

The Volunteer as Visitor?

A Case Study of Motives for Volunteers at Concert Venues

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Abstract

This master thesis is an investigation of the motives of volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues. A main focus of this study is the idea of seeing volunteering as a form of visiting which has shown to be a useful approach in studying the motivational factors of volunteers in the cultural sector and in considering their place and role within the cultural organisation as such.

Previous literature on volunteer motivation has mainly focused on volunteering in more general terms including community-based volunteering and volunteering in developing countries, while the part of the literature focusing on the cultural sector has mostly looked at volunteering in the context of museums. This paper aims at adding to this research. A functional classification scheme of volunteer motives was developed on the basis of existent literature dividing the complex of motives into six categories: *education, aesthetics, recreation, escape, self-esteem enhancement, and social interaction*. The research was carried out as a mixed methods case study of two selected concert venues, Worm (Rotterdam, NL) and Radar (Århus, DK). An online survey was carried out among 73 volunteers, and then followed up by semi-structured interviews with six volunteers from each venue. The results of the research have indicated that volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues are largely motivated by the same categories as frequent visitors, however, that the two can not be equated to each other. The volunteers especially differed by scoring high in the *social interaction* category which further seemed to be specific to the concert venue context. The respondents were reflective about why they volunteer, their motivation showed to change over time, and especially the *self-esteem enhancement* category turned out to be positively related to length of volunteering and level of involvement. Finally, the profile of the volunteers showed to differ in terms of age, gender, and occupation besides volunteering, when compared to that of volunteers in museums, which further gives purpose to looking at volunteers at concert venues separately when studying the motives of volunteers in the cultural sector.

Key words: volunteer motivation, concert venues, non-mainstream, non-profit, relational motive, a hierarchy of visiting

Introduction

In a time of crisis and cutbacks, a growing part of the cultural sector is relying on the work provided by people volunteering. This goes for museums as well as for festivals and concert venues. Volunteers already make out a significant component of the labour supply in the cultural sector, and the volunteer need is likely to increase over the coming years. For these reasons, it is important for cultural institutions, if they make use of volunteers, to recognise the motives for volunteering since meeting the volunteers' motivational needs could be the key to both attracting volunteers to an organisation and retaining them within the organisation. In considering what motivates people to be doing work for free, an organisation might even improve the benefits generated by voluntary work and, at long last, minimize the turnover of the volunteer workforce.

This research aims at carrying out a mixed methods case study of the volunteers at two non-mainstream concert venues, namely [Worm](#) in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and [Radar](#) in Århus, Denmark. Approaching my main research question - *What are the motivational factors of people volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues?* - , I have a specific focus on volunteers. I have done an online survey (using questionnaires) of volunteers at Radar and Worm covering different aspects regarding motivation, and on the basis of the results, to investigate how and why certain patterns in the results come about, I have conducted semi-structured interviews with six volunteers from each venue. The data from the interviews will be analysed using elements of discourse analysis. The hypothesis to be tested are derived from the literature review and will be tested on the basis of the data collected among the volunteers at Worm and Radar.

A main focus of this study, is the idea that volunteering could be a form of extensive visiting. Kirsten Holmes (2003), who has focused on various aspects of volunteering in the cultural sector, has done a research on museum volunteers in which she categorises volunteering as the next level in a hierarchy of visiting which visitors are often segmented into. According to Holmes, the volunteers have a *dual role* being part of the organisation but also part of the audience. They form a specific part of the audience bridging the gap between the frequent visitors and the paid staff, and, thus, it is important to recognise how the volunteers are motivated to understand how they fit within the cultural organisation (Holmes: 2003)

The previous literature on volunteer motivation has mainly focused on volunteering in more general terms including community-based volunteering and volunteering in developing countries, while the part of the literature focusing on the

cultural sector has mostly looked at volunteering in the context of museums. For my part, I find it interesting to see to what extent volunteer motivation in the non-mainstream concert venues differs from that in other parts of the cultural sector. Since the volunteering in museums is the most researched, this will also be used as a main point of comparison.

The paper itself is organized in the following way. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 lay the theoretical framework for the research. In Chapter 1, I look into volunteering in general, the use of volunteers within cultural organisations, and volunteers in the context of the non-mainstream concert venue. In Chapter 2, I will give an overview of the microeconomic models explaining volunteer labour supply. In Chapter 3, I will look into the interpersonal and social dimensions of volunteer motivation, and, following Kirsten Holmes (2003), I will discuss to what extent volunteering can be seen as a form of visiting. Chapter 4 addresses the methodological basis of the research and describes the execution of the research itself. In Chapter 5, I will analyse the results of the data collected, and, finally, I will give my conclusions and suggestions for further research.

I use the term *non-mainstream concert venues* in order to differ between smaller concert venues that have focus on non-mainstream/non-commercial music, and larger/for-profit concert venues that mainly focus on popular music. These categories are, of course, not necessarily as black and white as presented here, and some concert venues might be difficult to classify, however, based on their music profile and their audience capacity, I will argue that Worm and Radar both belong in the former category. Hence, I will use the term *non-mainstream concert venue* throughout the thesis when referring to these concert venues.

1: Volunteers and concert venues

Introduction to chapter 1

In chapter 1, I look into volunteering in general, the use of volunteers within cultural organisations, and volunteers in the context of the non-mainstream concert venue. In paragraph 1.1, I present a definition of volunteering, in paragraph 1.2 I further consider the role of volunteer within cultural organisations, and in paragraph 1.3 a profile of volunteers looking at age, gender, education level, and occupation besides volunteering. Moving on, in paragraph 1.4, I will deal with volunteers in the context of the non-mainstream concert venue, and, in relation to this, I will introduce the two concert venues of this case study, Worm (Rotterdam, NL) and Radar (Århus, DK).

1.1 A definition of volunteering

In general, the definition of volunteering is described as the “donation of time for a wide range of community and public benefit purposes (Anheier, 2005: 9).” Indeed, in the eyes of many people, “volunteering” is understood simply as work that is not being paid, as a gift of time or unpaid labour. However, in the existing literature on volunteering we are presented with a more detailed definition of this concept providing a more complex view on things. Four key characteristics of volunteering have been introduced: free will, absence of remuneration, formal organisation and provision of benefits to strangers (Musick & Wilson, 2007: 14). Volunteer work is then, following these characteristics, the “unpaid effort provided [under organizational settings] to parties to whom the worker owes no contractual, familial, or friendship obligations (Musick & Wilson, 2007: 5).” However, this concept of volunteering could prove to be too narrow. When we take a closer look at this definition, there are a number of things worth considering. To begin with, one possible issue could be that some people undertake volunteer activities under the influence of peer pressure which would conflict with the idea of *free will* as a basic characteristic of volunteering. Being under the

influence of peer pressure is, of course, not the same as actually being forced to do something, but nevertheless it is reasonable to assume that some people undertake volunteer activities more because they feel they *have to*, in order to appear a certain way, rather than because they really *want to* (Musick & Wilson, 2007 :12). Moreover, the idea that volunteer work should remain free of any remuneration seems unfit for this day and age and being unpaid is not necessarily the same as being unrewarded. Some even emphasise the necessity for non-financial benefits for voluntary workers in cultural organisations, that volunteers would expect some kind of non-material reward for their work (Langley: 1990). In this case, it is important that the work activity incur more costs than rewards for the volunteer. Still, to the volunteer the personal benefits should seem higher than the costs even if these benefits would not be of a material kind (Handy et. al., 2000: 46-48). In 2001, as part of its celebration of the “Year of the Volunteer”, the United Nations provided a definition of volunteering that would allow for direct financial compensation, for instance to cover possible expenses for the volunteer, as long as the amount would not exceed the market value of the work (Musick & Wilson, 2007: 12). In this paper, this expanded definition of volunteering will be used.

1.2 The role of volunteers

Cultural organisations are in many ways dependent on the work of volunteers. Some authors even argue that, without volunteers, cultural organizations would not be able to operate as they do now (Wolf, 1999: 92; Hagoort, 2003: 182). In this sense, volunteers are seen as a resource, or at least a way of “filling the gaps” or lessening the costs of an organisation. An organisation experiencing cutbacks might even feel the need to replace paid employees with volunteers in order to cut expenses (Connors, 1995: 216).

However, the use of volunteers is not without its problems. The main criticism goes that a volunteer, even the most well-meaning, will usually be less productive than a paid staff member (Putnam, 2000: 378; Weisbrod, 1988: 133). Furthermore, due to their irregular participation, the volunteers are not able to take on long-term or regular tasks (Byrnes, 2009: 206-207). For these reasons, volunteers are also often perceived as being unreliable, and there is a need “to ensure that volunteers are trained, have clear descriptions of their roles within the organization and their commitment to fulfilling

their shifts (Holmes, 2003: 343).”

Another thing, that needs to be taken into consideration, is the resources and time spent on recruitment, training and supervising of the volunteers. If poorly trained, a volunteer could do more damage than good, and, in some cases, the volunteer's lack of professionalism or skills could even end up being harmful to an organisation (Weisbrod, 1988: 27; Byrnes, 2009: 206). Some authors argue, that it is actually possible to cut expenses by rejecting some volunteers. Thus, although the use of volunteer labour may seem to lessen the costs of the organization, this needs to be dealt with in a conscious manner in order to be successful (Brudney, 1990: 54-55; Anheier, 2003: 289).

Another problem connected to volunteering in cultural organisations is the conflicts that can occur between unpaid and paid staff (Anheier, 2003: 289; Byrnes, 2009: 207). The paid staff might consider the volunteers to be unprofessional amateurs or even perceive them as competition and view them as a threat to their own job position. On the other hand, some volunteers might not feel obliged to live up to certain standards, or they do not want to be told what to do. After all, at the end of the day, they are not getting paid (Kotler & Scheff, 1997: 427). One of the major paradoxes concerning volunteers is still this: “Although volunteers are highly admired because they give their time freely to help others, their work is devalued precisely because it is given away. If a job were really worth doing, someone would be paid to do it (Musick & Wilson, 2007: 3).” It is appreciated that volunteers donate their time, but there is little understanding for the role they play in an organisation. This is not just a lack of understanding from the side of the paid staff, but also family and friends of the volunteer may have difficulties grasping why anyone would do work for free. In the end, it might even influence how volunteers perceive of their own role, whether they feel acknowledged for the work they perform or not. This is also where the idea of the necessity of rewarding the volunteers in an appropriate way enters the picture. If volunteers do not feel that their work is being appreciated or recognized, they are more likely to quit. Turnover will be high which is a disadvantage of any organisation (Musick & Wilson, 2007: 433).

1.3 The profile of volunteers

Some cultural organizations, using volunteer labour, tend to see their volunteers as a

homogeneous group, and would also treat their volunteers as such. However, volunteers often have various social, educational and professional backgrounds, and they differ in gender and age (Meijs, 1997: 230). These are all factors which have an influence on behaviour and commitment of volunteers. One might expect that volunteers would consist mainly of people with low opportunity cost of time; people who have low income jobs or who are unemployed (Freeman: 1996). However, this is not hardly always the case. In the following I will look at the demographic profile of volunteers by categories of gender, age, level of education, and occupation besides volunteering.

A number of surveys have established that volunteering attracts an equal amount of men and women. However, men and women have different reasons to volunteer, and there is a difference in which kind of organisation they choose to be active (Musick & Wilson, 2007 :74; National Report, 2009: 5).” Art museums, as an example, generally attract more female than male volunteers with a staggering 75 per cent of the volunteers being female (Holmes, 1999: 25). Overall, female volunteers donate more time than their male counterparts (Menchik & Weisbrod: 1987), and the volunteer behaviour differs, especially when it comes to what kind of volunteer work is being chosen. Empirical studies have found that male volunteers in general more often engage in work that has recreational character, is job-related, or has to do with their political engagement, whereas female volunteers would tend to get involved in social service work (Bader & Hollerweger in: Ziemek: 2001).

In terms of age, studies have shown that volunteers differ in behaviour depending on their age group, and, further, that the motivation for volunteering change over the life course (Sundeen & Raskoff: 1995). People in young adulthood most often have social motives for volunteering, or they have a more career-orientated approach to volunteering. As people move into middle age, they will tend to prefer more community-oriented work (Janoski & Wilson: 1995 in: Ziemik: 2001). ”As they grow older, people become less future-oriented, focusing more on the present, which in turn leads to a shift in priorities. Goals related to knowledge-seeking and preparation for a future life decline in importance and goals related to emotional gratification and strengthening social ties become more important (Musick & Wilson, 2007 :74).” Young people volunteer to meet new people or to network through their volunteering, but as people grow older their interests change, and they become increasingly motivated by wanting to find a sense of purpose in life or wanting to make a commitment to society

(Musick & Wilson: Ibid).

Education is said to be the strongest indicator of volunteering engagement (McPherson & Rotolo in: Ziemik: 2001). The more educated the people, the more likely they are to volunteer (Putnam, 2000: 116-117). In fact, contrary to what one might expect, it has been established that persons who have considerable human capital/opportunity cost of time volunteer more than others. “It would be logical to suggest, that because of the higher opportunity costs, people, who perform paid job are less likely to volunteer, than those who do not. Yet some research on volunteering show, that people with “greater demands on their free time” volunteer more (Freeman, 1997: 146).” In this case, volunteering is seen as normal consumption activity. I will return to this issue in greater detail in chapter 3.

1.4 The concert venue context

In economic terms, what makes concerts, and performances in general, special are that they are ephemeral. They are supplied one at a time and at a specific moment in time which means, once a concert is over, the service it supplied is no more. When a concert has been announced and tickets been sold, the performance has to take place regardless of the size of the audience and the box-office revenue (Towse, 2010: 199, 216). There are fixed costs to each performance. The fixed costs of a concert venue can include rent of space, labour costs for personnel dealing with planning, booking, finance, etc., labour costs for expert craftspeople as for instance sound technicians, and, depending on the operation model, labour costs for permanent artistic personnel together with cost of labour time for rehearsals. In the case of non-mainstream, non-classical concert venues, which are the focus of this thesis, individual bands are booked and contracted per show. However, cost of labour time for sound checks is also a fixed cost of production (Towse, 2010: 213-214).

Concert venues can be both non-profit and for-profit. Both have earned income from ticket and bar sales, and non-profit concert venues can further have unearned income from private donations, sponsorships, and public funding. In general the performing arts and the performing arts venues account for a significant part of direct public expenditure on the arts, and the non-profit concert venues especially rely heavily

on their subsidies from central government, provinces, or municipalities since their generated own income seldom is very high (Towse, 2010: 200-203).

To minimize costs, and as a way to get around the effects of Baumol's cost disease, non-profit concert venues often use volunteers to take care of simpler tasks, for instance in the entrance and bar area. In this sense, volunteers can be regarded as an additional source of financing the operation of a concert venue since their presence lessens the expenses on personnel, however, as noted above (see 1.2), the resources and labour time spent on recruitment, training, and supervising of volunteers need to be considered (Weisbrod, 1988: 27; Byrnes, 2009: 206).

In the following, I present the two concert venues which have been the focus of this research; *Worm* (Rotterdam, the Netherlands) and *Radar* (Århus, Denmark), and their respective volunteer programmes.

Worm

On the website, Worm (Rotterdam, NL) is described as an *institute for avantgardistic recreation*, primarily focused on music and film, with a Do-It-Yourself mentality. Worm is an artists collective, a venue, a shop, a cinema and a workspace for music, all at the same time. In this context, I will, however, only be focusing on Worm as concert venue.

In 2010, Worm closed down at its former location at the Achterhaven to move to the centre of Rotterdam where they found housing in the former Nederlands Fotomuseum (Dutch Photo Museum) at the Boomgaardstraat where they opened the doors in September 2011. At the new location, Worm has two large rooms with a maximum capacity of 450 people. For the concert room alone the maximum capacity is around 300 people.

Worm is organized as a non-profit foundation, and receives subsidy from local and national government. Besides the main staff, Worm has around 90 people on the volunteer list who mainly work in entrance and bar area. Volunteers are expected to take at least one late shift per month, and shifts are divided by a volunteer coordinator trainee following the principle of "early bird catches the worm" via e-mail. Since there is not enough shifts per month for 90 people, I expect some people on the list to be what I will call "passive volunteers" that is volunteers who do not fulfill their obligations

regarding the shifts. Shift vary in length from very short shifts on film nights, afternoon shifts on classical concert Sundays, and long shifts on party nights lasting till 5am. The tasks of the volunteers include bartender work or selling tickets at the entrance divided before the start of a shift.

The benefits of being a volunteer at Worm include free entrance for concerts, guest list spots, and free drinks on the night of a shift, together with a share of the tip on the night of a shift. For late night shifts, volunteers furthermore receive a 25 Euro compensation which is transferred to their bank accounts. Worm also arranges parties for its volunteers 2-3 times a year.

Radar

Radar (Aarhus, DK) is a venue focusing on non-mainstream, upcoming music with around 120 concerts/events, by local, national, and international acts, held per year and a maximum capacity of 300 people. During the past more than three decades, Radar has developed from small, underground scene to professional music venue. The doors opened in 1978 in Mejlgade 53 under the name *Musikcaféen* ("the music café"). Both location and name would stay the same for more than 30 years. However, as things developed, the space grew too small, and a new location solution had to be found. In December 2011 Musikcaféen had its last concert in Mejlgade. Barely four months later, on the 30th of March 2012, it reopened in new buildings (Skovgaardsgade 3) under the new name, Radar.

Radar belongs to the 17 so-called regional music venues in Denmark (19 from 2013¹) that receive subsidies from local and national government. It is organized as an independent institution with its own board. Besides the main staff, Radar also has around 40 volunteers mainly working at entrance and bar area, but also in production. The tasks of the volunteers in the bar and entrance area are primarily selling tickets, taking care of the cloakroom, and acting as a bartender, together with perfunctory cleaning at closing time. The volunteers decide for themselves on the night whether they want to work at the entrance or at the bar. Work schedules are worked out by the volunteer coordinator according to volunteer preferences, however, each volunteer is

1 <http://www.kunst.dk/kunstmraader/musik/nyheder/udpegning-af-regionale-spillesteder/#.T8TVurA9V8Y>

expected to do at least three shifts per month. Shifts are from 7pm till 2.30am at the latest. Radar is not allowed to sell alcohol after 2pm, and, thus, also closes at that time.

In turn for working at Radar, volunteers get free entrance for concerts, guest list spots, free drinks on shift (not unlimited), and a considerable discount on drinks in general. On top of that, Radar arranges volunteer parties each quarter and one "day out" each year. Spending the money from the tip jar, the volunteers also arrange parties on their own.

Summary of chapter 1

In this chapter, I have dealt with volunteering in general, the use of volunteers within cultural organisations, and volunteers in the context of the non-mainstream concert venue. I have presented an expanded definition of volunteering allowing for direct financial compensation if the amount does not exceed the market value of the work the volunteer is performing.

I have described a profile of volunteers and the different motives among specific groups of volunteers. I have pointed to some of the problems regarding the use of volunteers, including issues of how the volunteer's role is perceived within the cultural organisation, how the volunteers' work is perceived by outsiders and to what extent this influences their view on their own role as volunteers. Also, I have mentioned the costs involved recruiting and training volunteers, and the conflicts that might occur between volunteers and paid staff. Finally, I have presented the context of the concert venue, and I have introduced the two concert venues, Worm and Radar, of which the volunteers are the case of study in this thesis.

2: The motivation of volunteers

Introduction to chapter 2

In chapter 2, I will give an overview of the microeconomic models explaining volunteer labour supply. In paragraph 2.1, I will discuss the different models of motivation; the *public goods* model, the *private consumption model*, and the *investment* model (Menchik & Wesibrod: 1987), I will look into the concepts of impure altruism and *warm-glow giving* (Andreoni: 1990), and I will introduce Knox' (1999) idea of nonconsequentialism explaining why altruistic volunteers choose to donate time and effort rather than money. Also, I will mention Frey's (1997, 2001) criticism of the *homo economicus* and what he sees as an exaggerated focus on extrinsic motivators rather than intrinsic ones. In paragraph 2.2, I will discuss the motivation crowding theory or the motivation crowding effect (Frey & Jegen: 2001) which is described as one of the most important anomalies in economics.

2.1 Models of motivation

Empirical research in traditional labour economics has often been criticised for not taking into consideration the role of unpaid labour although unpaid work can be an important contributor to society or to an organisation as we have established above (See 1.2). Since the standard labour supply models only account for a minor part of volunteer behaviour (Freeman: 1996), several attempts have been made to find a useful economic model of volunteer motivation.

In their article from 2000, "On the Economics of Volunteering", Susanne Ziemek and Kakoli Roy sum up three generally acknowledged microeconomic models explaining volunteer labour supply (see table); the *public goods* model, the *private consumption* model, and the *investment* model. In the public goods model, people are assumed to volunteer for purely altruistic reasons to increase the total supply of a public good or service. "(T)hese individuals obtain utility from increasing the utility of others

who will benefit from the consumption of the public good (Ziemek, 2005: 534).” Pure altruism is in general considered to be the sacrifice of something (e.g. time, energy, or money) for something other than the self with no expectation of compensation or benefits, be they direct or indirect, in turn of this. As such, this is also largely how volunteering has been defined if we consider the four characteristics including the absence of remuneration, and the provision of benefits to strangers, it has been defined as an altruistic act (See 1.1). However, altogether, and as we have already established above, altruism seems to be too narrow an explanation of volunteer behaviour, and over the years researchers have worked to introduce more useful models in this regard.

Table 1, Models explaining volunteering

Model	Model benefit	General motivation
Public goods	Altruistic benefit	To increase the supply of the public good
Private consumption	Self-value benefit	Joy from the act of volunteering, ‘warm-glow’ utility
Investment	Exchange benefit	To gain labour market experience, skills, and contacts

Source: Roy & Ziemek (2000)

In their article “Volunteer Labour Supply” from 1987, Paul L. Menchik and Burton A. Weisbrod (1987) present a two-dimensional model of the supply of volunteer time; a consumption model and an investment model. Both models are based on the assumptions that individuals are well-informed, rational beings who seek to maximize their utility, that the demand for volunteer labour is infinitely elastic at its zero wage, and that the demand of each person's market labour is infinitely elastic at the prevailing wage. In other words, following these basic assumptions, an organisation will be willing to accept any person who wishes to volunteer regardless of this person's skills. The person in question, on the other side, will always be seeking to gain certain benefits from the volunteering as the opportunity costs of this kind of activity are high (Menchik & Weisbrod, 1987:161).

