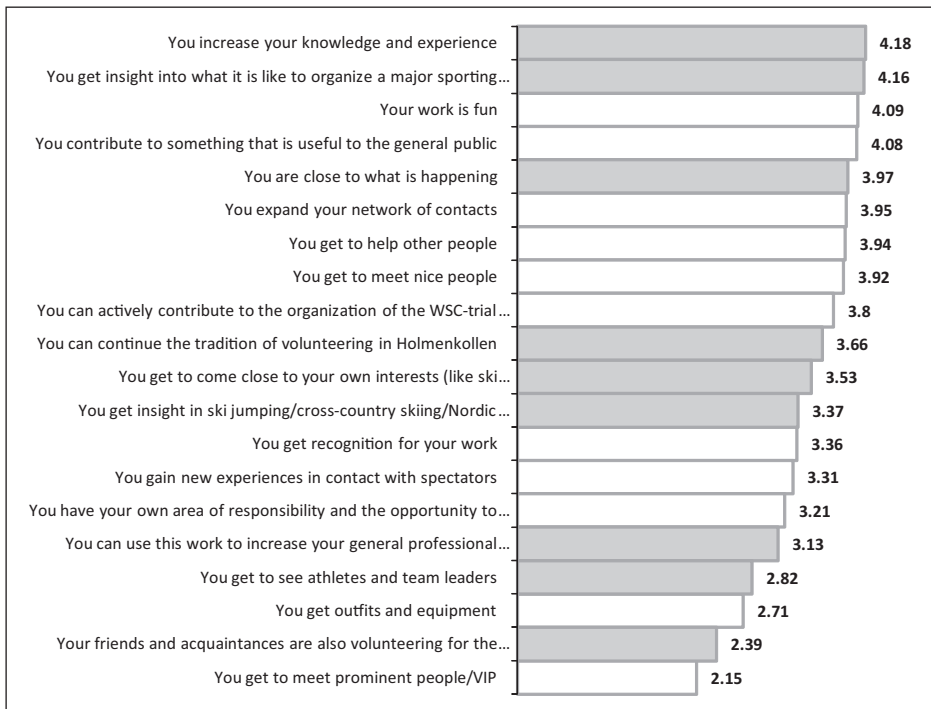


Figure 1. Reasons for participation among volunteers at the WCS-test event. Average value, scale 1–5.

NOTE: Reasons marked with grey in the model display significant differences at the 95% level between the four groups.

Table 1. Affiliation with organized sports and previous volunteering experience among WSC test event volunteers. Percentage.

Previous sporting event volunteering experience	Organized sport affiliation		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	46	9	55
No	24	21	45
Total N=800	70	30	100

who had volunteered for a sports organization (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010). We expect the pure event volunteers, i.e., those with no sports affiliation, to be younger and more highly educated, and to assign more weight to extrinsic and instrumental motives.

Exploratory factor analysis with Varimax rotation was used in order to identify the underlying factors of the motivation items. The items were reduced to three statistically sound and meaningful factors with eigenvalues above 1.0. The analyses of affiliation, event experience, motivation and tasks were conducted using ordinary least squares (OLS) and logistic regressions.

Findings

Table 1 shows the WSC test volunteers' affiliation with organized sports, and their volunteering experience. Despite using an arguably weak criterion of sports affiliation (nominal membership or volunteered for an organization in the past 12 months), as much as 30% of the volunteers do not have any connection with organized sport. The majority of these have not volunteered at sporting events in the past. In other words, for a fifth of the volunteers, this was their first encounter, or at least their first encounter in a long time, of sports volunteerism. In comparison, among those with a sport affiliation, two thirds have previously volunteered at events.

The rightmost column in Table 2 compares the volunteers at the WSC test event with sports volunteers in general, based on the Survey on Volunteering from 2009. The most striking difference is that the WSC test event volunteers have significantly higher education than sporting volunteers in general. There is some variation within the four groups of event volunteers, with slightly higher levels of education found within the group unaffiliated with organized sport, but this difference is not statistically significant.

By contrast, when it comes to age, income and gender, the variation internally among the four groups of event volunteers is greater than that between the WSC test event volunteers and other sports volunteers. In general, the average age of those without a sports affiliation is considerably lower than that of those with a sports affiliation (difference significant at the 99% level). By contrast, the average age among sports-affiliated WSC-test event volunteers was *higher* than among sports volunteers in general. The latter group was probably reinforced through the invitation extended to everyone who had volunteered at the Holmenkollen events since 1982 to participate again, this time in connection with the WSC test event. The proportion of high earners is lower among the pure

Table 2. Sociodemographic profile of WSC test event volunteers.