The consumption model sees volunteering as an ordinary consumer good. Hence, ”the outcome of volunteer work and the general need for the produced good or service experienced by the public as a whole does not influence the individual's decision to volunteer (Ziemek, 2006: 535)” which is contrasting with altruistic volunteer behaviour, as explained above. In this model, the volunteer is motivated by the rewards associated with carrying out volunteer work, the self-value benefit. Ziemek (2006) mentions as examples self-integration, achieving or maintaining social status, satisfaction from the work activity, or satisfaction from fulfilling certain social ethic norms. Out-of-

pocket expenses are ignored in this case (Menchik & Weisbrod, 1987: 165) The investment model, on the other hand, treats volunteering as a way of getting on-the-job experience. In this model, the main consideration of the volunteer is the exchange value benefit. The volunteer donates time in order to increase his or her own labour market value. Through volunteering, the volunteer may establish contacts that could help this person to obtain a job in the first place. For instance, it has been a case of study that some volunteers at museums actually volunteer for the reason that they wish to obtain a paid position at a particular museum, they volunteer simply to get their foot in the door (Holmes: 2005). Moreover, the volunteer receives training and acquires skills useful for future job searches, and which could raise potential labour earnings. Thus, for the volunteer there is both a *signalling effect*; in a competitive job market the volunteer gets a chance to show to a potential future employer that he or she is the right person for a certain position, and a *job opportunity effect*; the volunteer receives training in a specialised area and acquires-specific skills and contacts which are useful for future job searches (Ziemek, 2006: 536).

So far we have been given three separate motives for giving: altruism, egoism, and investment. However, volunteers can be modelled as being simultaneously driven by more than one motive (Ziemek: 2006). In his article from 1990, "Impure Altruism and the Donations to Public Goods: A Theory of Warm-Glow Giving," James Andreoni introduces the concept of warm-glow giving to explain the idea of impure altruism. This concept comes into play when people donate time or money not only because it is the right thing to do, but just as much because this makes them feel good about themselves (warm-glow), in other words, they obtain utility from the act of giving itself. Their behaviour is neither purely altruistic nor purely egoistic in its motivation, however, this is not to say that pure altruism does not exist. "The overall conclusion is that the pure altruism model is extremely special, and its predictions are not easily generalised. On the other hand, the impure altruism is consistent with observed patterns of giving (Andreoni, 1990: 465)." Roy & Ziemek (2000) include this warm-glow motivation in the private consumption model.

As we might would expect, these models of explaining volunteering do not come without criticism. In an article from 1999, "The Volunteer's Folly and Socio-Economic Man: Some Thoughts on Altruism, Rationality, and Community," Trevor M. Knox goes against the idea that volunteers who donate time are motivated by rational considerations, in the economic sense of the word. He gives the example of house

building for needy families. One may donate time and work to help to build a house, yet, a such project could be completed much sooner if the would-be volunteer, instead of donating time and effort, would donate money to pay a full-time specialist to do the job. "If a lawyer's services are valued at \$200 per hour by the market, then he or she shouldn't spend time driving in nails, an activity valued at only \$50 per hour (Knox, 1999: 476)." This is what we know about specialisation and exchange. According to traditional economic analysis, volunteers are either not truly altruistic or not rational. In this sense, there is no valid altruistic excuse for wanting to donate time rather than money, and volunteers who claim to have pure altruistic motives for doing so would, at the end of the day, be telling themselves a lie. However, in his article, Knox examines elements of socio-economic rationality that allows the volunteer to be both rational and true altruists at the same time. One of these elements is nonconsequentialism which Knox finds to break with the traditional economic concept of rationality. "Because maximization objectives define rationality in traditional economics, and because maximization processes are inherently consequentialist, nonconsequentialism violates economic rationality. But given, as even many economists have noted, that people *do* have values, and that people therefore value certain types of action for their own sakes, it is the definition of economic rationality, not our understanding of why people do what they do, that is lacking (Knox, 1999: 481)." According to Knox, it is possible for the individual to act from other motives than economic gain, and a volunteer can have "values that exist apart from the material results of volunteering (Knox, 1999: Ibid)." Hence, there is a need to redefine this idea of rationality. To explain the difference between consequentialist and nonconsequentialist behaviour, Knox uses Sen's (1977) distinction between *sympathy* and *commitment*. The motivation for sympathetic behaviour is seen as consequentialist for the reason that it is out-come orientated. "(A)s in the case of a person who flips the beggar a coin to avoid harassment, relieve guilt, or in hopes that the beggar will move on, improving the view (Knox, 1999: 481)." This is to some extent consistent with Andreoni's concept of warm-glow giving where the person giving to charity, as an example, obtain utility from the act of giving itself. In Sen's formulation, sympathy can call forth money altruism and may be modelled as an externality. Commitment, on the other hand, requires personal altruism. It is process-orientated and is as such counter-preferential which makes it nonconsequentialist in Knox's view. Indeed, commitment is consistent with the rationality of volunteering because of its emphasis on process. There is a focus on the process of building a house

for the needy, not on the actual outcome, to return to the example from earlier. This also has a connection to the *pricelessness* which Knox mentions as another element of socio-economic reality. "Personal acts of altruism are different from charitable donations in the same way that carefully selected birthday gifts are different from gift certificates or cash gifts (Knox, 1999: 483)." In other words, if something is *priceless* it is usually considered to be of greater value than of that which has a price. At least, the experience is different for both giver and receiver depending on whether the charity is in money or in time and effort. "I cannot, e.g., make a cash contribution and ask the recipient to ignore the quantitative aspect of my gift (Knox, 1999: 483)." Money altruism will always be quantitatively measurable, and as a medium of exchange money has its own set of norms that makes it incompatible with intrinsic value. Hence, in Knox' formulation, it is not necessarily irrational or non-altruistic when a volunteer decides to donate time and effort instead of making a cash contribution, as it is the process, not the outcome, that is in focus. According to Knox, the economic concept of rationality has shown to be too narrowly defined, and it has failed to explain why altruists choose to donate time and effort rather than money (Knox: 1999).

Another researcher, who is in favour of a more nuanced conception of economic behaviour than is the case with traditional economic analysis, is the economist Bruno Frey. He criticises the idea of a *homo economicus* which he finds gives too much emphasis to extrinsic motivation rather than intrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation he defines as "induced by manipulations of rewards and sanctions from outside (Frey, 2001: 14)" including monetary rewards and other controlling actions. Intrinsic motivation, on the other hand, is present when someone "perform an activity for its own sake because of reasons lying within their own person (Frey, 2001: 14)." Altruism itself he categorises to be a particular kind of intrinsic motivation. In the following section, I will look into Frey's concept of motivation crowding that describes how in some cases extrinsic motivators may undermine intrinsic motivation (Frey: 1997).

2.2 Motivation crowding theory

The motivation crowding effect refers to the notion of how under particular conditions monetary incentives might crowd out intrinsic motivation. The assumption is that intrinsic motivation has a positive impact on volunteer hours, and hence raising

monetary incentives could reduce rather than increase supply (Frey & Jegen, 2001: 5)” This is further referred to as ‘*the hidden cost of reward*’ (Lepper and Green: 1978, Deci: 1975, Deci and Ryan: 1985), and is described as one of the most important anomalies in economics as it goes against the relative price effect which is one of the most fundamental laws of economics (Frey & Jegen: 2001).

One of the standard examples of how monetary rewards crowd out intrinsic motivation is in the case of blood donation where a monetary reward would undermine the social value connected to giving blood. This could lessen the willingness to donate since people do not donate blood in order to get money, but far more likely they do it because it is ”the right thing” or because it makes them feel good about themselves (Frey & Jegen: 2001). However, monetary rewards do not always crowd out intrinsic motivation. This is for instance the case if the individual concerned perceive it as being *supportive*, then it has an improving effect on self-esteem. Also if the reward is unexpected there is this *crowd in* effect. However, if the individual perceive the external intervention to be *controlling*, then this will crowd out intrinsic motivation (Frey & Jegen, 2001: 9). Monetary rewards are basically used to control people's behaviour, and this is what makes it a popular measure. Yet, the negative effect of controlling is that it undermines the self-regulation. People do not feel responsible for motivation themselves if they get used to a sudden extrinsic motivational factor that was not there before (Frey & Jegen, 2001: 12).

The motivation crowding theory tries to explain the relation and interaction between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation by balancing the standard economic model with psychological theories. ”Motivation Crowding Theory allows for movements along the continuum between these two poles - either towards the extrinsic (crowding-out) or intrinsic pole (crowding-in of intrinsic motivation) (Frey; Jegen, 2001: 5).” There are two accountable reasons for such movement to take place. The first is *a change in preferences*, that an agent's behaviour is changed due to an external intervention that causes a shift from intrinsic to extrinsic motivation. The second is *a change in the perceived nature of the performed task, in the task-environment, or in the actor's self-perception* (Frey; Jegen, 2001: 5).²

Frey and Jegen point to some of the problems for research in this field themselves : ”it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine which parts of an employee’s motivation to perform his or her job are intrinsic, and which not. Although intrinsic

2 The motivation crowding theory was explored in an essay for the course Creativity and the Economy. My lecturer, Mariangela Lavanga, and my supervisor, Hans Abbing, have both agreed on the use of the essay for my thesis.

motivation may play an important role in many areas of the economy and society, it is difficult to influence or control, especially in comparison with the large array of readily available extrinsic motivators (Frey; Jegen, 2001: 5).” Overall, the concept of motivation can seem a bit difficult to grasp, let alone do research upon. It is suggested to focus on intrinsic motivators, however, these are difficult to control. Also, volunteers are not necessarily motivated in the same way, as we have seen (1.3).

Summary of chapter 2

In this chapter, I have given an overview of the microeconomic models explaining volunteer labour supply. I have looked into the different models of motivation; the *public goods* model, the *private consumption model*, and the *investment* model (Menchik & Wesibrod: 1987), I have discussed the concepts of impure altruism and *warm-glow giving* (Andreoni: 1990), and I have introduced Knox' (1999) idea of nonconsequentialism explaining why altruistic volunteers choose to donate time and effort rather than money. Also, I have mentioned Frey's (1997, 2001) criticism of the *homo economicus* and what he sees as an exaggerated focus on extrinsic motivators rather than intrinsic ones. Finally, I have discussed the motivation crowding theory or the motivation crowding effect (Frey & Jegen: 2001) which is described as one of the most important anomalies in economics.

3: The volunteer as visitor

Introduction to chapter 3

In chapter 3, I will look into the interpersonal and social dimensions of volunteer motivation. In paragraph 3.1, I will present what Proteau and Wolff (2007) refer to as the *relational motive* allowing for volunteering to be a way of building friendly relationships. Further, I will look at the different functional approaches applied in research on volunteer motivation (Clary, Snyder, Stukas: 1996; Thchirhart: 2001; Okun & Schultz: 2003), and the division into passive, active, and special interest motivation used by Stebbins and Graham (2003). In paragraph 3.2, I consider volunteering as serious leisure (Stebbins: 1996; Holmes: 2005), and, in paragraph 3.3, I take up the idea that volunteering could be a form of visiting looking at Hood's (1981) six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience and Holmes' (2003) perception of volunteering as the next level in a hierarchy of visiting.

3.1 The relational motive

As we have seen above, economists have shown interest in the topic of why people undertake volunteer activities, yet, little has been said regarding the sociability dimension of this behaviour. In their article from 2007, "On the relational motivation for volunteer work," Lionel Prouteau and Francois-Charles Wolff focus on what they call the *relational motive*, previously emphasised by social psychologists, which allows for volunteering to be seen as a way of building friendly relationships. In the article, Prouteau and Wolff criticise that economic explanations of volunteer work do not consider the relational motive. In the investment model, for instance, the building of relationships through volunteering is not seen as rewarding in its own right, but is understood to be instrumental in character. People volunteer as a way of enhancing their human capital which can be invested in future job searches, as we have established above (see 2.1). "Human relations are considered here only as a mean to achieve one's

aim and to yield economic benefits, not as goals pursued for themselves (Prouteau & Wolff, 2007:). In this way, all actions are seen as having a material *quid pro quo*.

The idea that volunteers might enjoy the interaction with other volunteers for its own sake has been acknowledged by some authors as a consumption aspect (Clotfelter: 1985; Schiff: 1990), but they did not further develop this hypotheses (Prouteau & Wolff, 2007). The social dimension of volunteering has, however, been explored since then. In a functionalist approach, Clary et al. (1992, 1996) identified six motivational factors for volunteering: *values*, *understanding*, *career*, *social*, *esteem*, and *protective*. This approach implies that similar behaviour may be evoked by different reasons, and that individuals may have not just one, but several motives at a time (Clary et. al., 1992: 335). The *value* function refers to the concern for others, *understanding* indicates a need to learn and improve one's knowledge of the world, the *social* function has to do with a desire to “fit in”, wanting to live up to the norms and expectations of one's circle of acquaintance, and sustaining friendships, *career* is connected to career-related benefits of volunteering, the *esteem* function indicates positive effects on self-esteem, and, finally, *protective* relates to the need to protect oneself. Here, the element of “sustaining friends” is included in the social function, whereas “making new friends” is included as part of the esteem function (Clary, Snyder, Stukas, 1996: 487, in Prouteau & Wolff, 2007:).

The functional approach has been applied by a number of authors in different modifications depending on the specific group of volunteers being researched. For example, Omoto and Snyder (1993) used a five-factor model: i) community concern, ii) values, iii) understanding, iv) personal development, and v) esteem enhancement, which included “to make new friends” as part of the personal development function, Thchirhart (2001) had “making friends as part of the *social* motive, and Okun and Schultz (2003) expanded the six-factor model by adding “making friends” as a separate motive for volunteering (Okun & Schultz, 2003: 234).

Also concerned with the relational motive, in a study on museum volunteer motivation, Stebbins and Graham (2003) divided the motives of volunteers into three types: passive, active, and special interest motivation. Similar to the “sustaining friendship” motive in the *social* function of Clary et al., the passive motives include wanting to volunteer because one's friends or family are already volunteering, , active motives refer to wanting to make a difference in a community or an organisation, or wanting to add to one's skills, personal well-being, or social network. Finally, the special interest motivation is inherent to people who have a special interest in, for instance, a

particular museum (Stebbins & Graham, 2003: 25-26).

3.2 Volunteering as leisure

Research on volunteers has largely been concerned with volunteers as unpaid workers, however, Robert A. Stebbins has suggested another approach in which volunteering is described as leisure activity. Stebbins uses the term *serious leisure* to describe “the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or **volunteer** activity sufficiently substantial and interesting in nature for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of a combination of his special skills, knowledge, and experience (Stebbins, 1996: 215).” Serious leisure is distinguished from *casual* and *project-based leisure* by six specific qualities: i) the need to persevere at the activity, ii) the availability of a leisure career, iii) the need to put in effort to gain skills and knowledge, iv) the realization of various special benefits, v) a unique ethos and social world, vi) an attractive personal experience (Stebbins: 1992; 2007).

Kirsten Holmes also explored this idea of volunteering as leisure in her article “Volunteering in the UK Museums Sector: The Case of Aspiring Museum Professionals,” in which she seeks to conceptualise volunteering on a continuum between work and leisure asking the question “are aspiring museum professionals pursuing serious leisure when they undertake voluntary work experience in museums? (Holmes, 2005:)” Her research shows that these volunteers, who pursue a career in the museum sector, would tend to view their experiences at the museum as work-based rather than leisure-based, although not being paid. This places them within the market volunteering category, one of four categories used by Parker (1997) describing individuals who volunteer to gain work experience. However, according to the research, market volunteering can lead into leisure volunteering over time as a positive experience of volunteering may cause an individual to continue the volunteer activity even after paid work has been procured (Holmes: 2005).

Volunteering as serious leisure is not a dominant concept in non-profit sector research which still sees volunteering as unpaid work albeit unpaid work that is appropriately motivated (Musick; Wilson, 2007 :16).

3.3 The volunteer as visitor

Another interesting perspective on volunteering is the idea that volunteering could be a form of visiting which earlier has been applied especially to museum volunteers. Hereby, volunteering is seen as an extension of the visitor experience as formulated by Miller, “Volunteers are the ultimate frequent visitors (Millar, 1991: 1, cited in Goodlad & MacIvor, 1998: 6).” Museum volunteers are seen as both consumers and producers of museum services, i.e. there is a considerable element of consumption present in the process of production which makes museum volunteers a special case (Johnson & Thomas, 1998: 78). It has even been suggested that the declining number of museum visitors is due to a growing number of volunteers within this sector, however, this is mostly speculation (Orr, 2006: 197) .

Another reason, why museum volunteers are considered to be a specific part of the audience, is simply because they, through their volunteering, have enjoyable experiences, as depicted in Marilyn G. Hood's six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience (see table 2) which are i) challenge of new experience, ii) doing something worthwhile, iii) feeling comfortable in one's surroundings, iv) opportunity to learn v) participating actively, and vi) social interaction. Hood found that, to frequent visitors, especially the challenge of new experience, doing something worthwhile, and opportunity to learn were seen as important leisure attributes, whereas, these same attributes were of less significance to infrequent visitors and non-visitors who would tend to understand leisure time more in terms of relaxation rather than an active learning-orientated experience which would be the focus of the frequent visitor. Taking this model as a point of departure, volunteers are basically seen as visitors who participate actively, who understand leisure in the same terms as the frequent visitors, and who give significance to the same leisure attributes as frequent visitors (McIvor: 1998).

Table 2: Six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience

- challenge of new experience
- doing something worthwhile
- feeling comfortable in one's surroundings
- opportunity to learn
- participating actively
- social interaction

Source: Hood (1981)

Kirsten Holmes explored this issue further in her article from 2003 “Volunteers in the Heritage Sector. A Neglected Audience?” where she sees the volunteers as forming a distinct group that can not simply be equated to that of the visitors since the volunteers have an insider position that most visitors would not have. Holmes sees volunteering as the next level in a hierarchy of visiting (see figure 1) which visitors are often segmented into (Holmes: 2003).

Figure 1: A hierarchy of visiting



Source: Holmes (2003)

The volunteers typically have a strong connection to the particular museum that they have chosen to, so to say, “visit in depth,” and they get a different experience from this than the average visitor would, infrequent or frequent. Holmes argues that a significant proportion of the museum volunteers are leisure seeking as most of these are retired anyway and do not as such have motivation of investment. Hence, according to Holmes, these volunteers can easily be considered as an additional element to the museum audience. However, because of the volunteers' strong involvement in the museum, and their view on themselves as volunteers, they are seen to have a dual role: “(...A)s volunteers see themselves as belonging to the organisation, they also form a bridge between visitors and paid staff, thus taking on a dual role as both part of the museum but also part of its audience” (Holmes, 2003: 231). She sees the volunteers as visitors who at the same time also form part of the experience for other visitors. Holmes suggests this role of the volunteers as a bridge between visitors and paid staff to be reconsidered to figure out how they actually fit within the cultural organisations (Holmes: 2003).

Summary of chapter 3

In chapter 3, I have dealt with the interpersonal and social dimensions of volunteer motivation. I have introduced Proteau and Wolff's (2007) *relational motive* which allows for volunteering to be a way of building friendly relationships. I have looked at the different functional approaches applied in research on volunteer motivation (Clary, Snyder, Stukas: 1996; Thchirhart: 2001; Okun & Schultz: 2003), and the division into passive, active, and special interest motivation used by Stebbins and Graham (2003). Further, I have taken up the idea of volunteering as serious leisure (Stebbins: 1996; Holmes: 2005), and, I have discussed to what extent volunteering could be a form of visiting looking at Hood's (1981) six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience and Holmes' (2003) perception of volunteering as the next level in a hierarchy of visiting.

4: Research Methods and Data Collection

Introduction to chapter 4

This chapter outlines the research methods used in this study and accounts for the data collection. I put forward my research strategy and research design, I present my hypotheses, and I account for the process of my data collection including considerations regarding the sample, and the construction of questionnaire and interview questions. Finally, I will consider the limitations of the research.

4.1 Research strategy and research design

This research aims at carrying out a mixed methods case study of the volunteers at two concert venues, namely [Radar](#) in Århus, Denmark, and [Worm](#) in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Approaching my research question - *What are the motivational factors of people volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues?* - , I have had a specific focus on volunteers. I have done an online survey (using questionnaires) of volunteers at Radar and Worm covering different aspects regarding motivation. This quantitative approach has been applied in order to get a picture of the issue in question and to get an idea of who are actually volunteering (age, gender, level of education, occupation besides volunteering), why they choose to volunteer, and how they are motivated in their work as volunteers. On the basis of these results, and to investigate how and why certain patterns in the results come about, I have conducted a total of 12 semi-structured interviews with volunteers from both places. The data from the interviews will be analysed using elements of discourse analysis (see below).

The use of mixed methods research is not without controversy. One of the criticisms of this approach is the lack of commitment to an epistemological position, the *embedded methods argument*. Another voice against the mixed methods approach is the so-called *paradigm argument* that suggests that it is simply not possible to combine the two research strategies as they are incommensurable, and an aim at integration would only

succeed at a superficial level and within a single strategy. However, other researchers approve and see the advantages of the mixed methods research. This position, referred to as the *technical version*, perceives of research methods as being autonomous, and, thus, the combining of the two strategies becomes perfectly feasible. In this view, research methods are seen as techniques of data collection and analysis rather than strict epistemological paradigms (Bryman, 2008: 604-609, 624)

Using Hammersley's (1996) classification of approaches to mixed methods research, the approach in this study is the one of *facilitation*; where "one research strategy is employed in order to aid research using the other research strategy (Bryman, 2008: 607) In this case, the quantitative research strategy has been employed to "set the stage" for the qualitative part, so to speak. The quantitative strategy is preceding the qualitative, and forms the basis for the qualitative analysis which is the main focus.

4.2 Hypotheses

As stated in the introduction the main research question of this thesis is *What are the motivational factors of people volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues?*

In relation to this research question I have formed three hypotheses which I have structured chronologically in the order that they will be analysed.

Based on my own experience as a volunteer at non-mainstream concert venues and my readings on volunteers in other parts of the cultural sector (Holmes, among others), I have noticed that the profile of volunteers at non-mainstream venues seem to differ from that of volunteers at, for instance, museums in terms of age, gender, and occupation besides volunteering. Thus, my first hypothesis is:

1) *The profile of people volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues differ from that of people volunteering in other parts of the cultural sector*

As established in 1.3, the volunteer's motivation change over the course of a lifetime. However, I find it likely that the motivation of the volunteer could even change with the

length of volunteering as the volunteer builds up a commitment to the organisation. Thus my second hypothesis is:

2) *The volunteer's motivation changes with the level of involvement*

I use the, hard to operationalise, word *involvement* to cover length of volunteering but also level of commitment to a certain concert venue which I find are likely to correspond.

A major focus of this thesis (3.3) is the idea that volunteers can be seen to form a distinct part of the audience. Holmes has explored this in relation to museum volunteers, and I find this an interesting approach when looking at volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues as well. Thus, my third and final hypothesis is:

3) *The motivational factors of the volunteer at the non-mainstream concert venue are comparable to those of the frequent visitor*

4.3 The process of data collection

Sample

For this case study I have chosen to focus on volunteers from two different non-mainstream concert venues, [Radar](#) in Århus, Denmark, and [Worm](#) in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, who are both finding themselves in a period of transition. In 2011, the Rotterdam concert venue Worm moved from Delfshaven to a more visible location in the area of the Witte de Withstraat, and in 2012 the Danish concert venue Musikcaféen made a similar move within the city of Århus (see 1.4). Moving location means having to close down for a period of time, and this poses a challenge to the given venue since this could eventually cause volunteers to seek elsewhere as routine gets lost. I have chosen the two venues for my empirical research partly due to their shared experience of moving location which I find makes them interesting cases for studying volunteer motivation. Especially in times of change, it is significant to keep focus on how

motivational needs of the volunteers can be met, also to avoid a high turnover of volunteer labour force. Moreover, I was lucky to have a good access to these particular venues which was helpful throughout the process. The shared experience of moving location was as such not a feature that I looked for specifically when choosing the venues, however, it proved to be an interesting addition to the research. Also, to have a comparable case, the experiences of the venues needed to correspond. For instance, it would be problematic if I had chosen one venue that had this experience of moving location and closing down, and one that did not.

Also due to the shared experience of moving location, I have had a special interest in the "long-term" volunteers, the ones who stayed connected to the respective venues during the period of the close-down, as I expect them to have a specific motivation. This focus on the long-term volunteers further serves to test my hypothesis, whether the volunteer's motivation changes with the level of *involvement*. Although it would have been interesting to try and single out volunteers who might have stopped during and because of the close-down, I do not think this would be a practical approach considering the scope of this project, but also due to the fact that people could have numerous reasons for stopping, and it could show to be difficult to find any coherence. Hence, I have chosen to go with a positive estimation and focus on the volunteers from the former locations respectively who stayed in spite of the close-down and in this way also try to get an idea of what motivates individuals to remain at a post withstand the changing environment.

Besides the shared experience of moving location, the two venues are further comparable in other aspects such as venue size, music program, and type of audience. However, differences can be found in organisational structure, expectations to volunteers, level of responsibility of volunteers, etc. I have observed these similarities and differences as I have been volunteering at both places myself (Musikcaféen 2007-2011, WORM Oct 2011-present) which, I believe, gives me a unique insight into the two organisations and their respective way of handling the volunteering issue. Further, this is also part of my motivation for engaging in the subject.

Questionnaire

A key focus of this study is the idea that volunteers may in fact share some of the same

features as the frequent visitor. Looking further into this issue, I have found inspiration in an article on demand for art performances by Scott R. Swanson, J. Charlene Davis and Yushan Zhao from 2007: “Art for Art's Sake? An Examination of Motives for Arts Performance Attendance”. In the article, they identify six potential motivations of arts performance attendees (aesthetics, education, escape, recreation, self-esteem enhancement, and social interaction) which I think could be useful in categorising the motivation of people *volunteering* in the performing arts scene as well.

In their article, besides looking at practical determinants for individual decisions such as costs, scheduling, or availability, Swanson et al. decided to take a closer look at the motivation for arts performance attendance which, until then, had hardly been explored in empirical academic research (Swanson et al, 2007: 301). The aim of this approach was to figure out how to impact consumption behaviour through strategic marketing processes and how to reach target groups

In the article, they identify these six potential motivations of arts performance attendees which are aesthetics, education, escape, recreation, self-esteem enhancement, and social interaction. I will explain the categories further. The motivational factor of aesthetics refers to the aesthetic value, or the quality of a performance. If individuals derive pleasure from the artistic expression in live performances, they would be a motivator in its own right. The education factor is implied when individuals are motivated by wanting to learn know more about the arts, and therefore attend art performances. This has earlier been identified as a motivator in empirical research on museum visitors (Jansen-Verbeke & Van Redom: 1996;Thyne: 2001 In: Swanson et al., 2007: 302). The escape category includes individuals who attend arts performances to forget about life's routines and hassles, or individuals who are dissatisfied with other aspects of their lives and want to forget about it temporarily. Looking at the next category, there are also individuals who use art performances simply as recreation. They go because they have a good time. However, it is important to note that this is not only a motivational factor but it also gets to be an expectation of attendees, an expectation that needs to be recognised by the management in their marketing strategies. The self-esteem enhance category refers to individuals who go to art performances to attain a certain positive identity and to be associated with the particular performance. In this way, they feel able to enhance their self-esteem through association. However, for the attendee, there is also a risk involved in the form of potential loss of self-esteem if the performance does not meet expectations. Finally, there is the category of social

interaction that points to that individuals also attend art performances in order to be among their friends. Hence, individuals will prefer to attend a art performance in a group rather than going by themselves (Swanson et al.: 2007).

In their research, they explore these six motivational factors with attendee demographics as well as purchase and attendance behaviour. The data was collected over a 1-month period from attending spectators at three unique performances including theatrical production, comedy troupe, and vocal popular music. They used a 7-point Licker-like response scale for motivational questions. They further asked for number of years the attendance had visited the arts performance centre, and how many times the respondent had visited the particular art performance centre the past year, in order to reveal attendance behaviour. Also, participants were asked how far a head they would usually plan attendance at an art performance, and whether they bought single-tickets or series tickets. Concluding the survey they asked questions about age, gender, education level attained, and household income (Swanson et al., 2007: 308). In their analysis they come to the result that four of the motivational factors are related to the number times of attending the performance art centre the past year and the number of years attending the performance art centre, namely aesthetic, educational, recreational, and self-esteem motivations, and this was even more the case with subscribers, the individuals who would buy series-tickets, than non-subscribers, the individuals who would by single-tickets. Moreover, the individuals motivated by these categories would also be more likely to plan their attendance well in advance. However, they did not find purchase and attendance behaviour to be connected to the escapism or the social interaction motivations. Looking at gender, female attenders turned out to be more motivated by aesthetic, education, and recreation factors than male participants. Age turned out to be positively related to aesthetic, education, recreation, and self-esteem motivators. Hence, they find that age and gender combined could be used as variables to define target groups. Level of income was also positively associated with motivations of art, education, recreation, self-esteem, and social interaction. Finally the relationship between educational level and motivation showed to be mixed. Attendees with lower educational levels would to a higher extent use live art performances as a way of escaping life's problems, whereas this was not the case for attendees with higher educational levels. Interestingly, both attendees with higher educational levels and those with lower educational level turned out to be motivated by self-esteem factors.³

3 The Swanson et al. article was explored in an essay for the course Cultural Economics: Applications. My lecturer, Mariangela lavanga, and my supervisor, Hans Abbing, have both agreed on the use of the

In this survey, I have used the six categories mentioned above in constructing the questionnaire. The categories 'education' and 'aesthetics' are, however, not used in the same way as in the research by Swanson et al. I have modified some questions used in the research to fit it with the volunteer issue and I have constructed some questions myself as well.

Participants were asked to respond using a five-point likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 =strongly agree). The questions were not randomized but grouped according to the six motivational categories to create a context for the reply. The six categories were, nevertheless, not used as sub-headings in the questionnaire to avoid questions being leading. The questionnaire also had a cover letter, informing the participants about the research they were taking part including a confidentiality disclaimer.

These are the items presented in the questionnaire:

Education

One of the main reasons I volunteer is to improve my resume
Through volunteering I gain experience helpful for future job searches
Through volunteering I gain network opportunities helpful for future job searches

Aesthetics

One of the main reasons I volunteer is because I want to support this specific venue
I volunteer because I enjoy the concerts/events provided by this venue

Recreation

To me volunteering is a form of recreation
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to get the benefits included (e.g.: free entrance, guest list, compensation)
I enjoy volunteering simply because I have a good time

Escape

Volunteering allows me to forget about my problems
I volunteer to temporarily forget life's problems
Volunteering takes me away from everyday life

Self-esteem enhancement

When someone criticises this venue, it feels like a personal insult
When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment

When someone criticises this venue, it feels like a personal insult
When I talk about this venue I usually say “we” rather than “they”
If a story in the media criticized this venue, I would feel embarrassed

Social interaction

One of the main reasons I volunteer is to meet new people
When I am not working, I sometimes go to this venue to hang out with the other volunteers
I feel I have made friends through my volunteering
One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero/bisexual) /same sex (if homo/bisexual)

Questions requiring background information were placed in the beginning of the questionnaire, and not in the end of the questionnaire as is common, as a response with no background information indicated would be of little use for this research. Thus, it was important to make sure that this information would be obtained, as a minimum, also in order to answer my research question regarding the profile of the volunteer.

The questionnaire itself was realized through the specialised survey website www.surveymonkey.com. Mailing lists were provided by the volunteer coordinators of Worm and Radar respectively. The questionnaire was sent out only in an English version, and a reminder was sent out after one week. The responses of the Worm volunteers were collected between the 17th-25th of April 2012, the responses of the Radar volunteers between the 18th-24th of April 2012. In the case of Worm, response rate was 50,55%, for Radar, the response rate was somewhat higher at 69,00%. The response rate for both places in total was 56,15% (see table). A low response rate is likely to raise questions about the representativeness of a sample. Although my response rate is reasonably high, there might be some additional aspects to consider. First of all, the sample is not selected on the basis of a probability sampling method, and it is not supposed to be representative of a population, so in this way a possible low response way can be argued to be less significant (Bryman, 2008: 220). Further, in the case of Worm, they have a very long list of volunteers, however, not enough shifts for everybody with some volunteers even doing two or three shifts per month. Hence, they should have a considerable amount of ”passive” volunteers who are not fulfilling the requirements (see 1.4). I find it likely that the people who have responded to the questionnaire are not the ”passive” volunteers but those belonging in the group of ”active” volunteers, and in that sense the response rate of the Worm volunteers might

be even higher than it occurs in the figures. Still, it is important to emphasise that these are only speculations.

Table 3: Response rate

Questionnaires	Worm	Radar	Total
Sent	91	39	130
Responses	46	27	73
Response rate	50,55%	69,00%	56,15%

If we look at some of the overall advantages of using online questionnaires, compared to for instance postal questionnaires, they include faster response, unrestricted compass, and fewer unanswered questions. Among the disadvantages, on the other hand, are a possible lower response rate, that they are restricted to online population, and also that they require a higher motivation on the side of the respondents (Bryman, 2008: 653). However, the problem of the online questionnaire being restricted to an online population has not been a limitation in this case. Since the volunteer activity at both venues is managed by using e-mails, all volunteers are necessarily online.

Regarding the use of Lickert-scaling, some problems include that respondents avoid the extreme categories (central tendency bias), that they would tend to agree or answer positively (acquiescence bias), or that they will try to make themselves or the organisation look better (social desirability bias). However, since I am doing interviews with volunteers from both places, these can also be used as a kind of sensitivity test in their own right.

Interview

To further investigate how certain patterns come about, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 volunteers, 6 from Worm and 6 from Radar, and were all recorded and transcribed for analysis. The interviews with the Worm volunteers were conducted in English, whereas the interviews with the Radar volunteers were conducted in Danish and translated into English afterwards. All versions of the interviews can be found in

the appendices. A variety of volunteers were sought since motivational factors may differ in for instance different age and occupation groups as we have established in 1.3. All interviews were conducted face-to-face in an environment surrounding the respective concert venue. All interviewees were adequately informed about the purpose of the research, and they were promised anonymity in their answers.

For the interview, I asked four open-ended questions. I chose open ended questions for the reasons that they often provide rich qualitative data, they secure a sense of spontaneity as respondents can answer in their own terms, and, finally, they might provide interesting responses that would not have been covered by closed questions. One of the disadvantages of open ended questions is that replies are more difficult to process than is the case when using closed comparable questions (Bryman, 2008: 231). For my analysis, I have been inspired by some of the concepts of Foucault's discourse analysis. Discourse Analysis as such has less focus on natural occurring talk than Conversation Analysis, and in this sense, it becomes an appropriate tool when analysing research interviews as is the case here (Bryman, 2008: 499).

The first of the four questions was asked to give the interviewee a chance to talk freely about initial motivational factors for deciding to become a volunteer.

Q1: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

Besides telling about the initial motivation, the volunteer is likely to provide some personal information in answering this question which could be of interest for the research. This question is related to my main research question concerned with how volunteers at non-mainstream music venues are motivated.

Q2: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

The second question was asked with the purpose of getting the interviewees to talk about their felt experience of being a volunteer at the particular venue. As the interviewee will be talking about personal experiences, this is also a way to require information about the volunteer management at the particular venue.

Q3: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you have been working here?

The third question is related to my hypothesis regarding to what extent volunteer's motivation change over time. This is of course a question difficult to ask newly started volunteers, however, i have taken this into consideration.

Q4: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do you fit in yourself?

The fourth question is concerned with the issue of the volunteer as visitor. The question is useful since it does not make a direct assumption as, for instance, asking a leading question ("do you as a volunteer sometimes feel like part of the audience?"), but rather it gives the interviewee a chance to freely associate about his or her own place at the concert venue which will provide more valid answers in the end, and perhaps even surprising answers.

Prior to the interviews, all interviewees had completed the online questionnaire which had the advantage that they were better prepared for the questions as they had already reflected upon this topic, and they showed to be familiar with the issue of the questions.

Besides the four questions, interviewees were asked to provide their background information; gender, age, occupation besides volunteering, and for how long they had been volunteering the particular place.

4.4 Limitations of the research

Any empirical research project comes with its own limitations. These issues need to be addressed. To me, the main limitation of this research is the idea of developing fixed categorisations to define motivation as these categories might either overlap each other, or, the opposite, they might not fully cover the issue in question. However, using these fixed categorisations should be understood as a practical approach not a fixed way of seeing things. I found that the motivation categories of Swanson et al. used in this survey proved to be useful when looking at volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues, for instance, because it includes the *social interaction* category. Still, research on volunteers in other sectors, or in other parts of the cultural sector, might need to develop other categories for the purpose.

Other biases can affect the validity of the research. Since I have volunteered at both Radar and Worm, I have a close relation with many of my respondents. This is something I have had to consider carrying out this survey. Also, I myself have a personal relation to the two concert venues in the sample which means that I have had to be extra careful not to be predisposed. Yet, on the whole, I find that my connection to the two places has been helpful to the research since I have had a knowledge about organisations, volunteers programmes, etc., from beforehand, and considering the limited scope of this research, it has been of great value. Further, it has been helpful when choosing volunteers for the interviews for the reasons that I already had the contacts established, and, hence, was able to create a better sample. Also, I had an idea of, for instance, who would be more likely to talk which is of importance when working with open ended questions.

A problem regarding asking people questions like "how has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?" is that people might have problems remembering something if it happened a long time ago, and their answers would likely be inaccurate. I experienced that volunteers volunteering for more than a year generally had problems even remembering for how long they had been volunteering. A volunteer from Radar, volunteering for about four years commented on this issue herself during the interview: "It's a long time ago now, so it's difficult to remember how it was exactly (R, female, 27, looking for job)."

At the other end of the scale, people who are new to a situation can have difficulties answering essential questions, as a comment from a one month-Radar-volunteer showed: "I probably haven't been here long enough to be able to evaluate on that (R, male, 27, student)." Other times, people may not even realise these limitations, they have not thought about the issues in question to an extent where they are able to provide adequate answers, or they are not aware of their behaviour. This is also Knox' point: "People who claim that they volunteer to achieve some outcome may be simply mistaken (...) people often do not know exactly why they do what they do (Knox, 1999)." Covering these complex issues of motivation and behaviour, I find discourse analysis to be a useful tool since it allows for a more nuanced picture compared to strictly quantitative analysis.

Another bias is a problem of language. As for the questionnaire, the Worm- and Radar-volunteers were in the same situation of having to deal with their second language since both versions of the questionnaire were sent out in English. However,

for the interviews, only the Worm-volunteers were interviewed in English, whereas the Radar-volunteers were interviewed in Danish. Conducting the interviews, it was clear that the Radar-volunteers, who were allowed to speak their mother tongue, talked both for longer and more freely than the Worm volunteers who had to speak in English. I could have chosen to do both sets of interviews in English, yet, this would create a new problem. Since I normally speak Danish among the Radar-volunteers, they would most probably feel uncomfortable in this new situation which would cause them to lose focus of the issue in question. Hence, I have had to translate the Danish interviews into English which further brings about the unavoidable issue of things being "lost in translation."

A possible limitation regarding the sample itself is that two music venues chosen for the research are located in different countries, Denmark and the Netherlands, and the concern if the volunteer situation at these venues are at all comparable. However, based on my observations, I will argue that the role of volunteers essentially is the same within these two countries, and that this fact will not distort the research in any major terms. Another concern is that the sample chosen, with only two music venues, is somewhat limited in size, and the questions of validity and generalisability naturally occur. Still, within the scope of this thesis and the limited amount of pages, I believe that the case of the two and their shared experience makes them an adequate subject for this study in their own right. The case study is not supposed to generalize beyond its own case, and this approach gives me the possibility of looking at this interesting issue more in depth (Bryman, 2008: 52).

Summary of chapter 4

In this chapter, I have discussed the methodological issues of this thesis and my choice of doing a mixed methods case study of the volunteers at Radar (Århus, DK) and Worm (Rotterdam, NL). I have presented my hypotheses. I have described the sampling procedure and the procedure of data collection for which I sent out an online questionnaire developed on the basis of the six categories used in Swanson et al.'s study on the motives of performing arts attendees. The questions for the interview were constructed with regard to the results gathered in the online survey. Finally, the limitations of the research were accounted for.

5: Results of the data analysis

Introduction to chapter 5

In Chapter 5, I put forward and analyse the data gathered from survey and interviews with regard to the presented research question and hypotheses. In 5.1, assuming that the respondents of my survey are representative, I present the profile of the volunteers at Worm and Radar and discuss in what way the profile of people volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues differ from that of people volunteering in museums which I have chosen for comparison since, regarding motivation, this is the most researched group of volunteers within the cultural sector. In 5.2, I analyse and discuss the six individual motives separately. I have filtered the results of the survey by groups, and included in the analysis when relevant, to see if, for instance, students have different views than those working full-time besides their volunteering, or if male volunteers respond differently than female volunteers. In this part of the analysis, I will also discuss the results of the semi-structured interviews in relation to the results of the survey in order to more precisely establish how the volunteers are motivated, and whether these motives change with the level of *involvement*. In 5.3, I turn to the key focus of this study, which is whether volunteering can be seen as a form of visiting, and I discuss to what extent this is the case with volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues.

5.1 The profile of volunteers

The survey has shown an equal distribution of volunteers by gender. In total, 49,3% (36) of the respondents were male, and 50,7% (37) were female. At Worm, the male volunteers were overrepresented with 56,5% (26) male respondents, and 43,5% (20) female respondents, whereas the results from Radar showed the opposite tendency with 63,0% (17) female volunteers and 37,0% (10) male volunteers (See table 4). Still, overall, the outcome points at an equal distribution of volunteers by gender in this context of non-mainstream concert venues.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents by gender

Gender	Worm	Radar	All volunteers
Male	56,5% (26)	37,0% (10)	49, 30% (36)
Female	43,5% (20)	63,0% (17)	50,70% (37)

When looking at museum volunteering, according to Holmes' (1999) findings, the proportion of female and male volunteers is 75 to 25, which is far from the numbers we see above regarding volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues. This difference can be explained, as we have established in 1.3, since men and women have different reasons to volunteer and prefer different organisations in which to be active (Musick & Wilson, 2007 :74; National Report, 2009: 5), and, further, that male volunteers in general more often take on work that they feel has recreational character (Bader & Hollerweger: 2001 in Ziemek). To approach this issue further, it would be interesting to look into the specific motives of male volunteers in order to explain their high presence at the concert venue, or to make an overall comparison of motives between museum and concert venue volunteers.

In terms of age, the majority of the respondents, 83,5% (61), were in their 20s. At Radar, with 92,5% (25) in their 20s and only 3,7% (1) over the age 30, this was even more outspoken. At Worm, 11,8% (10) of the respondents were over the age of 30 (See table 5).

Table 5: Distribution of respondents by age

Age in years	Worm	Radar	All volunteers
18-20	0,0% (0)	3,7% (1)	1,4% (1)
21-25	43,5% (20)	44,4% (12)	43,8% (32)
26-30	34,8% (16)	48,1% (13)	39,7% (29)
31-35	10,9% (5)	3,7% (1)	8,2% (6)
36 (+)	10,9% (5)	0,0% (0)	6,8% (5)

These results are in accordance with the idea that young people with low opportunity cost of time would donate more time to voluntary work than people in their middle ages who might have families to take care of. However, compared to museums that have many elderly volunteers (Holmes: 1999), the elderly do not seem to be present at the concert venues. As we have seen in 1.3, people's motives for volunteering change over the course of a life time, with young people having different reasons for volunteering than the elderly. Hence, we need to investigate these motives if we want to explain why concert venues seemingly attract so many young volunteers and hardly any in their high age.

Looking at occupation besides volunteering (see table 6), more than half of the respondents, 50,7% (36), were students which a priori seems logical as they would have a strong investment motive combined with low opportunity cost of time. What was more surprising was that 23,9% (17) of the respondents were employed full time which is a high number for this group with high opportunity cost of time.

Table 6: Occupation of the respondents besides volunteering

Employment	Worm	Radar	All Volunteers
Employed full time (30 hours per week or more)	22,7% (10)	23,0% (7)	23,9% (17)
Employed part time (less than 30 hours per week)	13,6% (6)	11,5% (3)	12,7% (9)
Unemployed/Looking for work	2,3% (1)	11,5% (3)	5,6% (4)
Self-employed	11,4% (5)	0,0% (0)	7,0% (5)
Student	50,0% (22)	54,0% (14)	50,7% (36)
Retired	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)

12,7% (9) were employed part time, 5,6% (4) were unemployed/looking for work, 7,0% (5) were self-employed, and 0,0% (0) were retired. If we compare this to museum volunteers, we see a huge difference if we, for instance, look at how many retired people are volunteering. In the museum sector, the main part of the volunteer group consists of retired people (Holmes: 2007), however, at the concert venues, in this survey, 0,0%

(0) were in this group. This difference could be explained by that people's motivation for volunteering changes over the course of a life time (see 1.3), and, hence, people within different age groups are likely to choose different organisations for volunteering.