	Not affiliated with organized sport		Affiliated with organized sport		All volunteers at the WSC test event	All volunteers in sport ^a		
	Previous event experience	Total non-affiliated	Previous event experience	Total affiliated				
							No	Yes
Men (pct)	41	53	45	52	65	61	56	58
Age (mean)	38	45	40	42	49	47	45	42
Higher educated (pct)	70	69	70	66	66	66	67	42
Gross income >NOK 600,000	14	15	14	22	23	22	20	18
N	167	72	240	190	369	560	800	380

^aFigures from *Undersøkelse om frivillig innsats* [Survey on Volunteering], a representative national survey. See Wollebæk and Sivesind (2010).

event volunteers, while those with a sports affiliation have a higher income than sports volunteers in general. This is presumably a function of age.

The most noticeable differences are related to sex. The majority of the event volunteers without a sports club affiliation are women, whereas males constitute the majority of event volunteers affiliated with a club. Previous research has indicated that a high proportion of volunteers at national events are women (Doherty, 2009; Farrell et al., 1998; Pauline and Pauline, 2009; Strigas and Jackson, 2003). In bigger competitions like the Olympic Games, the Commonwealth Games (Downward et al., 2005) or other international competitions, like the World Cup in alpine skiing (Williams et al., 1995) or the PGA Tour in golf (Love et al., 2011) the men usually represent the majority.

To sum up, the composition of the pure event volunteers is largely what we would expect in relation to the theory of reflexive volunteerism: they are younger, more educated, and more often female, in comparison with other sports volunteers. In comparison with the pure event volunteers, sports-affiliated event volunteers are considerably older and predominantly male.

Motivation

Figure 1 summarizes the volunteers' reasons for volunteering at the WSC test event. The reasons that display statistically significant differences between the four groups are marked in grey. These sources of motivation are analysed more thoroughly in the following section.

For 11 of the 20 items, there are no significant differences. It is just as important for everyone that the work is fun, useful and helpful to others. This underlines the fact that volunteerism, even for the pure event volunteers, is not entirely instrumentally and

extrinsically motivated; rather, both idealism and having fun are essential motives for all groups of volunteers. All subgroups of the WSC test event volunteers are equally eager to expand their networks, and seems to be more strongly rooted among the event volunteers in general than among all of the volunteers as a whole (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010). Meeting prominent people appears to be the least important reason for volunteering among all groups.

The analysis proceeded by concentrating on the nine statements in which there are clear differences between the pure event volunteers and the volunteers with a sports affiliation, marked with grey in Figure 1. An exploratory factor analysis of the sources of motivation (full results included in Table 5 in the Appendix) was carried out in order to make the analysis more parsimonious. The factor analysis highlighted three such dimensions. Table 3 shows mean scores on these three dimensions by sports affiliation, event experience and sociodemographic characteristics.

The first factor emerging from the analysis was intrinsic motives related to sports and happenings (Allen and Shaw, 2009; Doherty, 2009). The statements with the highest factor loadings on this dimension were 'You get to come close to your own interests (like ski jumping/cross-country skiing/Nordic combined)', 'You get to see the athletes and the leaders', 'You get insight into ski jumping/cross-country skiing/Nordic combined at an elite level' and 'You are close to what is happening'. These sources of motivation were all significantly more important for volunteers with a sports affiliation, who viewed the event as an opportunity to live out their interest in sport.

The second factor consists of motives related to qualifications and the labor market, such as 'You get insight into what it is like to organize a major sporting event', 'You can use this work to increase your general working opportunities later on' and 'You strengthen your knowledge and experience'. This is similar to what Love et al. (2011) label 'career enhancement' and MacLean and Hamm (2007) and Strigas and Jackson (2003) describe as 'material'. These reasons were particularly important for volunteers who participated in the events for the first time, and to volunteers without an affiliation with organized sport.

The third factor emerging from the analysis was motives related to the social aspects of the activity and traditions of being a volunteer, consisting of statements like 'Your friends and acquaintances are also volunteering for the WSC-test event' and 'You can continue the tradition of being a volunteer during an event at Holmenkollen'. Farrell et al. (1998) call this motive 'external traditions'. With regard to this dimension, people who have participated at events previously are, unsurprisingly, keener to maintain old acquaintances and traditions than people without such experience. This motivation also appears stronger for those with a sports affiliation.