As we have established, education is one of the main indicators of volunteer engagement (see 1.3). The more educated the people, the more likely they are to volunteer (Putnam, 2000: 116-117). If we look at the distribution of the respondents by educational level, this also proves itself at Worm and Radar. More than half of the respondents had been enrolled in a university program (see results of Worm+Radar).

Regarding the length of volunteering (see table 7), there was a major difference when looking at Worm and Radar. Where 61,5% (16) of the Radar-respondents had been volunteering longer than 12 months, this was only the case for 18,2% (8) of the respondents from Worm.

Table 7: Length of volunteering of respondents

Length of volunteering	Worm	Radar
Less than 3 months	15,9% (7)	23,0% (7)
3-6 months	52,3% (23)	15,5% (4)
6-12 months	13,6% (6)	0,0% (0)
Longer than 12 months	18,2% (8)	61,5% (16)

I find it noticeable that Radar, compared to Worm, has such a high number of respondents who have been volunteering longer than 12 months. Since both concert venues have been in the situation of having to close down connected to moving locations, the difference in length of volunteering can not be ascribed to this fact. In the following section, I would like to look into whether the Radar respondents differ in their motivation or volunteering compared to the Worm respondents to get an indication of why Radar seemingly is succeeding in minimizing the turnover of voluntary labour force.

5.2 Analysis of the motives

5.2.1 Six individual motives separately

Analysing the motives of the volunteers in this survey, it is important to keep in mind that motivation is a concept difficult to operationalise and, hence, also difficult to measure. People can be motivated by several factors, their motives might change over time, and a specific motivational factor might not necessarily produce a specific outcome. For this thesis, I have chosen to use Swanson et al.'s classification with six categories of motives which I have tailored to fit the context of volunteer motivation at non-mainstream concert venues. Focusing on a different group of volunteers, another functional approach might have been preferred. However, this is exactly the point of these categories that they are functional and context specific. Hence, one needs to consider which approach will be more useful in relation to the content of one's research, and use it as a tool to organise items. The categories I use here might not fully cover the issue within each group of items, and some motives might overlap each other, however, I have chosen to stick with Swanson et al.'s classification.

Education

As can be seen in table 8a and 8b, the education motive is present, however, not dominant. At Worm (see table 8a), the first item, "One of the main reasons I volunteer is to improve my resume," scored highest in the "neutral" category with 38,6% (17), same amount chose the categories "disagree" or "strongly disagree", whereas only 22,8% (10) would "agree" or "strongly agree" with this item. The second item, "Through volunteering I gain experience helpful for future job searches", gets a more positive rating with only 11,4 (5)% who "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 45,4% (20) being "neutral", and 43,1% (19) who "agreed" or "strongly agreed." The third item, "Through volunteering I gain experiences helpful for future job searches", 15,9% (7) "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 31,8% (14) were "neutral", and 52,3% (23) "agreed" or "strongly agreed"

Table 8a: Education motive (WORM)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to improve my resume	18,1% (8)	20,5% (9)	38,6% (17)	20,5% (9)	2,3% (1)	44
Through volunteering I gain experience helpful for future job searches	9,1% (4)	2,3% (1)	45,4% (20)	31,8% (14)	11,4% (5)	44
Through volunteering I gain network opportunities helpful for future job searches	9,1% (4)	6,8% (3)	31,8% (14)	36,4% (16)	15,9% (7)	44

Table 8b: Education motive (RADAR)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to improve my resume	11,5% (3)	7,7% (2)	42,4% (11)	26,9% (7)	11,5% (3)	26
Through volunteering I gain experience helpful for future job searches	3,7% (1)	18,5% (5)	22,2% (6)	48,2% (13)	7,4% (2)	27
Through volunteering I gain network opportunities helpful for future job searches	0,0% (0)	11,1% (3)	22,2% (6)	48,2% (13)	18,5% (5)	27

At Radar, the rating, in general, was more positive (see table 8b). For the first item, 38,4% (10) "agreed" or "strongly agreed", 42,4% (11) chose the category "neutral", and 19,2% (5) "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed." For the second item, 55,6% (15) "agreed" or "strongly agreed", 22,2% (6) were "neutral", and 22,2% "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed." The third item, "Through volunteering I gain network opportunities helpful for future job searches", showed most positive outcome with 66,7% (18) "agreeing" or "strongly agreeing", 22,2% (6) "neutral", and only 11,1% (3) "disagreeing" or "strongly disagreeing."

If we look at the responses of the first item, it seems, both in the case of Worm and Radar, that *education* is not necessarily an initial motive for the volunteers, but more understood as a positive side effect helpful regarding future job searches.

The group of students who volunteer is expected to be especially motivated by this category. They need to invest in *education* since they are in a in the process of accumulating labour market qualifications. In this sense, volunteering becomes a way of

gaining skills and experience preparing them for their first job. A volunteer from Worm explains about her initial motivation for volunteering:

"I came to Rotterdam in September to start my studies, I was looking for a job which I couldn't find that easily so at one point I started thinking, okay if I couldn't find a job, I could just do something.. even.. it didn't even have to be paid, just something that had to do with my studies (W2, female, 27, student)."

Here the investment motive is clearly present. The first option for her, as she describes it, was to find a paid job. However, as this proved to be difficult, the second best option was an unpaid job relevant to her studies. Being a student, W2 needs to work on her resume and try to establish contacts that can help her future career, hence, she chooses voluntary work that is relevant in terms of her studies. Charity volunteering, as an example, would probably not be of interest in this case. A volunteer from Radar expressed a similar approach:

"I had difficulties finding a job so I had been thinking about that it would be interesting working at a music venue. It's still work, it's just voluntary (R5, male, 27, student)."

As for this quote, I find it interesting that R5 finds a need to emphasise the validity of voluntary work. This could be important for how he sees himself and his own role as a volunteer. As mentioned in 1.2 one of the paradoxes of voluntary work is that it is devalued precisely because it is given away. If a job were really worth doing, someone would be paid to do it. R however stresses the relevance of his volunteering, and he is very particular about his choice of working at a concert venue.

The *education* motive was not just relevant in the case of students, also W3, who is self-employed and working part-time, pointed to some of the *education* benefits of volunteering.

"You get to meet new people, to network, exchange experiences (W3, female, 26, self-employed + part time employed)."

Even if one is not looking for a job, there is still new insights and "experiences" to gain from voluntary work, and it is further a way of establishing a network, perhaps especially interesting for volunteers who are self-employed.

Aesthetics

The *aesthetics* motive turned out to be central to both Worm- and Radar-volunteers.

At Worm (see table 9a), for the first item "One of the main reasons I volunteer is because I want to support this specific venue", 0,0% (0) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 11,4% (5) were "neutral", and 88,6% (39) "agreed" or "strongly agreed" For the second item, "I volunteer because I enjoy the concerts/events provided by this venue", 2,2% (1) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 11,4% (5) were "neutral", and 86,4% (38) "agreed" or "strongly agreed."

Table 9a: Aesthetics motive (WORM)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is because I want to support this specific venue	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	11,4% (5)	47,7% (21)	40,9% (18)	44
I volunteer because I enjoy the concerts/events provided by this venue	0,0% (0)	2,2% (1)	11,4% (5)	34,1% (15)	52,3% (23)	44

Table 9b: Aesthetics motive (RADAR)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is because I want to support this specific venue	0,0% (0)	3,8% (1)	22,2% (6)	48,1% (13)	25,9% (7)	27
I volunteer because I enjoy the concerts/events provided by this venue	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	7,4% (2)	33,3% (9)	59,3% (16)	27

At Radar (see table 9b), for the first item, 3,8% (1) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 22,2% (6) were "neutral", and 74,0% (20) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the second item, 0,0% (0) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 7,4% (2) were "neutral", and a staggering 92,6% (25) "agreed" or "strongly agreed."

Whereas the second item is directed towards the interest for the concerts at the particular venue, which proved to be very strong (e.g. "I like music, and I like going to

concerts, so it seemed like an obvious choice (R4, male, 29, full-time employed).”), the first item is meant to suggest a certain affiliation to the venue that goes beyond artistic content. For many of the volunteers that I spoke with, this was something very particular to them.

”I had been at Musikcaféen quite a few times where I saw some really good concerts, and I wanted to give something back, so to speak. For me, the point was to give something back to a scene that I adore. I mean, music is everything to me (R6, male, 20, student).”

In this quote, the volunteer from Radar is close to expressing altruistic behaviour. He volunteers ”to give something back” by donating his time to the organisation. As noted in 2.1, within traditional, economic analysis there is no rational excuse to choose to donate time instead of money. With Knox (1999), however, this is explained as nonconsequentialist behaviour. This young man values volunteering for its own sake, and does not seem to have a specific focus on the outcome of this act.

The certain affiliation to a venue, which the first item is directed towards, was further mentioned in relation to the visitors:

”I think many people have – I don't know if you can say a connection, but people who know Musikcaféen and Radar, when it was in Mejlgade anyway, from when they were younger, and who like the place. I don't think people only go here for the concerts (R3, female, 27, looking for job).”

In other words, according to R3, the visitors do not go to the particular concert venue only due to artistic content, but just as much because they have a “connection” to the place, like the volunteers.

Some of the volunteers explained their choice of concert venue by seeing it in terms of other concert venues. This was the case for both people who had been volunteering for a long time and people who just started. R3, who has been volunteering at Radar for 4 years, saw Radar as very much opposed to two other, larger Århus concert venues, Train and Voxhall:

”Compared to for instance Train and Voxhall, I think this place is more cosy and intimate. I like that it's not that big (R3, female, 28, looking for job).”

In her view, Radar possesses certain qualities, here described by the words ”cosy” and ”intimate,” that the other venues do not. She defines Radar in terms of these other

venues, and she sees her own place as a volunteer at Radar in terms of this distinction. Also R5, who had just started as a volunteer when I talked to him, explained his choice by making a comparison:

It is a small venue with many up-coming bands, and that's the kind of music I listen to, and that's why I feel a connection to this venue. There's a reason that I'm not working at Train for instance (R5, male, 27, student)."

He emphasises the size of the venue, and the kind of bands who play there, as particular to Radar in this Århus-context. What we can tell from both quotes, however, is that this process of, what within discourse analysis is referred to as *othering*, becomes a way of forming identity; a way of understanding oneself in terms of what one is not ("The I is always in the field of the Other (Lacan)"). For R3 and R5, these other concert venues convey what Radar is not. Radar is "small", "cosy", "intimate", whereas Voxhall and Train are "big," here understood in a negative sense.

Recreation

The *recreation* motive likewise showed to be profoundly dominant. At Worm, for the first item, "To me volunteering is a form of recreation" 9% (4) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 13,6% (6) were "neutral", and 77,4% (34) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the second item, "One of the main reasons I volunteer is to get the benefits included", 22,8% (10) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 9% (4) were "neutral", and 68,2% (30) "agreed" or "strongly agreed" For the third item, "I enjoy volunteering volunteering simply because I have a good time", 0,0% (0) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 20,5% (9) were "neutral", and 79,5% (35) "agreed" or "strongly agreed".

Table 10a: Recreation motive (WORM)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
To me volunteering is a form of recreation	4,5% (2)	4,5% (2)	13,6% (6)	61,4% (27)	16,0% (7)	44
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to get the benefits included (e.g.: free entrance, guest list, compensation)	2,3% (1)	20,5% (9)	9,0% (4)	56,8% (25)	11,4% (5)	44
I enjoy volunteering simply because I have a good time	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	20,5% (9)	56,8% (25)	22,7% (10)	44

Table 10b: Recreation motive (RADAR)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
To me volunteering is a form of recreation	0,0% (0)	3,8% (1)	40,7% (11)	48,1% (13)	7,4% (2)	27
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to get the benefits included (e.g.: free entrance, guest list, compensation)	0,0% (0)	14,9% (4)	33,3% (9)	40,7% (11)	11,1% (3)	27
I enjoy volunteering simply because I have a good time	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	7,4% (2)	44,5% (12)	48,1% (13)	27

At Radar, for the first item 3,8% (1) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 40,7% (11) were "neutral", and 55,5% (15) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the second item, 14,9% (4) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 33,3% (9) were "neutral", and 51,8% (14) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the third item, 0,0% (0) "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 7,4% (2) were "neutral", and 92,6% (25) "agreed" or "strongly agreed".

From my talks with the volunteers, it was clear that many of them understood volunteering in terms of consumption.

"I keep coming here just because I enjoy it. Just to have fun. Meeting people. See what happens. To keep busy (W1, male, 21, student)."

The key word here is "fun." W1 goes to Worm to meet people and "see what happens," but mainly to have "fun" which has a clear consumption element to it.

"I had heard from other people that it was a really cool experience, the work is not that hard, and

everybody really enjoyed it. I felt it might actually be fun (W2, female, 27, student).”

W2 views her experiences at Worm as leisure-based rather than work-based. Before she started as a volunteer, she had heard from her friends that it would be “cool” and enjoyable, and she expected to have “fun” as a volunteer. Because W2 had friends volunteering at Worm, before she started herself, there were less unknown factors involved in her choice to become a volunteer which which might have helped her decision. In W2's case, volunteering could also be seen as a way of sustaining friendships.

As the second item showed, the benefits from volunteering were a significant factor for many of the volunteers.

”You're a volunteer so you're not expected to do any extraordinary things, or to do any specific stuff. You can work late shifts if you want, and you get drinks and free entrance to events (W5, female, 25, student).”

Being a volunteer at Worm, there is a freedom to choose which kind of shifts one wants to do, and W5 further mentions the benefits involved, ”free drinks and free entrance to events.” She also emphasises that the work is not specialised, and how not much is expected from the volunteer in this sense.

One of the full-time worker-volunteers, that I talked to at Worm, put more emphasis on the work-based experience of being a bartender but only to some extent.

”I like working at the bar, and I like places like Worm in general, so I like to hang out at those places. But as a full-time job it's not my kind of thing, I'm doing something else, but I really like doing it (W6, male, 34, employed full-time).”

W6 makes a clear distinction between his full-time job and his volunteer activity. Although he would not like to work at a bar as a full time job, he still enjoys the particular work tasks at Worm. He likes the concert venue as such, and he likes to be able to ”hang out” at Worm which his volunteering allows him to do on a more regular basis. According to Stebbins' six specific qualities of serious leisure: i) the need to persevere at the activity, ii) the availability of a leisure career, iii) the need to put in effort to gain skills and knowledge, iv) the realization of various special benefits, v) a unique ethos and social world, vi) an attractive personal experience (Stebbins: 1992; 2007), W6

would not be pursuing serious leisure by his volunteering at Worm although it has some of these qualities. For instance, it is clear that to W6 the volunteering is an attractive personal experience (vi) that allows him to work as a bartender and at the same time “hang out” at Worm. This might also be his special motivation for volunteering at Worm even though he, as a full-time worker, has high opportunity costs. However, he is not pursuing a leisure career (ii).

An interesting finding from the interviews was how a lack of *recreation* motive seemed to create problems for the volunteer, as the balance between work and leisure would tip. This was, for instance, the case for R2 who had been volunteering at Radar around 2 years when I talked to her:

“(...)you know how many shifts you have, and it might feel like many hours. Also, if you don't actually live in Århus, then you have to think about transportation as well, and how to get home again. I think that's something that has changed. Especially now, when I'm more dependent on the money I earn. This is a volunteer job, and at this point I think a bit more about that I also need to get money. It's many hours if you meet in at 7pm and you only get off at 2am. But this is compensated for because we have such a good time, and you work together with these nice people, so you don't think too much about that it's not a paid job. But in that way it has changed a bit where you now sometimes think ”arh” it would be nice to get some money, but only once in a while. It's not something that I think about every time, just once in a while, when it gets tough, the long shifts (R2, female, 23, employed part-time).”

R2 considers her opportunity cost of travel time as she does not live in Århus, and, thus, has to spend time and money on getting to Radar for her volunteer shifts. She further considers the amount of work hours in relation to the benefits she gets out of this activity. Yet, for R2, this only becomes a problem when she feels the balance between leisure and work is tipping (“when it gets tough, the long shifts”) When R2 started as a volunteer, she was a student living in Århus (R2), now her situation has changed and with that her motivation (“at this point I think a bit more about that I also need to get the money”), because she is dependent on the money she earns as a part-time worker.

A volunteer from Worm also reported change in motivation due to external factors, but here related to the Worm late shift-compensation.

”I experienced a change in my motivation, and this was due to financial reasons. I didn't volunteer for money initially, but then I found out that I was getting paid for doing late shifts. I really wanted to do those because I wanted to go on a surf trip, and this was pretty much the slow and painful way to get this money. There was one time when someone messed up with the system, and I didn't get my late shift

compensation. I was really sad [laughing], but they figured it out in the end (W5, female, 25, student)”

W5 explains how after a while her intrinsic motivation was crowded out by receiving a monetary reward. When she started volunteering, she was not even aware that she would get paid for doing late shifts, but as she realised, she began to prefer those shifts over the week day shifts where she would not get paid. She even describes how this as a ”slow and painful way” to get money for the things that she really wants to do, namely going on a surf trip. This case is in accordance with Frey and Jegen (see 2.2), who describe how people stop feeling responsible for motivating themselves if they get used to a sudden extrinsic motivational factor. However, that the monetary compensation for doing long shift at Worm should crowd out initial intrinsic motivation for volunteering was not a general finding.

Escape

The *escape* motive turned out to be surprisingly insignificant to both Worm- and Radar-volunteers. Regarding the Worm-volunteers (see table 11a), for the first item, ”Volunteering allows me to forget about my problems”, 36,4% (16) ”disagreed” or ”strongly disagreed”, 38,6% (17) were ”neutral”, and 25,0% (11) ”agreed” or ”strongly agreed”. For the she second item, ”I volunteer to temporarily forget life's problems,” 51,2% (22) ”disagreed” or ”strongly disagreed”, 27,9% (12) were ”neutral”, and 20,9% (9) ”agreed” or ”strongly agreed.” For the third item, ”Volunteering takes me away from everyday life”, 25,5 % (11) ”disagreed” or ”strongly disagreed”, 32,6% (14) were ”neutral”, and 41,9% (18) ”agreed” or ”strongly agreed”.

Table 11a: Escape motive (WORM)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
Volunteering allows me to forget about my problems	20,5% (9)	15,9% (7)	38,6% (17)	15,9% (7)	9,1% (4)	44
I volunteer to temporarily forget life's problems	23,3% (10)	27,9% (12)	27,9% (12)	18,6% (8)	2,3% (1)	43
Volunteering takes me away from everyday life	9,2% (4)	16,3% (7)	32,6% (14)	34,9% (15)	7,0% (3)	43

Table 11b: Escape motive (RADAR)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
Volunteering allows me to forget about my problems	25,9% (7)	37,0% (10)	14,9% (4)	18,5% (5)	3,7% (1)	27
I volunteer to temporarily forget life's problems	33,3% (9)	44,4% (12)	14,9% (4)	3,7% (1)	3,7% (1)	27
Volunteering takes me away from everyday life	11,2% (3)	29,6% (8)	29,6% (8)	25,9% (7)	3,7% (1)	27

At Radar (see table 11b), for first item, 62,9% (17) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 14,9% (4) were "neutral", and 22,2 (6) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the second item, 77,7% (21) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 14,9 (4) were "neutral", and 7,4% (2) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the third item, 40,8% (11) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 29,6% (8) were "neutral", and 29,6% (8) "agreed" or "strongly agreed."

We do not always realise why we do what we do, and the motive of *escape* might be one of the most difficult of the six motives to clarify as it belongs to the sphere of the unconscious, and is not as definite as for instance the *education* or the *recreation* motive. However, in this survey, *escape* has not been identified as a dominant motive.

In the interviews, the *escape* motive was hardly mentioned, and when then only in vague terms:

"It was nice to talk about something else than school for once (R2, female, 23, part-time employed)."

This connects to the third item, "Volunteering takes me away from everyday life." When R2 is volunteering, she does not have to think about school work, exams, etc., and this is experienced as being "nice."

Self-esteem enhancement

The *self-esteem enhancement* motive divided opinions. At Worm (see table 12a), for the first item, "When someone criticises this venue it feels like a personal insult", 34,1% (15) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 29,5% (13) were "neutral", and 36,4% (16) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the second item, "When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment", 20,4% (9) of the respondents

”disagreed” or ”strongly disagreed”, 36,4% (16) were ”neutral”, and 43,2% (19) ”agreed” or ”strongly agreed”. For the third item, ”When I talk about this venue, I usually say ”we” rather than ”they””, a striking 40,9% (18) of the respondents ”disagreed” or ”strongly disagreed”, 27,3% (12) were ”neutral”, and 31,8% (14) ”agreed” or ”strongly agreed”. For the fourth item, ”If a story in the media criticized this venue, I would feel embarrassed”, 47,7% (21) ”disagreed” or ”strongly disagreed”, 27,3% (12) were ”neutral”, 25,0% (11) ”agreed” or ”strongly agreed.” I find it interesting to note that there were zero responses in the category ”strongly agree” for any of the items, and that, in total, more of the volunteers would use ”they” rather than ”we,” when talking about Worm.

Table 12a: Self-esteem enhancement motive (WORM)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
When someone criticises this venue, it feels like a personal insult	15,9% (7)	18,2% (8)	29,5% (13)	36,4% (16)	0,0% (0)	44
When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment	9,0% (4)	11,4% (5)	36,4% (16)	43,2% (19)	0,0% (0)	44
When I talk about this venue, I usually say “we” rather than “they”	6,8% (3)	34,1% (15)	27,3% (12)	31,8% (14)	0,0% (0)	44
If a story in the media criticized this venue, I would feel embarrassed	18,2% (8)	29,5% (13)	27,3% (12)	25,0% (11)	0,0% (0)	44

Table 12b: Self-esteem enhancement motive (RADAR)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
When someone criticises this venue, it feels like a personal insult	11,1% (3)	11,1% (3)	18,5% (5)	40,8% (11)	18,5% (5)	27
When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment	3,7% (1)	11,1% (3)	14,8% (4)	48,2% (13)	22,2% (6)	27
When I talk about this venue I usually say “we” rather than “they”	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	25,9% (7)	44,5% (12)	29,6% (8)	27
If a story in the media criticized this venue, I would feel embarrassed	3,7% (1)	22,2% (6)	29,6% (8)	44,5% (12)	0,0% (0)	27

The Radar-volunteers (see table 12b), on the other hand, had a considerably stronger *self-esteem enhancement* motivation. For the first item, 22,2% (6) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 18,5% (5) were "neutral", and 59,3% (16) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the second item, 14,8% (4) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 14,8% (4) were "neutral", and 70,4% (19) "agreed" or "strongly agreed." For the third item, 0,0% (0) "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 25,9% (7) were "neutral", and 74,1% (20) "agreed" or "strongly agreed." Finally, for the fourth item, 25,9% (7) "disagreed" or strongly disagreed", 29,6% (8) were "neutral", and 44,5% (12) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". Here I find it worth highlighting that none of the respondents would use "they" when talking about Radar, and that they overall were more likely to choose the "strongly agree" category than was the case with the respondents from Worm.

When I took a closer look at the responses of the Worm-volunteers, I found that there was a big difference in *self-esteem enhancement* motivation for different volunteers groups, and in particular the difference was noticeable when I compared the students volunteering at Worm and the volunteers working full-time. The full-time workers turned out to be strongly motivated by *self-esteem enhancement*, whereas it seemed almost insignificant to the student group. For the first item, for instance, only 27, 3% (6) of the students would "agree" or "strongly agree" while this would be the case for 60,0% (6) of the full time workers. The numbers were close to the same for the second item with 31,8% (7) of the students "agreeing" or "strongly agreeing" and 60% (6) of the full-time workers. Finally, for the third item, which I find to be the most telling, only 18,2% (4) of the students would "agree" or "strongly agree" whereas this would be the case for 50% (5) of the full-time workers.

Table 14: Responses by occupation (self-esteem enhancement motive)

		Students (Worm)	Full time (Worm)
When someone criticises this venue, it feels like a personal insult	1 = strongly disagree	22,7% (5)	10,0%% (1)
	2 = disagree	27,3% (6)	0,0% (0)
	3 = neutral	22,7% (5)	30,0% (3)
	4 = agree	27,3% (6)	60,0% (6)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)
	Total	22	10
When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment	1 = strongly disagree	18,2% (4)	0,0% (0)
	2 = disagree	13,6% (3)	10,0% (0)
	3 = neutral	36,4% (8)	30,0% (3)
	4 = agree	31,8% (7)	60,0% (6)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)
	Total	22	10
When I talk about this venue I usually say “we” rather than “they”	1 = strongly disagree	13,6% (3)	0,0% (0)
	2 = disagree	27,3% (6)	50,0% (5)
	3 = neutral	40,9% (9)	0,0% (0)
	4 = agree	18,2% (4)	50,0% (5)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)
	Total	22	10

Since the full-time workers are not likely to be motivated by, for instance, *education* like the students a priori would be, they must need some other strong motivational factor to make them stay in spite of their high opportunity costs. These results indicate that *self-esteem enhancement* might very well be that motive. Given the small sample size, however, again it should be emphasised that no general conclusions can be derived from the results.

Many of the volunteers, that I talked to, described being motivated by the more intangible benefits of volunteering. This was the case for volunteers at both Worm and Radar. W3, who had only had her second shift when I talked to her, portrayed it as a two-way street:

"I like the concept of volunteering because you give a little bit of "you" to an organisation that you believe in but you also get something from it (W3, female, 26, self-employed + part-time employed)."

As a volunteer you give a bit of yourself to a cause that you believe in, but you also get something back, according to W3. This intangible "something" was further explored by a long-term volunteer at Radar:

"For instance, if there's a concert with loads of people showing up, then you kind of feel like you get something out of it yourself. You don't really get something out of it, of course, but it's because you have this personal relation to the place, because you've been here so long. Then you feel like bringing all your friends, and to share the events on Facebook. (...W)hen you like the place so much yourself, you also want other people to discover what a great place it is. That's why you post on Facebook if there's an upcoming event, you want to go to, and you can tell that not that many are listed as "going" for that certain event (R3, female, 28, looking for job)."

R3 describes a feeling of personally having part of a success. She gives the reason that she has a "personal relation to the place" which, according to herself, results from her long-term volunteering. R3 even takes actively part in promoting the place by posting events on Facebook, as she describes. This relates to the items in the *self-esteem enhancement* category as it emphasises the personal attachment to the venue. Indeed, many of the volunteers stressed a feeling of being "part of the place" as something important to them. As an example, W4 mentioned this when describing how her motivation had changed since she started out as a volunteer:

"I feel more relaxed and more... like a part of it. If you stand for something, then you are also more motivated to work for it. If you believe in it, you feel more committed to it (W4, female, 31, self-employed)."

Again there is this notion of "believing in the cause" which is seen as important for the volunteer activity in terms of motivation and commitment. Also, what is interesting, she mentions "feeling relaxed" as a factor having a positive effect on her relation to the venue. In other words, when she feels like "part of the place," it also makes her feel more comfortable in her surroundings, which we know with Hood is one of the six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience.

The feeling of being "part of the place" also proved to be a significant

motivational factor for R3 who had been volunteering at Radar for four years when I talked to her.

"(...N)ow you really feel like you're a *part* of the place, you get a special connection. In the beginning, I was mostly there for social reasons, but now you more feel like you are part of the place. I don't know how to explain it. (...)You feel like you're part of it, you feel a responsibility, you want it to be successful (...) That's probably the biggest motivational factor, or at least a motivational factor, that you feel like you are part of the place. You don't feel that way when you're new (R3, female, 28, looking for job)."

Several interesting things are going on in this quote. First, we have the feeling of being "part of the place" as we already mentioned, but more striking, also in relation to my hypotheses, is that this seems to be something that happens over the course of time. You don't feel like part of the place in the same way when you are "new", as she says. Also, she indicates that her motivation for volunteering has shifted from being mostly social in character to being focused on the feeling she gets from being "part of the place" which, in this context, I would recognise as a *self-esteem enhancement* motive, although to R3, it seems to be more of a loose concept ("I don't know how to explain it"). Another thing, that she stresses, is a feeling of being "responsible" which came up in several of my interviews.

"(...A)t first you have your own private, subjective motivation, for instance you want to get in for free, you want to go to the concerts, and then eventually you start to feel different, you feel responsible for the place as well, I mean I'm the kind of person who always feels responsible about what I'm doing, but eventually you start seeing the place like your working place and you appreciate the place (W2, female, 27, student)."

W2 describes how her motivation has changed over time. Her experience is that with time, the volunteer would begin to feel responsible for the place as well instead of simply focusing on *recreation* aspects. Also, she explains how she has come to see the place as a "working place" which is understood in a positive sense, and she intrinsically benefits from the act of volunteering itself.

This was also apparent in R6's description of how his view on his own role as a volunteer had changed over time after volunteering for two years

"At this point I know what is required of me – or not required, because it's not so much about what is required of me, as it is about what I can do myself to make this a better place. We are the face of the venue. We are important to the experience – of course it's also about the music – but for a large part, it's

about us. After all, we are the ones they meet as soon as they enter the door. (...O)f course, in the beginning everything was interesting and new and so on, but I realize somehow that I like it better now. Also because I know that I, personally, am contributing to a great environment for this music scene (R6, male, 20, student).”

To R6, the knowledge of contributing to a good cause is self-rewarding. He wants to make Radar a ”better place,” and he sees the volunteers as ”the face of the venue.” R6 feels that he and the other volunteers ”for a large part” contribute to the visitor experience in an ”important” way. He even realises that as his *self-esteem enhancement* motivation increased, he got more satisfaction from the volunteer activity (”I like it better now”). During the interview, R6 would say ”we” when referring to Radar which is an indicator of *self-esteem enhancement* motivation, and R6 indeed scored high in this category. This was generally the case at Radar.

”(…)as one of the ”older” volunteers at Radar, it's like you try to keep the same, high standard from when you started yourself. It's difficult to explain. It's a bit dangerous in a way, because when do you feel too much at home at a place, and when do you also live up to your responsibility (R1, female, 23, student).”

From my interviews, I learned that, among the volunteers, there was a general distinction between ”new” and ”old” volunteers, as we also see above. Being one of the ”older” volunteers clearly gives seniority. The ”old” volunteers have more experience, they know the place better (including the ”high standard” of earlier times), and they have a sense of ”responsibility.” However, R1 is warning against the danger of feeling ”too much at home” and forgetting about one's responsibility. In other words, to R1 being a volunteer is not simply a leisure-based activity, but something that comes with a responsibility, and this sense of responsibility develops in time as one gets to refer to oneself as ”one of the older volunteers” which further seems to enhance *self-esteem* motivation.

However, I discovered how also the lack of *self-esteem enhancement* motivation could have its implications. Among others, W2 described how she, for this reason, found her first shift at Worm a bit overwhelming:

”My first shift was a bit wild because I started on a very busy night, and I didn't know how things worked at the bar. It was really crazy and I felt like ”I'm doing something that I don't know how to do” and how come nobody asked me if I was able to put beer in the glass, use the cash machine or whatever so the first time was kind of scary in a way (W2, female, 28, student).”

She emphasises the lack of information and the feeling of not knowing what is expected from her which confuses her and makes her feel uncomfortable in the situation.

Another Worm-volunteer also addressed this which further caused an interesting situation. After we had finished the interview, as the only one of the interviewees, he asked me if I could turn on the dictaphone again because he had something he would like to add:

"I think this is important to say though, because I think it's really a pity. That's something that I have discovered later on. When I started, I didn't notice, because I didn't know, and then I worked here for a while, and then you get an opinion about stuff. (... T)he way that Worm treats its volunteers [short pause] in general, I think it could be better. As a volunteer at the old place, you come there because you like it, but I think the way they received you when you entered the building.. it could be better. I didn't really feel welcome per se. At the end of a shift they would go "you're done? Okay, bye bye!" and that was it. I think in general it could be better. There could be more attention to the people at Worm, the volunteers, in general. It's not only me, but I see sometimes the new volunteers when they meet for a shift, they walk around thinking "Who do I have to tell that I'm here?," you know what I mean? (W6, male, 34, working full-time)"

In this quotation, W6 describes a feeling of not being "welcome" and advertises for there to be paid more "attention" to the volunteers not alone for his own sake, but also for the sake of the "new" volunteers who come to Worm and do not know who to address. However, W6 is still somewhat vague in his criticism, even if he starts out by stating that he finds this "important to say." In the quote, he three times ends up by giving the remark: "it could be better," regarding the way the volunteers are being treated, yet, he does not go much closer to this subject, although it seems to bother him. Also, I find it interesting how W6 explains to have grown more conscious of his own role as a volunteer over time ("When I started, I didn't notice, because I didn't know, and then I worked here for a while, and then you get an opinion about stuff."). He has gotten more involved in the organisation over the course of time, and, from an insider's perspective, he has formed his personal opinions and criticisms regarding Worm.

"I told them about this, but that's because I like Worm. It would be a good thing if they paid more attention. [short pause] But that's also because of the whole background of Worm. They started as a bunch of *kraakers*, people who take over houses, that's the background. I think that gives another point of view (W6, male, 34, full-time employed)"

Because W6 knows the background of Worm, he has a better understanding for why things work as they do. Also he tried to make aware of this perceived problem for the reason that he “likes” the place. Put in another way, other volunteers, who do not have the same connection to the venue as he has, probably would not have brought this issue up in the first place. Further, it is noticeable that W6 refers to Worm as “they” although he has been working there as a volunteer for 5 years.

Social interaction

The *social interaction* motive turned out to be dominant at both Worm and Radar. At Worm (see table 13a), for the first item, “One of the main reasons I volunteer is to meet new people”, 0,0% (0) of the respondents “disagreed” or “strongly disagreed”, 13,6% (6) were “neutral”, and 86,4% (38) “agreed” or “strongly agreed.” For the second item, “When I am not working, I sometimes go to this venue to hang out with the other volunteers”, 18,2% (8) of the respondents “disagreed” or “strongly disagreed”, 36,4% (16) were “neutral”, 45,4% (20) “agreed” or “strongly agreed”. For the third item, “I feel I have made friends through my volunteering”, 16,0% (7) “disagreed” or “strongly disagreed”, 25,0% (11) were “neutral”, and 59,0% (26) “agreed” or “strongly agreed”. For the fourth item, “One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero-/bisexual)/same sex (if homo-/bisexual)”, 43,1% (19) of the respondents “disagreed” or “strongly disagreed”, 36,4% (16) were “neutral”, and 20,5% (9) “agreed” or “strongly agreed.”

Table 13a: Social interaction motive (WORM)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to meet new people	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	13,6% (6)	61,4% (27)	25,0% (11)	44
When I am not working, I sometimes go to this venue to hang out with the other volunteers	6,8% (3)	11,4% (5)	36,4% (16)	43,1% (19)	2,3% (1)	44
I feel I have made friends through my volunteering	0,0% (0)	16,0% (7)	25,0% (11)	50,0% (22)	9,0% (4)	44
One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero/bisexual) /same sex (if homo/bisexual)	13,6% (6)	29,5% (13)	36,4% (16)	16,0% (7)	4,5% (2)	44

Table 13b: Social interaction motive (RADAR)

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to meet new people	0,0% (0)	7,4% (2)	3,7% (1)	59,3% (16)	29,6% (8)	27
When I am not working, I sometimes go to this venue to hang out with the other volunteers	0,0% (0)	3,7% (1)	22,2% (6)	40,8% (11)	33,3% (9)	27
I feel I have made friends through my volunteering	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	22,2% (6)	44,5% (12)	33,3% (9)	27
One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero/bisexual) /same sex (if homo/bisexual)	7,4% (2)	33,3% (9)	37,0% (10)	18,6% (5)	3,7% (1)	27

At Radar, for the first item, 7,4% (2) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 3,7% (1) were "neutral", and 88,9% (24) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the second item, 3,7% (1) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 22,2% (6) were "neutral", and 74,1% (20) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". For the third item, 0,0% (0) "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 22,2% (6) were "neutral", and 77,8% (21) "agreed" or "strongly agreed". Finally, for the fourth item, 40,7% (11) of the respondents "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed", 37,0% (6) were "neutral", and 22,3% (6) "agreed" or "strongly agreed".

The fourth item turned out to be very much gender dependent with 38,2% (13) of the total male respondents "agreeing" or "strongly agreeing" whereas this was only the case for 5,2% (2) of the total female respondents.

Table 15: Responses by gender (social interaction motive)

		Female	Male
One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero/bisexual) /same sex (if homo/bisexual)	1 = strongly disagree	16,2% (6)	5,9% (2)
	2 = disagree	43,2% (16)	17,6% (6)
	3 = neutral	35,2% (13)	38,3% (13)
	4 = agree	5,4% (2)	29,4% (10)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	8,8% (3)
Total		37	34

There are, however, several uncertainty factors regarding the results of this item. First of all, I have not asked for the relationship status of the respondents which could have an influence on answers. Second, even though answers are anonymous, there could be a social desirability bias connected to this topic. When asking questions regarding personality, sexual behaviour, or drug use, as the examples, respondents will tend to answer in a manner that is viewed favourably by others. They will over-report favourable behaviour and under-report unfavourable behaviour. For females, there might be a societal taboo involved to admit to certain behaviour or motives, especially when related to sexual behaviour. Hence, the female reports are likely to be distorted. Still, this particular motive might be interesting for further research looking into why males seem to choose concert venues over, for instance, museums when doing voluntary work.

In the interviews, in general, people mentioned as an initial reason for volunteering that they wanted to meet new people, which can also be seen from the responses of the first item. Further, it showed that this wanting to meet new people often was motivated by the volunteer moving to a new city, i.e. Rotterdam or Århus, where the volunteer would not yet have established a circle of acquaintances.

”I moved to a new city, and got a job outside the city, so it was partly to get some acquaintances in Århus, a place to hang out (R4, male, 29, full-time employed).”

For other volunteers the social factors were not described as the initial motive for volunteering but rather as something which developed over time:

”I really feel the warmth from the people. I started working here with my house mate and we were like ”oh we go together then,” but this time I just felt like coming alone and see who I would meet, and that's one of the things that I didn't think about before (W3, female, 26, self-employed + part-time employed).”

As she felt more confident, W3 decided to go out of her comfort zone meeting new people on her own instead of only doing shifts with her house mate. Thus, the *social interaction* motive only grew stronger at she had been volunteering for a while, and was not something that was there from the beginning.

Although the interviewees overall were motivated by meeting new people, it was not irrelevant to them which people they would get acquainted to. Generally, it seemed important to them that they would had some common ground with the other

volunteers, for instance, having the same musical preferences. This was expressed in different ways.

”it's nice to meet different people who like the same stuff. There's also a lot of stuff that I don't like. But there's something to talk about (W1, male, 21, student).”

The fact that they ”like the same stuff” is the basis of their conversation (”there's something to talk about”). They have the same frame of reference. This concept of conversation came up again with several of the volunteers, also with volunteers who had not worked for that long.

”the people I am working with here, it's not like there's any wall or something, everyone is open, there's much conversation (W3, female, 26, self-employed + part-time employed).”

W3 stresses the openness of the other volunteers and the ”conversation.” The volunteers have the same mindset as herself, and she does not experience any hierarchy (W3).

In the interviews, many of the volunteers further reported a sense of ”feeling like home” connected to the venue. This was the case at both Worm and Radar.

”(…) the people I talked to were very open. You felt like home (R2, female, 23, part-time employed).”

”this is a place where I can feel pretty much at home (W5, female, 25, student).”

They feel ”at home” because they are comfortable around the other volunteers. R2 further mentions the openness that W3 also emphasised above, and being able to talk to people.

Yet, as W2 points out, this is not something that the volunteer experiences from the beginning but rather something that develops over time as one gets to know the other people at the venue.

”it starts to feel like home at one point because you start to know people, and I think the friendly attitude is one of the main reason why people like it so much. Just being together with friends, like having a good time with friends. (...) You know, whenever you're moving to a new place you feel a bit lost, not really lonely, but you're in a new place so I felt like Worm could be a way for me to get more.. well, to feel more like home (W2, female, 27, student).”

Again this situation of moving to a new place is mentioned. When W2 is at Worm, it is "like having a good time with friends", further related to the third item, and "at one point" she began to feel comfortable ("like home") instead of "lost" in a new city. At Radar, R3 even refers to the group of volunteers as a "small family":

You feel more like a part of it, and that's also what makes you stay. It's like a small family in a way (R3, female, 28, looking for job)

Using "family" as an image of the volunteer group is quite strong, and that R3 uses this image could be related to the fact that Radar has many volunteers, including R3, who have been there longer than twelve months, if we assume this "feeling like home" or "a small family" to be something that develops over time and under the right circumstances.

Also other of the volunteers mentioned how this *social interaction* motive has grown in importance over the course of time.

"Now, because I've been here for a really long time, I have my circle of acquaintances here, and that's probably what motivates you to stay, as long as you still have the time that is (R4, male, 29, full-time employed)."

The social effects of volunteering are, to put it in other words, self-perpetuating. To R4, it is more a question of having the time to volunteer. He has established a social network at Radar, and, to him, this is a strong motivation to continue volunteering.

The self-perpetuating effect was further mentioned by R5:

"Of course, at this point, I've got to talk to a lot of people here, and I find people nice. It automatically makes you want to come back. The more you get to talk to people, the more you would want to hang out at that place, right? Especially if you're having a boring day at home (R5, male, 27, student)."

Because R5 has already gotten to talk to many people at Radar, it "automatically" makes him want to go back. It seems that there is also some connection to the *escape* motive here as being at Radar is opposed to, for instance, "having a boring day at home." R5 would rather "hang out" at Radar, where he has met "a lot of people," than being bored at home.

5.3 The volunteer as visitor

In Swanson et al.'s analysis on performing arts attendees, they come to the result that four of the six motivational factors are positively related to the number of times attending a performance art centre and the number of years attending the performance art centre, namely *aesthetic*, *education*, *recreation*, and *self-esteem enhancement* motivations. This was even more the case with subscribers, the individuals who would buy series-tickets, than non-subscribers, the individuals who would buy single-tickets. In other words, these four motivational factors were more significant in frequent visitors than in infrequent visitors. If we compare the results of the Swanson et al. survey with the results of this present survey on volunteer motivation, we will find that four motivational factors turned out to be dominant in the case of volunteers, namely *aesthetics*, *recreation*, *self-esteem enhancement*, and *social interaction* motivation. In my survey, as explained in the methodology section, I have used the *education* and *aesthetics* categories in a different way than Swanson et al., however, my use of the *aesthetics* category, which turned out to be a significant motivational factor with the volunteers, comes close to combining their *education* and *aesthetics* categories which both were dominant in the frequent visitors. Likewise, both the *recreation* and the *self-esteem enhancement* motive were significant in volunteers (the latter being especially significant in the case of the Radar respondents) which was also the case with the frequent visitors. The *social interaction* motive, in comparison, turned out to be specific to the volunteer group. So, when we consider the altered use of the *education* and *aesthetics* categories in my survey, the volunteers and the frequent visitors are largely motivated by the same factors, only the volunteers scored higher in the *social interaction* category than the visitors did. This supports Proteau and Wolff's idea of the *relational motive* which focuses on volunteering as a way of building friendly relationships rewarding in their own right. Finally, Swanson et al. mention that the visitors motivated by the four categories, the frequent visitors, would also be more likely to plan their attendance well in advance which can also be said to be the case with the volunteers as they have to sign up for their shifts in advance.

When comparing the two surveys, it is important to notice that Swanson et al. are concerned with performing arts attendees in general and not specifically attendees at non-mainstream concert venues. Still, as we have seen, this comparison indicates an interesting pattern that may also support Kirsten Holmes' theory, formulated in relation to museum volunteers, that the volunteers form a distinct group that cannot simply be

equated to that of visitors, but rather that the volunteers, because of their strong involvement, form the next level in a hierarchy of visiting.

To what extent volunteering can be seen as an extended form of visiting, and whether volunteers can be seen as an additional element to the non-mainstream concert venue audience, are the key interests of this study. In my interviews I found further evidence that the volunteers themselves would consider them part of the audience somehow. As an example, one of the first volunteers, that I talked to, gave me an interesting reply when I asked her to describe the audience at Worm, and how she would fit in herself in this audience:

”You mean the ”volunteer audience” or the people who come to Worm for the concerts? (W2, female, 27, student)”

W2 clearly understands the volunteers as being part of the audience, still she makes a distinction between the “volunteer audience” and “the people who come to Worm from the concerts” which repeats Holmes' idea that the volunteers make out a special part of the audience.

Further connected to the “visitor issue”, several of the interviewees reported that they enjoyed ”going to concerts,” and that getting free entrance for concerts was one of their initial reasons for volunteering:

”Another reason, which is quite important as well, was that I actually wanted to come here more frequently. The entrance fee is quite high, like 8-10 Euros or something, and I couldn't really do that so I thought, okay I can volunteer a few times a month and then just be able to come here whenever I want (W2, female, 27, student).”

W2 enjoys going to concerts, however, being a student, she has little money to pay high entrance fees. To her, becoming a volunteer is a way of getting to go to the concerts that she would like to see, and doing this as much as she wants. In this way, we can count W2 as part of the audience since she would have liked to attend the concerts at this venue even if she had not been a volunteer. To her it is a matter of being able to afford going to concerts.