With regard to different sociodemographic groups, the table shows that those who have the most to prove in the labour market – that is, young people with low incomes – are more likely to view the sporting event as an opportunity to strengthen their skills and professional networks. This pattern is consistent with findings regarding volunteerism in general, which have shown an increased salience of work-related motives over the past decade, especially among the aforementioned groups (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010).

Women also exhibit a more instrumental motivation for volunteering than men do. This conforms to the findings of previous research on volunteering in Norway (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010), as well as international research on sporting events (Downward

Table 3. Motivation for volunteering among volunteers, by organizational affiliation, experience, volunteering tasks and select characteristics. Mean scores on variables saved from factor analyses.

	Interest for sports/happening	Qualifications/ work-related	Social motives/ tradition	N
Experience and affiliation				
No affiliation, no event experience	-.26	.31	-.35	167
No affiliation, event experience	-.08	-.26	-.03	72
Affiliation, no experience	.10	.19	-.34	190
Affiliation, experience	.10	-.17	.35	369
Sig.	.001	.000	.000	
Volunteering tasks				
Events ^a	.31	-.27	.14	295
Hospitality/accommodation	-.36	.55	-.09	82
ICT work	-.47	.25	.09	23
Press/media/marketing	-.23	.53	-.10	42
Spectator/functionary services, ticket sales	-.03	.03	-.23	139
Transportation	-.14	-.09	.46	55
Other	-.17	.19	-.14	146
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	
Gender and age				
Male, all	.08	-.21	.06	447
<25 yrs	-.15	.48	-.07	28
25–39	-.19	.08	.04	101
40–59	.04	-.21	.02	183
60+	.41	-.56	.16	135
Sig.	.000	.000	.545	
Female, all	-.10	.27	-.07	352
<25 yrs	.10	.69	.02	53
25–39	-.21	.41	-.03	120
40–59	-.15	.18	-.16	147
60+	.14	-.47	.05	32
Sig.	.083	.000	.496	
Education/income				
Primary education	.35	.23	-.18	28
Secondary	.14	.17	.17	232
University/college	-.07	-.08	-.07	538
Sig.	.001	.002	.019	
Income				
<250K	-.08	.38	-.01	155
250–599K	.02	.03	.04	473
>600K	.00	-.43	-.11	161
Sig.	.572	.000	.224	

^aSki jumping, cross country, Nordic combined.

et al., 2005). Downward and colleagues' (2005) study from the Commonwealth Games illustrated that men more often volunteered because of their own interest in sport. Our results echo these findings, especially among middle-aged and elderly men. For women, by contrast, volunteering meant redefining their identities and overcoming the obstacles they faced in the labour market and within sports. Similar to Downward's findings, the women in our study volunteered at this event as a conscious investment in human and social capital to a greater extent than men.

Differences in motivation correspond with the type of work that is carried out. Those who are primarily motivated by an interest in sport carry out work in the arenas during competitions. Middle-aged and elderly men are overrepresented here; most of them also have sports affiliations and previous event experiences. Volunteers motivated by professional benefits, on the other hand, provide mainly support functions, such as ICT, press and hospitality work. For the analysis below, tasks related to the sporting arenas (for ski jumping, cross-country skiing and Nordic combined) are merged into 'arena volunteerism', whereas press work, transport and so on have been merged to represent 'support functions'.

Multivariate analysis

How are background characteristics, motivations for volunteering and the work tasks that are performed connected? How much of the differences are due to affiliation with organized sport or previous event experiences, and how much can be explained by background characteristics such as age, sex and social background?

Table 4 illustrates various sources of motivation for the volunteers' efforts and the type of tasks which volunteers end up carrying out. The results of the regression are illustrated in Figure 2.

The figure illustrates how volunteers for the WSC test event are grouped into two segments. The first group is dominated by middle-aged/elderly men, who are more likely to be members of sports organizations and have experience from similar events. They have an inner (intrinsic) motivation related to their own interest in sport and prefer to carry out tasks where the competitions take place (at the ski jumping, cross-country skiing and Nordic combined arena). The second group is dominated by young women, with an emphasis on outer (extrinsic) motives. They carry out work related to the support functions for the event.

Obviously, gender-specific work tasks are not only a product of motivation. Other reasons why women primarily carried out support functions could be related to the fact that most organizations, not least within sports, are established by men for men and founded on male experiences (Gherardi, 2007). Therefore, the woman is looked upon as 'the other' and the man as the 'norm'. In addition, more men than women grew up being active within sports. A further reason why women end up with supporting, behind-the-scenes roles is described by Messner (2009) and Messner and Bozada-Deas (2009) in the context of youth sport. A sex-category sorting process occurs that mirrors the natural division of labor in American society. Even if equality between the sexes is more balanced in Norway, we find that only 30% of the leaders in the WSC test are female. This horizontal division of labour is therefore also a reflection of a power gradient (McKay, 1997).