Another volunteer at Worm described how, not just the free entrance, but also the information, she would receive as a volunteer, would encourage her to visit more concerts:

”Till now it has been a very nice experience. I am more actively searching what's happening here (W3, female, 26, self-employed + part time employed)

Being a volunteer, W3 is kept up to date on what is going on at Worm, and for this reason she is visiting more concerts than she would usually do since she herself is also more actively searching what is going on at this venue.

From the survey, we have found there to be an overlap in motivation between volunteers and visitors which was confirmed by several of the volunteers I interviewed.

”The things we have in common (the volunteers and the visitors) are that we like to go out, to have a good time, partying, and socialising, meeting people (W6, male, 34, full-time employed).”

What W6 and the visitors have in common are the more recreational and social aspects of volunteering like ”meeting people,” ”socialising,” ”partying,” and simply ”have a good time,” but also in the *aesthetics* category there were similarities as W4 points out:

”I think the audience is very, how do you say.. they have the same lifestyle as me, the same interest or curiosity for new things happening in the world of art (W4, female, 31, self-employed).”

The people who go to Worm, volunteers and visitors alike, have a shared interest in the ”new things happening in the world of art,” they are curious, and they want to learn which, with Hood (1981), further is one of the six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience. W4 also emphasises what she sees as a common ”lifestyle,” different from those people who do not visit Worm.

In general, the volunteers, that I talked to, expressed having a liking for the particular venue and having visited events and concerts even before signing up as a volunteer.

”I found Worm to be a cool place, to start with, and I heard they needed volunteers, and I wanted to do something new and different from that what I was doing already, meeting other people, doing something else (W6, male, 34, full-time employed).”

The motivational factors for becoming a volunteer, which W6 describes in this quote, match several of Hood's (1981) attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience including the *challenge of new experience* (”I wanted to do something new and different from what I

was doing already”); *doing something worthwhile* (“they needed volunteers”); *opportunity to learn* (by “doing something else”); *participating actively*, W6 already knew about Worm and decided to join the organisation actively by becoming a volunteer; and *social interaction*, W6 explains becoming a volunteer in order to meet “other people.” Also, the attribute of *feeling comfortable in one's surroundings* seemed to be of significance.

“I had the feeling that if I was here (Radar), or at Musikcaféen, the old Musikcaféen, then I would have a stronger connection with the audience at the place, and that feeling was confirmed when I started working here. I haven't talked to that many people yet, but my experience is that people I know also go here, and people from my college program as well, so of course I think “okay, this is the right place for me” (R5, male, 27, student).”

Because people from his everyday environment (college program) attend Radar as visitors, R5 feels more comfortable about his choice of venue for becoming a volunteer, and it makes him feel more comfortable being at the venue as such (“this is the right place for me”). Further, he mentions a “connection with the audience” which he finds is more present at Radar than it would have been if he had chosen another venue for volunteering. One major reason for this, as he describes it, is the particular music profile of Radar:

“Of course you look at the music profile of a place, and you think “okay, would I fit in?” then it is likely that there would be some people who you fit with as well (R5, male, 27, student).”

R5 uses the music profile as an indicator to see if Radar would be the right place for him to volunteer. Again it seems like a question of *feeling comfortable in one's surroundings* or, as he puts it, “fitting in.”

Other volunteers, that I talked to, also mentioned the music profile as a factor in their choice of venue. Especially it seemed to be a focus that the music would be non-mainstream which came up several times.

“it's always alternative, not so much mainstream (W2, female, 27, student).”

I like that what they have here is not the mainstream so if you come here you always get something new (W3, female, 26, self-employed + part-time employed).”

W2 and W3 both describe the music profile of the venue to be “not mainstream” but

rather "alternative" as W2 says, and it is guaranteed, that if you go there, you will "always get something new" which again relates to Hood's attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience, namely *challenge of a new experience* and *opportunity to learn*.

However, there were also more direct references to this subject. During my interview with R1, who had been volunteering for 2 years, she came with this interesting comment:

"(...) at some point I started to feel that I was not only there as a volunteer, but that I was also one of those guys just hanging out in the bar. After a while I would even go there just to see if anybody else was there, without having made plans to meet up (R1, female, 23, student)."

R1 describes how after a while she started to feel like if she was one of the regulars "hanging out in the bar." She feels that she is "not only there as a volunteer," but that she is somehow part of something more which seems to have developed over time ("at some point I started to feel (...)") as she feels so comfortable at this venue that she does not even feel a need to make plans for meeting up with other volunteers to go there. This of course shows a strong *social interaction* motivation, but it is also an indicator of how those who have been volunteering for a long time (longer than 12 months), like R1, seem to establish a special bond to the particular venue as they feel like more than a volunteer. This further shows how volunteers can not simply be compared to the frequent visitors, but that they, also with regard to their own self-perception, form a distinct group of visitors that can be seen as an additional element to the audience.

One thing, that has not been mentioned yet in this thesis, and which could be explored further, is that there is also a consumption aspect connected to getting to meet the musicians:

"I enjoyed getting into this scene, meeting the musicians, and to see how much work people put into the place (R1, female, 23, student)."

The volunteers at a concert venue get to meet and greet the musicians when they are doing their shifts. This is not the same for the frequent visitors who might see the musicians perform live, but who are not getting this more unique, personal experience that the volunteers do. R1 has chosen to visit Radar in depth through her volunteering, and hereby she receives a different level of access. This further supports Holmes' (2007) idea of arranging volunteers as the next level in a hierarchy of visiting.

Summary of chapter 5

In this chapter, I have presented and analysed the data gathered from survey and interviews with regard to my presented research question and hypotheses. In the first part, I have looked at the profile of volunteers at the concert venues and compared it to that of people volunteering in museums. According to my survey, the volunteers at the non-mainstream concert venue differed in terms of gender, age, and occupation besides volunteering. First, my analysis showed an equal distribution of gender among the volunteers at Worm and Radar different to the case of museums where female volunteers are overrepresented. Second, there was a difference in terms of age with 83,5% (61) of the respondents at the concert venues being in their 20s, whereas the volunteers in museums mainly consists of elderly people. Finally, the volunteers at the concert venues also differed with regard to occupation besides volunteering, with 50,7% (36) responding to be “students” and 0% (0) “retired,” when compared to the museums where a large part of the volunteer group consists of retired people. A surprising result was the high number of respondents working full-time besides volunteering, 23,9% (17), since this group has high opportunity cost of time. An explanation for this outcome could be, as it was seen in the case of the Worm respondents, that this group is especially motivated by the *self-esteem enhancement* category which overall seemed to be positively related to level of *involvement*.

The results of this first part go to show that we cannot apply the same yardstick to volunteers within all groups of the cultural sector, and that the specific groups need to be analysed separately.

In the second part, I have analysed and discussed the six motives for volunteering separately. Four motives turned out to be dominant in the case of the concert venue volunteers, namely *aesthetics*, *recreation*, *self-esteem enhancement*, and *social interaction*. Especially two of the motives showed to be positively related to length of volunteering and level of *involvement*; *self-esteem enhancement* and *social interaction*. With regard to the *self-esteem enhancement* category, several volunteers reported how they over the course of time would begin to feel more “responsible,” like “part of the place,” or even like “home.” Also, many of the long-term volunteers that I talked to would make a distinction between themselves, the “old” volunteers, and the “new” volunteers where feeling like part of the group of “old” volunteers clearly showed to have a positive effect on self-esteem. The volunteers at Radar had higher rates of *self-esteem enhancement*

than the Worm volunteers which might be related to the high number of long-term volunteers at Radar. Regarding *social interaction*, this motive was described to be self-perpetuating. In order to sustain the friendships and special bonds made through volunteering, the volunteers have to remain being volunteers.

In a negative sense, some volunteers reported a lack of *recreation* motive over the course of time if the volunteering would begin to feel more work-based than leisure-based. Also, some volunteers reported a lack in *self-esteem enhancement* motive related to “not knowing what to do,” “not feeling welcome,” or “not being paid attention to” by the paid staff.

In the third part, I have discussed whether volunteering can be seen as a form of visiting, and to what extent this is the case with volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues. Generally, the volunteers seemed to be motivated by the same categories as the performing arts attendees in Swanson et al.'s study, however, the *social interaction* motive showed to be specifically dominant in the volunteers, and might prove to be a specifically strong motive for volunteers at concert venues as such. Hood's six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience all showed to be relevant which gives ground to the idea of the volunteer as visitor. Further, several of the volunteers reported feeling like part of the audience, yet, at the same time they also perceived themselves as part of the organisation and as such forming a specific part of the audience. On the whole, my findings supported Holmes' (2007) idea of arranging volunteers as the next level in a hierarchy of visiting in which the volunteer is not equated to the frequent visitor but takes on a *dual role* bridging the gap between visitors and paid staff.

Conclusion

This master thesis has been an investigation of the motives of volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues. A main focus of this study has been the idea of seeing volunteering as a specific form of visiting (Holmes: 2007) which I argue to be a useful approach when studying the motivational factors of volunteers and in considering their place and role within the concert venue.

In order to answer my research question - *What are the motivational factors of people volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues?*, - I have done a mixed methods case study of the volunteers at the two concert venues, Worm and Radar. I did a survey among 73 volunteers by the means of an online questionnaire using Swanson et al.'s classification of motives, and I conducted a total of 12 interviews with six volunteers at each venue which have been analysed adopting elements of discourse analysis. The results of the data showed that four motives were specifically dominant in the case of the concert venue volunteers, namely *aesthetics*, *recreation*, *self-esteem enhancement*, and *social interaction*.

Based on the data gathered for the survey, I tested three hypotheses:

1) *The profile of people volunteering at non-mainstream concert venues differ from that of people volunteering in other parts of the cultural sector*

According to my survey, the volunteers at the non-mainstream concert venue differed in terms of gender, age, and occupation besides volunteering when compared to the volunteers in museum which were chosen for the reason that this group of volunteers is the most researched within the cultural sector regarding motivation. Hence, we can accept this first hypothesis.

2) *The volunteer's motivation changes with the level of involvement*

Based on my interviews, it was shown that the volunteers' motivation did in fact change over the course of time, and especially two of the motives showed to be positively related to length of volunteering and level of *involvement* (as defined in 4.2); *self-esteem enhancement* and *social interaction*. Hence, we can accept this second hypothesis.

3) *The motivational factors of the volunteer are comparable to those of the frequent visitor*

Comparing my results with Swanson et al.'s results on the motives of performing arts attendees, the volunteers showed to be largely motivated by the same motives as the frequent visitors, however, the *social interaction* motive turned out to be specific to the volunteer group. Hood's six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience all demonstrated to be relevant to some extent, and several of the volunteers reported feeling like part of the audience, which gives ground to this third hypothesis. Yet, although the volunteers would consider themselves as part of the audience, they would also perceive themselves as part of the organisation, and as such my findings supported Holmes' (2007) idea, which she has researched in relation to museum volunteers, that the volunteers form a specific part of the audience due to their insider position. Therefore, the volunteers cannot fully be equated to the frequent visitor, but they take on a *dual role* forming the next level in a hierarchy of visiting, bridging the gap between visitors and paid staff. Hence, we cannot fully accept this third hypothesis.

These findings have several implications. First of all, since the profile of volunteers at non-mainstream concert venues differs from that of volunteers in other parts of the cultural sector, here tested in comparison to museum volunteers, it proves necessary to look at this group separately when studying volunteer motivation. Further, the research shows how important it is for the concert venue, if it makes use of volunteers, to understand how they are motivated since a lack in, for instance, *self-esteem enhancement* motive among the volunteers could influence the venue's ability to retain volunteers within the organisation. In the survey, especially the *self-esteem enhancement* and the *social interaction* motives showed to be positively related to length of volunteering and level of *involvement*. Interestingly, Radar showed a very high number of respondents who had been volunteering longer than 12 months, 61,5% (16) when compared to Worm, and in this regard the venue seemed fairly successful in minimizing the turnover of voluntary labour force. Although this could be due to several factors, it stood out that the Radar respondents also had higher rates of *self-esteem enhancement* motive than the Worm respondents which further emphasises a positive correlation between *self-esteem enhancement* motive and length of volunteering. Hence, it seems possible that the concert venues could improve their numbers if they consider these specific motives of *self-esteem enhancement* and *social interaction*, and they might even improve the long-term benefits of the voluntary work. The key seems to be to not simply think of volunteers as unpaid labour, but to consider their *dual role*, which Holmes describes, connecting the visitors

and the paid staff and thus, the special place that they hold within the organisation.

The motivation of volunteers is a difficult subject to research, and this being a case study, although it fulfilled its purpose of getting a closer look at this issue, it comes with its natural limitations regarding external validity and generalizability. Hence, it would be interesting to do further research in this field, or to look into whether, for instance, the *social interaction* motive is specific to the concert venue context.

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<http://www.radarlive.dk/>

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/>

<http://www.worm.org/>

(last accessed July 2012)

Appendix I: Tables

Table 1, Models explaining volunteering

Model	Model benefit	General motivation
Public goods	Altruistic benefit	To increase the supply of the public good
Private consumption	Self-value benefit	Joy from the act of volunteering, 'warm-glow' utility
Investment	Exchange benefit	To gain labour market experience, skills, and contacts

Source: Roy & Ziemek (2000)

Table 2: Six attributes of an enjoyable leisure experience

- challenge of new experience
- doing something worthwhile
- feeling comfortable in one's surroundings
- opportunity to learn
- participating actively
- social interaction

Source: Hood (1981)

Table 3: Response rate

Questionnaires	Worm	Radars	Total
Sent	91	39	130
Responses	46	27	73
Response rate	50,55%	69,00%	56,15%

Table 4: Distribution of respondents by gender

Gender	Worm	Radars	All volunteers
Male	56,5% (26)	37,0% (10)	49, 30% (36)
Female	43,5% (20)	63,0% (17)	50,70% (37)

Table 5: Distribution of respondents by age

Age in years	Worm	Radar	All volunteers
18-20	0,0% (0)	3,7% (1)	1,4% (1)
21-25	43,5% (20)	44,4% (12)	43,8% (32)
26-30	34,8% (16)	48,1% (13)	39,7% (29)
31-35	10,9% (5)	3,7% (1)	8,2% (6)
36 (+)	10,9% (5)	0,0% (0)	6,8% (5)

Table 6: Occupation of the respondents besides volunteering

Employment	Worm	Radar	All Volunteers
Employed full time (30 hours per week or more)	22,7% (10)	23,0% (7)	23,9% (17)
Employed part time (less than 30 hours per week)	13,6% (6)	11,5% (3)	12,7% (9)
Unemployed/Looking for work	2,3% (1)	11,5% (3)	5,6% (4)
Self-employed	11,4% (5)	0,0% (0)	7,0% (5)
Student	50,0% (22)	54,0% (14)	50,7% (36)
Retired	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)

Table 7: Length of volunteering of respondents

Length of volunteering	Worm	Radar
Less than 3 months	15,9% (7)	23,0% (7)
3-6 months	52,3% (23)	15,5% (4)
6-12 months	13,6% (6)	0,0% (0)
Longer than 12 months	18,2% (8)	61,5% (16)

Table 14: Responses by occupation (Self-esteem enhancement motive)

		Students (Worm)	Full time (Worm)
When someone criticises this venue, it feels like a personal insult	1 = strongly disagree	22,7% (5)	10,0% (1)
	2 = disagree	27,3% (6)	0,0% (0)
	3 = neutral	22,7% (5)	30,0% (3)
	4 = agree	27,3% (6)	60,0% (6)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)
	Total	22	10
When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment	1 = strongly disagree	18,2% (4)	0,0% (0)
	2 = disagree	13,6% (3)	10,0% (0)
	3 = neutral	36,4% (8)	30,0% (3)
	4 = agree	31,8% (7)	60,0% (6)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)
	Total	22	10
When I talk about this venue I usually say “we” rather than “they”	1 = strongly disagree	13,6% (3)	0,0% (0)
	2 = disagree	27,3% (6)	50,0% (5)
	3 = neutral	40,9% (9)	0,0% (0)
	4 = agree	18,2% (4)	50,0% (5)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)
	Total	22	10

Table 15: Responses by gender (social interaction motive)

		Female	Male
One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero/bisexual) /same sex (if homo/bisexual)	1 = strongly disagree	16,2% (6)	5,9% (2)
	2 = disagree	43,2% (16)	17,6% (6)
	3 = neutral	35,2% (13)	38,3% (13)
	4 = agree	5,4% (2)	29,4% (10)
	5 = strongly agree	0,0% (0)	8,8% (3)
	Total	37	34

Appendix II: Figures

Figure 1: A hierarchy of visiting



Source: Holmes (2003)

Appendix III: Results (Worm)

1. Your age:

	<i>answered question</i>	46
	<i>skipped question</i>	0
	Response	Response
	Percent	Count
18 - 20	0,0%	0
21 - 25	43,5%	20
26 - 30	34,8%	16
31 - 35	10,9%	5
36 +	10,9%	5

2. Gender:

	<i>answered question</i>	46
	<i>skipped question</i>	0
	Response	Response
	Percent	Count
Male	56,5%	26
Female	43,5%	20
Andet (angiv venligst)		0

3. Select any of the below options that best describes your employment status during your time as a volunteer:

	<i>answered question</i>	44
	<i>skipped question</i>	2
	Response	Response
	Percent	Count
Employed full time (30 hours per week or more)	22,7%	10
Employed part time (Less than 30 hours per week)	13,6%	6
Unemployed/Looking for work	2,3%	1
Self-employed	11,4%	5
Student	50,0%	22
Retired	0,0%	0

4. Select any of the below options that best describes your highest level of education at the time of your volunteering:

	<i>answered question</i>	44
	<i>skipped question</i>	2
	Response	Response
	Percent	Count
Less than high school	2,3%	1
Vocational training (LBO/MBO)	4,5%	2
Junior general secondary education (MAVO)	0,0%	0
Senior general secondary education (HAVO)	2,3%	1
Pre-university education (VWO)	0,0%	0
Intermediate vocational education (MBO)	11,4%	5
Vocational colleges (HBO)	20,5%	9
University education (WO)	59,1%	26

5. Please indicate how long you have been a volunteer at Worm:		
	<i>answered question</i>	44
	<i>skipped question</i>	2
	Response Percent	Response Count
Less than 3 months	15,9%	7
3 - 6 months	52,3%	23
6 - 12 months	13,6%	6
longer than 12 months	18,2%	8

Table 8a: Education motive (Worm)

6. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”						
	<i>answered question</i>					44
	<i>skipped question</i>					2
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to improve my resume	18,2% (8)	20,5% (9)	38,6% (17)	20,5% (9)	2,3% (1)	44
Through volunteering I gain experience helpful for future job searches	9,1% (4)	2,3% (1)	45,5% (20)	31,8% (14)	11,4% (5)	44
Through volunteering I gain network opportunities helpful for future job searches	9,1% (4)	6,8% (3)	31,8% (14)	36,4% (16)	15,9% (7)	44

Table 9a: Aesthetics motive (Worm)

7. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”						
	<i>answered question</i>					44
	<i>skipped question</i>					2
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is because I want to support this specific venue	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	11,4% (5)	47,7% (21)	40,9% (18)	44
I volunteer because I enjoy the concerts/events provided by this venue	0,0% (0)	2,3% (1)	11,4% (5)	34,1% (15)	52,3% (23)	44

Table 10a: Recreation motive (Worm)

8. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”							
						answered question	44
						skipped question	2
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count	
To me volunteering is a form of recreation	4,5% (2)	4,5% (2)	13,6% (6)	61,4% (27)	15,9% (7)		44
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to get the benefits included (e.g.: free entrance, guest list, compensation)	2,3% (1)	20,5% (9)	9,1% (4)	56,8% (25)	11,4% (5)		44
I enjoy volunteering simply because I have a good time	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	20,5% (9)	56,8% (25)	22,7% (10)		44

Table 11a: Escape motive (Worm)

9. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”							
						answered question	44
						skipped question	2
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count	
Volunteering allows me to forget about my problems	20,5% (9)	15,9% (7)	38,6% (17)	15,9% (7)	9,1% (4)		44
I volunteer to temporarily forget life's problems	23,3% (10)	27,9% (12)	27,9% (12)	18,6% (8)	2,3% (1)		43
Volunteering takes me away from everyday life	9,3% (4)	16,3% (7)	32,6% (14)	34,9% (15)	7,0% (3)		43

Table 12a: Self-esteem enhancement motive (Worm)

10. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”							
						answered question	44
						skipped question	2
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count	
When someone criticizes this venue, it feels like a personal insult	15,9% (7)	18,2% (8)	29,5% (13)	36,4% (16)	0,0% (0)		44
When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment	9,1% (4)	11,4% (5)	36,4% (16)	43,2% (19)	0,0% (0)		44
When I talk about this venue I usually say “we” rather than “they”	6,8% (3)	34,1% (15)	27,3% (12)	31,8% (14)	0,0% (0)		44
If a story in the media criticized this venue, I would feel embarrassed	18,2% (8)	29,5% (13)	27,3% (12)	25,0% (11)	0,0% (0)		44

Table 13a: Social interaction motive (Worm)

11. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”						
	<i>answered question</i>					44
	<i>skipped question</i>					2
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to meet new people	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	13,6% (6)	61,4% (27)	25,0% (11)	44
When I am not working, I sometimes go to this venue to hang out with the other volunteers	6,8% (3)	11,4% (5)	36,4% (16)	43,2% (19)	2,3% (1)	44
I feel I have made friends through my volunteering	0,0% (0)	15,9% (7)	25,0% (11)	50,0% (22)	9,1% (4)	44
One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero/bisexual) /same sex (if homo/bisexual)	13,6% (6)	29,5% (13)	36,4% (16)	15,9% (7)	4,5% (2)	44

Appendix IV: Results (Radar)

1. Your age:		
	<i>answered question</i>	27
	<i>skipped question</i>	0
	Response Percent	Response Count
18 - 20	3,7%	1
21 - 25	44,4%	12
26 - 30	48,1%	13
31 - 35	3,7%	1
36 +	0,0%	0

2. Gender:		
	<i>answered question</i>	27
	<i>skipped question</i>	0
	Response Percent	Response Count
Male	37,0%	10
Female	63,0%	17
Other		0

3. Select any of the below options that best describes your employment status during your time as a volunteer:			
		<i>answered question</i>	27
		<i>skipped question</i>	0
		Response Percent	Response Count
	Employed full time (30 hours per week or more)	25,9%	7
	Employed part time (Less than 30 hours per week)	11,1%	3
	Unemployed/Looking for work	11,1%	3
	Self-employed	0,0%	0
	Student	51,9%	14
	Retired	0,0%	0

4. Select any of the below options that best describes your highest level of education at the time of your volunteering:			
		<i>answered question</i>	27
		<i>skipped question</i>	0
		Response Percent	Response Count
	Primary school	3,7%	1
	General secondary school	3,7%	1
	Post-secondary or trade school	37,0%	10
	Bachelor's degree	33,3%	9
	Master's degree, Ph.d.	22,2%	6

5. Please indicate how long you have been a volunteer at Radar/Musikcaféen:		
	<i>answered question</i>	27
	<i>skipped question</i>	0
	Response Percent	Response Count
Less than 3 months	25,9%	7
3 - 6 months	0,0%	0
6 - 12 months	14,8%	4
longer than 12 months	59,3%	16

Table 8b: Education motive (Radar)

6. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”						
	<i>answered question</i>					27
	<i>skipped question</i>					0
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to improve my resume	11,5% (3)	7,7% (2)	42,3% (11)	26,9% (7)	11,5% (3)	26
Through volunteering I gain experience helpful for future job searches	3,7% (1)	18,5% (5)	22,2% (6)	48,1% (13)	7,4% (2)	27
Through volunteering I gain network opportunities helpful for future job searches	0,0% (0)	11,1% (3)	22,2% (6)	48,1% (13)	18,5% (5)	27

Table 9b: Aesthetics motive (Radar)

7. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”						
	<i>answered question</i>					27
	<i>skipped question</i>					0
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is because I want to support this specific venue	0,0% (0)	3,7% (1)	22,2% (6)	48,1% (13)	25,9% (7)	27
I volunteer because I enjoy the concerts/events provided by this venue	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	7,4% (2)	33,3% (9)	59,3% (16)	27

Table 10b: Recreation motive (Radar)

8. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”							answered question	27
							skipped question	0
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count		
To me volunteering is a form of recreation	0,0% (0)	3,7% (1)	40,7% (11)	48,1% (13)	7,4% (2)	27		
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to get the benefits included (e.g.: free entrance, guest list, compensation)	0,0% (0)	14,8% (4)	33,3% (9)	40,7% (11)	11,1% (3)	27		
I enjoy volunteering simply because I have a good time	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	7,4% (2)	44,4% (12)	48,1% (13)	27		

Table 11b: Escape motive (Radar)

9. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”							answered question	27
							skipped question	0
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count		
Volunteering allows me to forget about my problems	25,9% (7)	37,0% (10)	14,8% (4)	18,5% (5)	3,7% (1)	27		
I volunteer to temporarily forget life's problems	33,3% (9)	44,4% (12)	14,8% (4)	3,7% (1)	3,7% (1)	27		
Volunteering takes me away from everyday life	11,1% (3)	29,6% (8)	29,6% (8)	25,9% (7)	3,7% (1)	27		

Table 12b: Self-esteem enhancement motive (Radar)

10. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”							answered question	27
							skipped question	0
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count		
When someone criticizes this venue, it feels like a personal insult	11,1% (3)	11,1% (3)	18,5% (5)	40,7% (11)	18,5% (5)	27		
When someone praises this venue, it feels like a personal compliment	3,7% (1)	11,1% (3)	14,8% (4)	48,1% (13)	22,2% (6)	27		
When I talk about this venue I usually say “we” rather than “they”	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	25,9% (7)	44,4% (12)	29,6% (8)	27		
If a story in the media criticized this venue, I would	3,7% (1)	22,2% (6)	29,6% (8)	44,4% (12)	0,0% (0)	27		

10. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”
 feel embarrassed

Table 13b: Social interaction motive (Radar)

11. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements, with 1 being “strongly disagree” and 5 being “strongly agree”						
				<i>answered question</i>		27
				<i>skipped question</i>		0
	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree	Response Count
One of the main reasons I volunteer is to meet new people	0,0% (0)	7,4% (2)	3,7% (1)	59,3% (16)	29,6% (8)	27
When I am not working, I sometimes go to this venue to hang out with the other volunteers	0,0% (0)	3,7% (1)	22,2% (6)	40,7% (11)	33,3% (9)	27
I feel I have made friends through my volunteering	0,0% (0)	0,0% (0)	22,2% (6)	44,4% (12)	33,3% (9)	27
One of the reasons I volunteer is to meet people of the opposite sex (if hetero/bisexual) /same sex (if homo/bisexual)	7,4% (2)	33,3% (9)	37,0% (10)	18,5% (5)	3,7% (1)	27

Appendix V: Interviews (Worm)

W1 (8/5 2012) WORM-volunteer: male (21), student, volunteering for 2 months

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

”I was at a talk that Hajo [Hajo Dorn] and the architect gave at Worm, the new building, it was in October. I thought it was pretty cool what they were doing. Then I moved back to Rotterdam. The thing was, I lost all my contacts here during the time I was living in Eindhoven, and I couldn't get a job so I thought I could just volunteer at Worm [laughing]. When I moved back here it was difficult to get back in touch with people. The only one I regained my friendship with was Christiaan (volunteer at Worm) who were here last Saturday, and he didn't even remember me [laughing].”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”It has been quite positive. I enjoy being here, there's a lot of fun people. It's great.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”I keep coming here just because I enjoy it. Just to have fun. Meeting people. See what happens. To keep busy.”

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

”Worm's audience is pretty eclectic. The kind of people who show up is dependent on who's playing here, and I enjoy all kinds of stuff so it's nice to meet different people who like the same stuff. There's also a lot of stuff that I don't like. But there's something to talk about. I haven't encountered anyone here that I really disliked.”

Q: Do you socialize with the audience?

”Yeah sometimes. If one of them strikes up a conversation at the paydesk, or afterwards if they recognise me from the paydesk they sometimes start talking to me.”

W2 (8/5 2012) Worm-volunteer: female (27), student, volunteering for 5 months

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

"I came to Rotterdam in September to start my studies, I was looking for a job which I couldn't find that easily so at one point I started thinking, okay if I couldn't find a job, I could just do something.. even.. it didn't even had to be payed, just something that had to do with my studies. I really wanted to start to know some people, know the city. You know, whenever you're moving to a new place you feel a bit lost, not really lonely, but you're in a new place so I felt like Worm could be a way for me to get more.. well, to feel more like home.

Another reason, which is quite important as well, was that I actually wanted to come here more frequently. The entrance fee is quite high, like 8-10 euros or something, and I couldn't really do that so I thought, okay I can volunteer a few times a month and then just be able to come here whenever I want. So that was the second reason why. The third was actually that I had heard from other people that it was a really cool experience, the work is not that hard, and everybody really enjoyed it. I felt it might actually be fun. Before that.. actually I didn't have any volunteer experience at all. I did something back in Letvia [home country] but that was a different kind, in WWF for example, it was more like a "good cause" kind of thing, not volunteering like standing at the bar because we don't have that kind of volunteer culture in Letvia so for me... I didn't really know what to expect."

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

"My first shift was a bit wild because I started on a very busy night, and I didn't know how things worked at the bar. It was really crazy and I felt like "I'm doing something that I don't know how to do" and howcome nobody asked me if I was able to put beer in the glas, use the cash machine or whatever so the first time was kind of scary in a way, but then at one point I realized, okay maybe that just the way it works, and then the next time it was better, and I really realized that with every time I felt more comfortable. I starts to feel really cosy and nice, it starts to feel like home at one point because you start to know people, and I think the friendly attitude is one of the main

reason why people like it so much. Just being together with friend, like having a good time with friends.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”I definitely think it has changed because at first you have your own private, subjective motivation, for instance you want to get in for free, you want to go to the concerts, and then eventually you start to feel different, you feel responsible for the place as well, I mean I'm the kind of person who always feels responsible about what I'm doing, but eventually you start seeing the place like your working place and you appreciate the place. So I think it has changed a lot actually.”

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

”You mean the ”volunteer” audience or the people who come to Worm for the concerts?”

”The visitors at the concerts.”

”Oh okay, I think it's very, very different. You don't really know to expect, like one night there is classical music, and then the other night there's a heavy music concert so it's different, but in a way I think it's always alternative, not so much mainstream, very international, very different age groups which was a surprise to me. You can meet people in their 50s-60s. I think the place attracts really different kind of people, and that's the thing I really enjoy as well. It's appreciated by everyone.”

W3 (8/5 2012) Worm-volunteer: female (26), graphic designer selfemployed+part time employed, volunteered for 1 ½ month

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

"I like the concept of volunteering because you give a little bit of "you" to an organisation that you believe in but you also get something from it, you get to know people, especially when you're not in your own city, you get to meet new people, to network, exchange experiences.

The reason I came to Worm is that sometimes I was just at home and didn't know what to do. I stayed home quite easily so sometimes I need a push to get out, so I put up my name for the list. I hoped I would come more often."

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

"Till now it has been a very nice experience. I am more actively searching what's happening here, and the people I am working with here, it's not like there's any wall or something, everyone is open, there's much conversation. I like that what they have here is not the mainstream so if you come here you always get something new."

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

"I really feel the warmth from the people I started working here with my housemate and we were like "oh we go together then," but this time I just felt like coming alone and see who I would meet, and that's one of the things that I didn't think about before."

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

"I think the audience is so wide, many kinds of people come here. I think everyone fits. There is no selection. It depends on what happens each night.

There is no differentiation, no people are more important than others, there's no

hierarchy.”

W4 (1/6 2012) Worm-volunteer: female (31), self-employed, volunteering for about 12 months

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

”To get to know people, to get to know this cool association from the inside. Elise, my friend, sounded so enthusiastic about the place and told me that there were so many cool people, really creative people, and that I had to become part of it.”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”I thought it would be more difficult, but in the end... or I thought that people would be a bit more super.. you know a bit arrogant or something, but they turned out to be totally relaxed and... yeah I was really surprised about the people, the openness of the people.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you have been working here?

”In the end, it hasn't changed at all. Now, of course, I know the whole thing, and I feel more part of it. I feel more relaxed and more... like a part of it. If you stand for something, then you are also more motivated to work for it. If you believe in it, you feel more committed to it. So maybe that changed positively. Before it was all a bit, you know, I didn't know Worm at all. I think I had been there one time before.”

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

"I feel part of it, I think the audience is very, how do you say.. they have the same lifestyle as me, the same interest or curiosity for new things happening in the world of art. So curiosity. I feel it's the same kind of people as me. The audience is also totally fitting to Worm. Sometimes you have an audience that is not even fitting to the music, you know, but in Worm I feel like the audience totally fits."

W5 (2/6 2012) Worm-volunteer: female (25), student, volunteering for 6 months

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

"There was a time when I was feeling really bored.. I like watching experimental movies, so I kind of found this place on a website called weownrotterdam, you can find different events there, and one day I found a movie at Worm. I still remember the movie, it was? I think one of the leading figures in the art cinema so when I came here I saw the announcement "we are looking for volunteers" and I decided to join the family."

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

"I actually think it was exactly what I imagined it to be. You're a volunteer so you're not expected to do any extraordinary things, or to do any specific stuff. You can work late shifts if you want, and you get drinks and free entrance to events."

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you have been

working here?

"I experienced a change in my motivation, and this was due to financial reasons. I didn't volunteer for money initially, but then I found out that I was getting paid for doing late shifts. I really wanted to do those because I wanted to go on a surf trip, and this was pretty much the slow and painful way to get this money. There was one time when someone messed up with the system, and I didn't get my late shift compensation. I was really sad [laughing], but they figured it out in the end"

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

"Well, this is a place where I can feel pretty much at home, because it's not so different from the places I've been used to. You know, it depends on the events, mainly it's just people having fun without prejudice. That's why I like it. I feel like I belong. Sometimes, because of the long shifts, and if I feel a bit tired, I may be a little bit irritated with all the beer drinkers, but otherwise it's fine."

W6 (6/6 2012), Worm-volunteer: male (34), working fulltime, volunteering for about 5 years

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

"I found Worm to be a cool place, to start with, and I heard they needed volunteers, and I wanted to do something new and different from that what I was doing already, meeting other people, doing something else. I like working at the bar, and I like places like Worm in general, so I like to hang out at those places. But as a fulltime job it's not my kind of thing, I'm doing something else, but I really like doing it, and this was a good opportunity to work as a bartender at a place where I like to be, as a volunteer. When I started I wasn't working full time. I was looking for a job, or I was inbetween

jobs, so I had some spare time, and that's why it fitted also with being busy with something while looking for a job, during that period.”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”I didn't really have a lot of expectations. It was just really nice and cool to be part of this Worm-thing. That was good. I liked being there, and I liked working as a volunteer in general. I really enjoyed it.

In the beginning I just liked being there and it was all new, new people, exciting, and I was kind of.. shy is not a good word, but just happy to be part of it. I enjoyed it a lot. What I expected was seeing the shows, doing bar shifts, which I did.

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

” Well, my role as a volunteer hasn't changed, I think. I'm still a volunteer, doing the same thing, but I think because I worked here for five years, I'm one of the oldest and most experienced volunteers so that makes my position different in my point of view. In the beginning I was new, learning from the experienced people, and now I'm one of those experienced people so that's different. The motivation is still the same. I'm still here for the same reasons.”

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

”I think I have to make a difference between the old Worm and the new place where we been for about a year, because there's a difference. In the old place it was, I think, more alternative people, really alternative, and I like that kind of people. But if I have to see my position in that way, I don't really connect, necessarily, because it's too alternative, but at the same time it's also people who like to party, like artists, foreigners who are into good music, different kind of music than the general stuff. So that's a thing I have in common, but to be honest, the way I look at myself, I'm not the most alternative guy,

so that's a difference. Now with the new place, there has been a change into the sort of evenings and sort of show that bring in different people, because the real alternative thing, I think, is a little bit.. gone. It's still there, but not as much as it was before, and it's different kind of people visiting at different shows. For example, the dance events are for a different kind of people than the alternative events. I wouldn't say I'm a "dance" person. The things we have in common are that we like to go out, to have a good time, partying, and socialising, meeting people, and the differences are that it's not necessarily my kind of thing."

"I think this is important to say though, because I think it's really a pity. That's something that I have discovered later on. When I started, I didn't notice, because I didn't know, and then I worked here for a while, and then you get an opinion about stuff. In the beginning I didn't have any expectations, but the way that Worm treats its volunteers... in general, I think it could be better. As a volunteer at the old place, you come there because you like it, but I think the way they received you when you entered the building... it could be better. I didn't really feel welcome per se. At the end of a shift they would go "you're done? Okay, bye bye!" and that was it. I think in general it could be better. There could be more attention to the people at Worm, the volunteers, in general. It's not only me, but I see sometimes the new volunteers when they meet for a shift, they walk around thinking "Who do I have to tell that I'm here?," you know what I mean? I told them about this, but that's because I like Worm. It would be a good thing if they paid more attention. [short pause] But that's also because of the whole background of Worm. They started as a bunch of kraakers, people who take over houses, that's the background. I think that gives another point of view. But on the other hand, if you start to use volunteers in a business like this, it's good to pay attention. That would be good."

Appendix VI: Interviews (Radar), translated

R1 (11/5 2012) Radar-volunteer: female (23), student, volunteering for 2 years

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

”It's kind of a family thing. At first, my oldest brother was a volunteer. He volunteered a few years as a photographer at the old place, Musikcaféen, and he then later became one of the guys doing the website. It was kind of the same with my other brother. He also started as a volunteer, but then ended up as, what do you call it, part of the paid staff, also doing the website. My brothers shared the idea with my boyfriend, Jeppe, who started as a volunteer, and he also convinced my friend, Bodil, to start. Then I moved to Århus where I wanted to take a sabbatical year after high school. I thought it would be nice to get a job and take some time off from studying. I got a job as a cleaner, and I figured it might be easier to get contact with some people my age if I started as a volunteer some place where I could get a social network, but then I just ended up staying here.”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”It came as a surprise that it was so underground, the old Musikcaféen in Mejlgade. I enjoyed getting into this scene, meeting the musicians, and to see how much work people put into the place. It also surprised me that the people were so kind and willing to talk to you. I quickly adapted, and at some point I started to feel that I was not only there as a volunteer, but that I was also one of those guys just hanging out in the bar. After a while I would even go there just to see if anybody else was there, without having made plans to meet up. That surprised me because it has made it bit easier to move to a new city. Also, they put a lot of effort into... - I mean I have never been ”behind the scenes” at a venue before so it has been really positive to see how many people are actually working hard for this, to meet the musicians, but also just being a part of it.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”The way I see it – well, I'm working as much, and I'm just as dedicated as I used to be – but, on the other hand, after I've been here a while, as one of the ”older” volunteers at Radar, it's like you try to keep the same, high standard from when you started yourself. It's difficult to explain. It's a bit dangerous in a way, because when do you feel too much at home at a place, and when do you also live up to your responsibility. But my motivation has not increased or decreased as such. Luckily, it has stayed the same throughout my time here.”

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

”You mean the audience in general? It depends what kind of events or concerts are going on. As an example, when there is a Prototype event (electronic music concerts), which I'm not really into, I can tell that I might not be as ”wild” as they are, but it's still pretty nice. Of course there is still some of the stuff going on that I cannot vouch for.. I really like to work at the Brutal events (metal music concerts), but as a person I'm quite different. I'm not really the metal-type. They are quite brutal... what can I say [laughing], but I'm very open-minded about it. There are also other concerts where I can easily see my self as part of the audience.”

Q: But do you feel like you fit in?

”I feel like I fit in. I see myself as the type of person who would go there. But it's difficult to say because you have so many different types going. It's kind of a place for everybody”

R2 (11/5 2012) Radar-volunter: female (23), working part-time, volunteering for 2 years excluding a break

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

”The reason I started as a volunteer, I think, was that I wanted to meet other young people. At that time, I had just started my studies in multimedia, and I didn't really feel like I fitted in. At some point, I went to a concert at Musikcaféen, and I thought it was a cool place. I had a look at the website where it said that they were looking for volunteers so I just wrote an e-mail out of the blue. It was quite spontaneous, I think.”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”It was better than I probably expected. People were very open, or at least the people I talked to were very open. You felt like home. It was nice to talk about something else than school for once... I think it's a good question. I haven't really thought about it. Generally, I think it has been a good experience.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”In the beginning you are very vigorous, I think. You know, you want to live up to everything. Then after a while, you might start to slack a bit, and you think ”ah, today I don't really feel like going.” In the beginning, you want to do everything. But you know how many shifts you have, and it might feel like many hours. Also, if you don't actually live in Århus, then you have to think about transportation as well, and how to get home again. I think that's something that has changed. Especially now, when I'm more dependent on the money I earn. This is a volunteer job, and at this point I think a bit more about that I also need to get money. It's many hours if you meet in at 7pm and you only get off at 2am. But this is compensated for because we have such a good time, and you work together with these nice people, so you don't think too much about that

it's not a paid job. But in that way it has changed a bit where you now sometimes think "arh" it would be nice to get some money, but only once in a while. It's not something that I think about every time, just once in a while, when it gets tough, the long shifts."

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

"It's kind of a versatile audience, because the concerts are quite versatile. There's something for everybody. There's Lyd+Litteratur (Sound+Literature event), there's metal gigs, there's electronic music. I would say it's mostly people in their 20s, creative people maybe, without knowing it exactly. I think I fit in well. There's something for everybody."

R3 (12/5 2012) Radar-frivillig: female (28), looking for job, volunteering for 4 years

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

"I finished my studies in multimedia design 3 years ago, and I didn't find any work so I felt like I needed something to do. I was looking at different kinds of volunteer work, and it was probably a bit of a coincidence that I ended up at Musikcaféen. I had been to concerts at Musikcaféen several times, and I liked being there. I wrote a mail to Robert, and I got called in for an interview where I thought "I just want to hear what it's about," you know, but then I started before I even got to give it a second thought. I had my first shift a month later."

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

"When I started, I didn't really know what it was about. I probably didn't have that many expectations, but I liked it from the very beginning. I felt welcomed, and I adapted

to the place. It's a long time ago now, so it's difficult to remember how it was exactly.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”I definitely feel like my view has changed because now you really feel like you're a *part* of the place, you get a special connection. In the beinning, I was mostly there for social reasons, but now you more feel like you are part of the place. I don't know how to explain it. You feel more like a part of it, and that's also what makes you stay. It's going to be really weird when the day comes, and you don't have the time for it anymore. It's like a small family in a way, and that makes your motivation increase. That's probably the biggest motivational factor, or at least a motivational factor, that you feel like you are part of the place. You don't feel that way when you're new. [short pause] You feel like you're part of it, you feel a responsibility, you want it to be successful. For instance, if there's a concert with loads of people showing up, then you kind of feel like you get something out of it yourself. You don't really get something out of it, of course, but it's because you have this personal relation with the place, because you've been here so long. Then you feel like bringing all your friends, and to share the events on Facebook. You know, ”come on, come on, let's go to Radar, it's going to be really nice and great,” something like that. But when you like the place so much yourself, you also want other people to discover what a great place it is. That's why you post on Facebook if there's an upcoming event you want to go to, and you can tell that not that many are listed as ”going” for that certain event, then you think ”it's not enough, we'll invite some more people.”

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

”I think the audience is pretty mixed actually, but I used to go to Musikcaféen before I started so I would have been a part of the audience anyway, even if I hadn't been a volunteer. I would guess that it's people who like to go to concerts. That's obvious of course, but I think many people have – I don't know if you can say a connection, but people who know Musikcaféen and Radar, when it was in Mejlgade anyway, from when

they were younger, and who like the place. I don't think people only go here for the concerts. For instance, at Voxhall (another Århus venue), which is a bigger place, I would think it's a bit different. People might show up to Brutal (metal concerts), for instance, and you might have some certain events that you go to. Compared to for instance Train and Voxhall, I think this place is more cosy and intimate. I like that it's not that big.”

R4 (12/5 2012) Radar-volunteer: male (29), working fulltime, volunteering more than 4 years

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

”I moved to a new city, and got a job outside the city, so it was partly to get some acquaintances in Århus, a place to hang out, but also because I like music, and I like going to concerts, so it seemed like an obvious choice.”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”I don't know if it surprised me, only in a positive sense then. It probably lived up to my expectations. The people here are really nice.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”Now, because I've been here for a really long time, I have my circle of acquaintances here, and that's probably what motivates you to stay, as long as you still have the time that is. It's a lot of fun.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”It's a very varied audience. It depends on the concert or the genre. You see all kinds of people, from these really weird, excentric types to the old married couple drinking redwine. Sometimes I fit in, and other times I don't really fit in. So sometimes I fit in, and if not, I just choose to work at the entrance.”