Table 4. Background characteristics, motivation and tasks for volunteers at the test event. Regression.

	Affiliation with sport and event experience (logistic regression)		Motivation, standardized coefficients, linear regression (OLS)				Working tasks (logistic regression)	
	Sports affiliation	Event experience	Sports and event interests	Qualifications and labour market	Social and tradition	Support function = 1 (vs. arena volunteering)		
Sex (male = 1)	.421 *	.306	.033	-.151 **	.015	.679	***	
Age	.027 ***	.032 ***	.143 ***	-.301 **	.028	.012		
Non-western minority background	-.753	.983	.026	-.043	-.004	.630		
Highest completed education level (1–3)	-.114	.036	-.109 ***	-.124 **	-.072 *	-.323	*	
Sports affiliation		1.340 ***	.101 ***	.030	.070 *	-.890	***	
Event experience			-.016	-.123 **	.292 **	-.281		
Sports and event interest						-.531	***	
Qualifications and labour market						.465	***	
Social and tradition						-.148		
Constant	1.657 **	.067	0	0	0	3.790	***	
R2	.074 ¹	.216 ¹	.044	.182	.100	.233	¹	

¹Nagelkerke pseudo-r2. * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001.

Discussion and conclusion

To what extent can event volunteers – a group consisting of modern, reflexive volunteers – be considered as representatives of a new and growing species within the organizational society?

The analyses have illustrated that the volunteers for the WSC test event differ from volunteers within sport in general. The high educational level among event volunteers is consistent with our expectation that this group of volunteers acts ‘reflexively’. The average age, on the other hand, is higher than the average for sports volunteers in general. However, the analyses identified two quite distinct groups *within* the group of event volunteers. Those who are regulars at such events and are affiliated with organized sport represent a socio-demographically enhanced version of sports volunteers in general: they are older, more often male, and have higher incomes. The opposite characteristics are

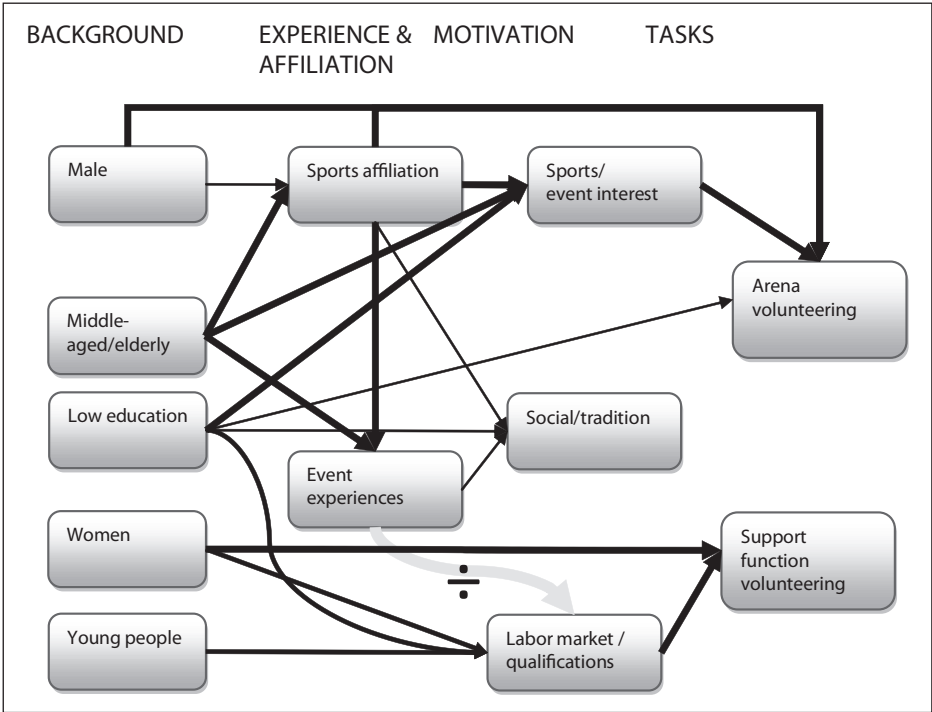


Figure 2. Summary of the relationship between background characteristics, prior experiences and sports affiliation, motivation and tasks.

Note: The sizes of the arrows indicate the strength of relationships. The white arrow and minus sign denotes a negative relationship. Other relationships are positive.

found among those who are volunteering for the first time, or for the first time in a long time, and are unaffiliated with organized sports: they are younger, mostly women, and their incomes are lower than those of regular sports volunteers. This group did not primarily seek to volunteer at the WSC test event to nurture an interest in sport or to meet friends; rather, they viewed it as an appropriate arena for investment in their own social and human capital.

Thus, the latter group professes a more instrumental and reflexive approach to the activity. Their motivation to participate coincides with more individualistic attitudes towards volunteering and organizational participation in general. To a greater extent than previously, volunteering has become a self-development project; it is about enhanced self-esteem as well as instrumental factors, such as making new contacts and improving one’s resumé (Wollebæk and Sivesind, 2010). At the same time, collective identities are weakened. This is evident, for example, through weaker identification with particular organizations, increased short-term and episodic volunteering, and a reduced willingness to enter into more formal and committed relations.

The extent to which our results indicate life-cycle or generational variations cannot be clarified by using this type of data. An alternative account of the age differences we have

uncovered would be that they reflect life-cycle rather than generational phenomena. Motivations may change during the volunteer's lifetime (Boling, 2006, in Warner et al., 2011). It may well be that the attitudes and behaviour of young people are likely to shift towards more collectivistic volunteering later in the life-cycle. For example, a stronger emphasis on social motives and maintaining traditions is to be expected from those among the younger cohorts who continue their service at future events.

There is, however, evidence corroborating the existence of generational differences between those coming of age in a more collectivist society, both in general and with regard to organizational context, and those being socialized into a more 'late modern' organizational setting. When the first comprehensive survey of volunteering in Norway was carried out in 1997, the reflexive approach to volunteerism was primarily found among youths, while the elderly held more collectivist views (Wollebæk and Selle, 2003). For example, young people professed weaker attachments to specific organizations, did not attach any particular importance to being a formal member of an organization, and their motivation was more instrumental. In 2009 many of the same questions were asked again, and it was clear that, generally speaking, not only had these youths maintained their more 'reflexive' approach, but their views had increasingly taken root in the population (Wollebæk and Aars, 2011). Volunteering is increasingly perceived as a form of organized self-realization or institutionalized individualism, quite separate from the more collectivist roots of the popular mass movement model described above.

Still, there is reason to call for sober-mindedness in terms of how extensive the changes are and to what extent they represent a dissolution of structures and a development towards a kind of late modern volunteerism. Event volunteering has a less collective character than the traditional organizational volunteering. But how 'reflexive' is it really?

First of all, the analyses have clearly shown how two volunteer cultures – a collectivist one and a reflexive one – coexist at a major sporting event. A large proportion of the volunteers are affiliated with organized sports, motivated by an interest in sports and social connectedness, and therefore regularly return to help at similar events year after year. Second, we have seen that some intrinsic motives, such as having fun and helping others, are considered the most important sources of motivation, regardless of age, sex, organizational affiliations and previous experience. If the activity does not satisfy these basic motives, which are shared by all volunteers at the events, it would hardly be possible to recruit the required number of participants.

Third, it is possible to argue that participation is motivated more by a rational adaptation to the labour market than by structurally independent choices. Groups that have the most to gain in the labour market consider the fact that the activity will increase their market value. They are most likely right about this. Individual social capital can be strengthened by connecting with networks that control extensive resources. The work also represents an opportunity to enhance qualifications and, consequently, market value. Gaining valuable experience through press or hospitality work at a high-profile, international event is quite distinct from everyday life in the local sports club. Yet, it is open to discussion whether it is reflexive and individualistic to carry out volunteer work in order to add it to your work experience, or if it is in fact the opposite – conforming to expectations about the smart thing to do to succeed in the labour market.

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Appendix

Table 5. Factor analysis.

	Component		
	Interest for sports/happening	Qualifications/work-related	Social motives/tradition
You are close to what is happening	.676	.226	.101
You get insight in ski jumping/cross-country skiing/Nordic combined at an elite level	.767	.239	.098
You get to come close to your own interests (like ski jumping/cross-country skiing/Nordic combined)	.828	.084	.047
You get to see athletes and team leaders	.740	.030	.116
You get insight into what it is like to organize a major sporting event	.293	.758	.002
You increase your knowledge and experience	.152	.863	.047
You can use this work to increase your general professional opportunities later on	.027	.758	.094
Your friends and acquaintances are also volunteering for the WSC trial event	.016	.033	.920
You can continue the tradition of volunteering in Holmenkollen	.444	.121	.593
Eigenvalue	3.38	1.43	1.04

Extraction method: Principal component analysis.

Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization. Cumulative variance explained 65%.