R5 (12/5 2012) Radar-volunteer: male (27), student, colunteering for 2 months (only at Radar)

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

”My motivation for starting here was three-part, I would say. Equally distributed between that I thought it would be nice to meet some new people which I also did. That was one part, then the second part which was that I had difficulties finding a job so I had been thinking about that it would be interesting working at a music venue. It's still work, it's just voluntary.. That was the second reason. The third reason was the benefits involved, free entrance and so on. Those three reasons.”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”It has lived up to my expectations. I was pretty much as I imagined it to be, and I would say – I haven't had that many shifts yet – but it's also a bit easier than I thought. Of course this might have to do with that the shifts, I've had, haven't been that busy. There isn't that much to do, and I'm fine with that. People are open-minded. It completely lives up to my expectations, nothing to add.”

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

"I probably haven't been here long enough to be able to evaluate on that, but I can say that I applied back in October (2011) where they didn't need new volunteer, and at some point I had forgotten about it. Then I got a phone call, or an e-mail I think, in February, if I still wanted to become a volunteer, and I did. It hadn't changed. Well in that period of time it hadn't changed. But I don't know if it has really changed *while* I've been here. I can't recall.. no, I still like it as much as when I started here. Steady positive. (short pause) Of course, at this point, I've got to talk to a lot of people here, and I find people nice. It automatically makes you want to come back. The more you get to talk to people, the more you would want to hang out at that place, right? Especially if you're having a boring day at home."

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

"I feel like I fit in quite well, generally, yes. But I would have to think about the shifts I did. Well, it's also because I met a lot of people here that I knew from beforehand who have been here as part of the audience, and of course that makes me think "well, then I fit in as well." Age-wise, I feel like I fit in. I haven't noticed any fights or anything like that. It is a small venue with many up-coming bands, and that's the kind of music I listen to, and that's why I feel a connection to this venue. There's a reason that that I'm not working at Train for instance. I had the feeling that if I was here (Radar), or at Musikcaféen, the old Musikcaféen, then I would have a stronger connection with the audience at the place, and that feeling was confirmed when I started working here. I haven't talked to that many people yet, but my experience is that people I know also go here, and people from my college program as well, so of course I think "okay, this is the right place for me." (short pause) It could have been Voxhall as well perhaps, I don't know the place that well. Of course you look at the music profile of a place, and you think "okay, would I fit in?" then it is likely that there would be some people who you fit with as well, and I think it has lived up to that expectation."

R6 (12/5 2012) Radar-volunteer: male (20), student, volunteering for 2 years

Q: Why did you decide to become a volunteer?

”I had been at Musikcaféen quite a few times where I had some really good concerts, and I wanted to give something back, so to speak. For me, the point was to give something back to a scene that I adore. I mean, music is everything to me. Going to a concert is just great, and I know how important the bar and sound crew is when it comes to giving people a good experience. If you have some old guy standing behind the bar and poorly served beer, it's just not fun going to a concert anymore.”

Q: How has being a volunteer lived up to your expectations?

”I have to admit, I didn't really have any expectations, because I didn't do voluntary work before. The jobs, I've had, have all been paid. I haven't had that many jobs though. It has mostly been manual work. But generally, I would say that when I started here, I felt really welcomed, especially by you, the old volunteers were good at welcoming the new ones. We were a small group of people who started at the same time. I think there were 3 or 4 of us. It worked really well... that's one of the reasons why I am here today, you could say. I think it worked really well, and I felt welcomed.

Q: How has your view on your own role as a volunteer changed while you been working here?

”Well, of course it has changed now that I'm more experienced. I've already been here about 2 years. I know what to expect every time. Not like the first shift where you would knock on the door at Mejlgade 53, feeling insecure, asking yourself ”is this where I'm supposed to be?,” and they gave you a brief introduction to how the bar worked. At this point I know what is required of me – or not required, because it's not so much about

what is required of me, as it is about what I can do myself to make this a better place. We are the face of the venue. We are important to the experience – of course it's also about the music – but for a large part, it's about us. After all, we are the ones they meet as soon as they enter the door. We are the ones who treat them well, and that's how it's supposed to be. I've gotten better at.. - of course, in the beginning everything was interesting and new and so on, but I realize somehow that I like it better now. Also because I know that I, personally, am contributing to a great environment for this music scene.”

Q: How would you describe the audience at this place, and how do fit in yourself?

”Generally, you can say that the audience is very mixed, compared to other places where they are aiming at a certain type of audience. That could be Train, as the example, which has a certain target group, and the people show up whenever there's something that they like. But if there's something that this audience doesn't like then you might have 50 people at Train, and that won't work out. But like I said, the audience is very mixed depending on the type of concert, and to me that is a big strength, because in that way you gain a larger market share. It gives us a chance to provide bigger and better concerts, to reach everybody. (Short pause) In a way, I see myself as the – I wouldn't use the word perfect, but I fit in really well in this multifarious environment, because I basically listen to all kinds of music. Of course, I have bands that I don't like, it's always like that, but I don't have a certain genre which I have decided that I don't like. Some people won't listen to indie, won't listen to metal, blahblahblah. They somehow decide according to genre. I refuse to do that. I think it's harmful to the music. Music is only for the sake of music, and thus also for the sake of us. So that's why – I wouldn't say that I'm the perfect example, but I would say that people at places like this, who are volunteers or even part of the paid staff, they have to be very open-minded when it comes to music and defining genres, simply to make a better music venue.”

Appendix VII: Interviews (Radar), original

R1 (11/5 2012)Radar-frivillig: kvinde (23), studerende, frivillig i 2 år

S: Hvad fik dig til at blive frivillig på Radar/Musikcaféen?

”Det er lidt et familieforetagende. Først var min ældste storebror frivillig dernede. Han var frivillig nogle år som fotograf på det gamle Musikcaféen, og så endte han som en af dem, der programmerede hjemmesiden. Med min anden storebror var det lidt det samme, hvor han også kom ned og var frivillig, men så blev han, hvad siger man, betalt ansat, også til at programmere hjemmesiden. Så luftede mine brødre idéen for min kæreste Jeppe, som først blev frivillig dernede, og han fik også min veninde Bodil derned. Jeg flyttede så til Århus, og jeg ville gerne have et sabbatår. Jeg syntes, det var fint lige at starte med at få et arbejde og holde lidt fri fra skole. Nu kom jeg så ind i noget rengøring, og jeg syntes, det ville være lidt lettere at få kontakt med nogle jævnaldrende, som har de samme interesser, hvis jeg nu startede som frivillig et sted, hvor jeg kunne få et socialt netværk, og nu er jeg bare blevet hængende dernede.”

S: Hvordan har det at være frivillig levet op til dine forventninger? Var der noget, der overraskede dig i positiv eller negativ retning?

”Det overraskede mig positivt, at det virkelig var undergrund, det gamle Musikcaféen i Mejlgade. Det overraskede mig at komme ind i det miljø med musikerne, og hvor meget folk gjorde ud af, hvordan tingene skulle være, sådan stilmæssigt dernede. Så overraskede det mig også, at folk var så imødekommende og gode til at snakke med én. Jeg synes, man kom hurtigt ind i deres gænge, og man følte lidt mere, at man ikke bare var der for at være frivillig, men også var en af dem, der bare stod og hang i baren og bare var der. Og det endte jo også med, man bare tog derned for at se, om der var nogen, uden at man havde nogen aftale. Det overraskede mig, for det har gjort det lidt lettere, det at komme til en ny by, men også at der bliver gjort meget ud af – jeg har aldrig sådan været på et spillested, altså set det ”bagfra”, så det har været meget positivt

at opleve, hvor mange mennesker, der egentlig arbejder hårdt for det, at møde musikere og samtidig også bare være en del af det.”

S: Hvordan har din opfattelse af din egen rolle som frivillig ændret sig, siden du begyndte på Musikcaféen/Radar?

”Jeg har oplevet det på den måde – altså jeg arbejder lige så meget, og går lige så meget ind for det, som jeg hele tiden har gjort - men jeg synes til gengæld, det er blevet sådan, at som en af de ældre på Radar, så prøver man måske at holde tingene oppe på det niveau, der var, da man selv startede. Det er lidt svært at forklare. Men det bliver også lidt farligt, for hvornår føler man sig for godt hjemme, og hvornår tager man også ansvar, men altså min motivation er ikke faldet eller steget. Det har heldigvis været det samme hele tiden.”

S: Hvordan vil du beskrive publikum på Musikcaféen/Radar, og hvordan passer du selv ind?

”Altså publikum generelt? Det kommer jo lidt an på, hvilke arrangementer eller koncerter, der er dernede. For eksempel kan jeg godt se, at når der er de der Prototype-arrangementer (koncerter inden for electronica-genren), så er jeg måske ikke lige så vild, men stadig er det da ret fedt, god musik og fest, men der er selvfølgelig også nogle ting jeg ikke kan gå ind for. Så er der også Brutal-arrangementerne (koncerter inden for metal-genren), som jeg synes det er rigtig sjovt at være på arbejde til, men som type er jeg helt forskellig fra dem, for jeg er slet ikke den der metal-type, som på en eller anden måde er meget brutale... hvad skal jeg sige [ler], men jeg er meget åben over for det. Samtidig er der også arrangementer, hvor jeg sagtens kan se mig selv.”

S: Men føler du, du passer ind?

”Jeg synes, jeg passer ind. Jeg ser også mig selv, som en af de typer, som kommer der. Men det er også lidt svært, for der kommer jo så mange typer. Det er jo sådan et sted, der meget er for alle.”

R2 (11/5 2012) Radar-frivillig: kvinde (23), arbejder deltid, frivillig 2 år inkl pause

S: Hvad fik dig til at blive frivillig på Radar/Musikcaféen?

”Grunden til, jeg startede var, at jeg gerne ville møde nogle andre unge, tror jeg. Jeg var lige startet på multimedie på det tidspunkt, og jeg synes ikke lige jeg passede ind deroppe. Jeg var så til koncert nede på Musikcaféen, og jeg synes, det var et fedt sted, så gik jeg ind og kiggede på deres hjemmeside, hvor jeg så de søgte nogle frivillige, og så skrev jeg bare en mail ud af det blå. Det var meget impulsivt, tror jeg.”

S: Hvordan har det at være frivillig levet op til dine forventninger? Var der noget, der overraskede dig i positiv eller negativ retning?

”Det var bedre, end jeg nok lige havde forventet. Folk var meget åbne, dem jeg snakkede med dernede var meget åbne, man følte sig meget hjemme. Det var rart for en gangs skyld at snakke om nogle andre ting end bare lige studiet. Det synes jeg er et godt spørgsmål. Det har jeg nok ikke lige tænkt så meget over. Jeg synes gennemgående, det var en god oplevelse.”

S: Hvordan har din opfattelse af din egen rolle som frivillig ændret sig, siden du begyndte på Musikcaféen/Radar?

”I starten var man meget energisk, tror jeg, du ved, man ville gerne leve op til det hele. Så går der lidt tid, og så begynder man måske at slække lidt og tænke ”Arh, i dag gider jeg sgu ikke møde på arbejde.” I starten vil man gøre alting. Man ved jo godt, hvor mange vagter, man har, og det er måske mange timer at lægge, også hvis man ikke lige bor i Århus, så skal man også lige tænke på transport, og hvordan kommer jeg hjem igen. Det tror jeg har ændret sig en lille smule, også nu hvor man er mere afhængig af pengene. Det her er et frivilligt job, så tænker jeg lidt mere nu på, at jeg også skal bruge penge. Det er alligevel mange timer, at man møder ind måske kl 7 og så først får fri kl 2. Men det

bliver så opvejet af, at det er så hyggeligt, og alle de søde mennesker, man arbejder sammen med, så man tænker egentlig ikke så meget over, at det er ulønnet. På den måde har det ændret sig en lille smule, hvor man nogle gange tænker ”arh”, det kunne måske nok være fedt nok at få penge, en gang i mellem, men det er langt fra noget, jeg tænker på hver gang, bare lige en gang i mellem, når det er surt, med lange vagter.”

S: Hvordan vil du beskrive publikum på Musikcaféen/Radar, og hvordan passer du selv ind?

”Det er jo et lidt alsidigt publikum, for det er jo meget alsidig musik, der bliver spillet. Det er lidt for enhver smag. Der har været både Lyd+Litteratur, der har været metalarrangementer, der har været elektronisk. Jeg vil tro, det er folk i 20’erne, måske lidt kreative folk, uden at jeg ved det helt præcist. Jeg synes, jeg passer meget godt ind. Der er noget for enhver smag.”

R3 (12/5 2012) Radar-frivillig: kvinde (28), arbejdssøgende, frivillig i 4 år

S: Hvad fik dig til at blive frivillig på Radar/Musikcaféen?

”Jeg var blevet færdig med min første uddannelse som multimedie designer for 3 år siden, og der havde jeg ikke fundet noget arbejde, så derfor tænkte jeg, at jeg skulle have et eller andet at give mig til, så jeg kiggede lidt på forskellige typer frivilligt arbejde, og det var nok lidt tilfældigt, at det var Musikcaféen, hvor jeg endte med at blive frivillig. Jeg havde været til koncerter på Musikcaféen flere gange, og jeg kunne godt lide at være der. Så skrev jeg en mail til Robert, og blev kaldt til samtale, hvor jeg tænkte ”Jeg skal lige høre, hvad det er for noget, du ved, men jeg nåede at starte dernede, før jeg nåede at overveje det igen. Så fik jeg en vagt en måneds tid senere”

S: Hvordan har det at være frivillig levet op til dine forventninger? Var der noget, der overraskede dig i positiv eller negativ retning?

”Da jeg startede, vidste jeg ikke så meget om, hvad jeg gik ind til. Jeg havde måske heller ikke vildt mange forventninger, men jeg var i hvert fald rigtig glad for det lige fra starten af, følte mig velkommen og faldt ind i det. Det er jo lang tid siden, så det er svært at huske egentlig, hvordan det var.”

S: Hvordan har din opfattelse af din egen rolle som frivillig ændret sig, siden du begyndte på Musikcaféen/Radar?

”Jeg synes helt sikkert min opfattelse har ændret sig for nu her føler man sig meget mere som *en del* af stedet, man får et eller andet tilhørsforhold. I starten var det mest det sociale, men nu føler man mere, man er en del af stedet. Jeg ved ikke helt, hvordan jeg skal forklare det. Man føler sig mere som en del af det, og det gør, at man også hænger lidt mere ved. Når man engang ikke har tid til det længere, det bliver bare vildt mærkeligt. Det er lidt som en lille familie på en eller anden måde, og det gør også at ens motivation stiger. Det er nok den største motivationsfaktor, eller i hvert fald en motivationsfaktor, at man føler sig som en del af stedet. Det gør man jo ikke på samme måde, når man er ny.

Det er også det der med, at man føler sig som en del af det, man føler et ansvar, eller man vil gerne have, det skal gå godt. Hvis der for eksempel har været en koncert med mange mennesker, så føler man på en måde, at man også selv får noget ud af det. Det gør man jo ikke, men det er fordi man har det der personlige forhold til stedet, fordi man har været her så længe, så derfor vil man jo også gerne have alle sine venner med hened, og man vil gerne dele det på Facebook [begivenheder], du ved, ”kom nu, kom nu på radar for det er bare helt vildt fedt og hyggeligt” og sådan noget, men når man selv er så glad for det, så vil man også gerne have at andre skal opdage, hvor herligt et sted, det er. Så derfor poster man på Facebook, når der er nogle koncerter, man gerne vil til, og man kan se, der ikke er så mange, der står som ”going” til event, så tænker man ”det er ikke nok, vi inviterer lige nogle folk”

S: Hvordan vil du beskrive publikum på Musikcaféen/Radar, og hvordan passer du selv ind?

”Jeg synes, det er et ret blandet publikum faktisk, men jeg er selv kommet på Musikcaféen, før jeg startede der, så jeg ville jo have været en del af publikum, selvom jeg ikke havde været frivillig her, og jeg tænker, det er vel folk, der godt kan lide at gå til koncerter, det er selvfølgelig åbenlyst, men jeg tror også, der er mange, der har – jeg ved ikke, om man kan sige et tilhørsforhold, men kender Musikcaféen og Radar, i hvert fald da det var nede i Mejlgade, fra da de var yngre, og som godt kan lide stedet. Jeg ikke kun, det er på grund af koncerterne, at folk kommer. For eksempel på Voxhall, som er et lidt større sted, der tror jeg, det er lidt anderledes. Så kommer folk til det der Brutal fx, og man har lidt nogle arrangementer, man følger. Jeg synes, i forhold til fx Train og Voxhall, det er lidt mere hyggeligt og intimt, og jeg kan godt lide det der med, at det ikke er så stort.”

R4 (12/5 2012) Radar-frivillig: mand (29), arbejder fuldtid, frivillig i over 4 år

S: Hvad fik dig til at blive frivillig på Radar/Musikcaféen?

”Jeg flyttede til en ny by og fik arbejde et stykke væk fra byen, så delvis for at få nogle bekendtskaber i Århus, altså et sted at hænge ud, og så også fordi jeg er glad for musik, og kan lide at gå til koncerter, så det er jo et oplagt sted.”

S: Hvordan har det at være frivillig levet op til dine forventninger? Var der noget, der overraskede dig i positiv eller negativ retning?

”Jeg ved ikke, om jeg er blevet overrasket, i givet fald har det været positivt. Det har nok levet op til forventningerne. Men der er nogle rigtig hyggelige mennesker.”

S: Hvordan har din opfattelse af din egen rolle som frivillig ændret sig, siden du begyndte på Musikcaféen/Radar?

”Nu har man jo været her i rigtig lang tid, så meget af ens omgangskreds er hernede, så det er nok det, der motiverer én til at blive her, så længe man har tid til det stadigvæk. Det er rigtig sjovt.”

S: Hvordan vil du beskrive publikum på Musikcaféen/Radar, og hvordan passer du selv ind?

”Det er et meget varieret publikum. Det afhænger meget af koncerttypen eller –genren. Det er jo alt fra nogle meget, meget skøre typer, sådan lidt outrære, til nogle ældre ægtepar, der drikker lidt rødvin. Noget passer jeg godt ind i, noget passer jeg knap så godt ind i. Så nogle ting passer jeg godt ind i, og ved de andre ting kan man jo bare stå i garderoben.”

R5 (12/5 2012) Radar-frivillige: mand (27), studerende, frivillig i 2 måneder (kun på Radar).

S: Hvad fik dig til at blive frivillig på Radar/Musikcaféen?

”Min motivation for at starte hernede var tredelt, vil jeg mene. Altså ligeligt i mellem, at jeg syntes, det kunne være hyggeligt at møde nogle nye mennesker, hvilket jeg også har gjort. Det var den ene del, så er den anden del, at jeg havde rigtig svært ved at finde noget arbejde, så havde jeg nogen gange tænkt på, at det kunne være skægt at være på et spillested, det er jo et arbejde, bare frivilligt. Det var den anden grund, og den tredje er alle goderne, som er gratis koncerter og så videre. De tre grunde.”

S: Hvordan har det at være frivillig levet op til dine forventninger? Var der noget, der overraskede dig i positiv eller negativ retning?

”Det lever op til mine forventninger. Det er rent faktisk, som jeg havde regnet med, det ville være, og det er også – nu har jeg jo ikke haft så mange vagter – men det er også en lille smule nemmere, end jeg havde regnet med. Men det kan selvfølgelig også godt være, fordi jeg ikke har været på nogen særligt travle vagter. Der er ikke sådan helt vildt meget at lave, og det passer mig meget godt. Folk er åbne. Det er positivt. Det lever fuldstændig op til mine forventninger, der er ikke noget der.”

S: Hvordan har din opfattelse af din egen rolle som frivillig ændret sig, siden du begyndte på Musikcaféen/Radar?

”Der har jeg nok været her lige kort nok tid til, at jeg lige kan vurdere det, men jeg vil sige, jeg søgte allerede tilbage i oktober (2011), hvor der så ikke var brug for frivillige, og jeg havde egentlig glemt alt om det. Så blev jeg så ringet op, eller skrevet til, tror jeg, måske i februar, om jeg stadig havde lyst, og det havde jeg så. Det havde ikke ændret sig. Altså i den mellemliggende periode, der havde jeg i hvert fald stadig lige meget lyst til det. Altså jeg ved ikke, om det har ændret sig helt vildt *mens* jeg har været hernede. Ikke hvad jeg sådan har kunnet huske.. nej, altså jeg synes stadig, det er fint lige som da jeg startede. Steady positiv.

Det er klart, at på nuværende tidspunkt, hvor jeg allerede har snakket med en masse folk, så synes jeg folk er rigtig flinke, og det bliver jo automatisk også sådan, at hvis du har lyst til at komme hernede igen.. jo mere du snakker med folk, jo mere har du lyst til at hænge ud hernede, ikke. Specielt hvis man lige har sådan en kedelig dag derhjemme.”

S: Hvordan vil du beskrive publikum på Musikcaféen/Radar, og hvordan passer du selv ind?

”Jeg synes, jeg passer rigtig godt ind i publikummet faktisk, sådan gennemgående, ja. Nu skal jeg lige tænke, de vagter, jeg har været på. Altså også fordi jeg har mødt en del folk,

jeg kender, som bare har været hernede som publikummer, og det gør unægtelig også, at jeg så tænker ”nå ja, så passer jeg også ind”. Aldersmæssigt, synes jeg også, jeg passer fint ind. Jeg har ikke bemærket nogen slagsmål eller noget. Det er jo et lille spillested med nogle små bands, små up-coming bands mange af dem, og det er den slags musik jeg lytter til, og derfor vil jeg også gerne være tilknyttet det her spillested. Det er ikke uden grund, jeg ikke er nede på Train for eksempel. Så jeg havde også en følelse af, at hvis jeg var her [Radar], eller på Musikcaféen, det gamle Musikcaféen, så ville jeg have en stærkere tilknytning, til det publikum, der var der, og det er blevet bekræftet, efter jeg er kommet herned. Jeg har jo ikke snakket med vanvittigt mange af dem, men jeg oplever, at folk, jeg kender, også kommer herned, og folk fra mit studie, som jeg kender, og det gør jo unægtelig, at jeg også tænker, ”okay det er sgu det rigtige sted, jeg er startet.

Det kunne måske lige så godt have været Voxhall, så godt kender jeg ikke stedet. Det er klart, man kigger på musikprofilen og tænker, ”okay, vil jeg passe ind her,” så er der højst sandsynligt også nogle mennesker, jeg ville passe med, og det synes jeg egentlig, det har levet meget godt op til.”

R6 (12/5 2012) Radar-frivillig: mand (20), studerende, frivillig i ca. 2 år

S: Hvad fik dig til at blive frivillig på Radar/Musikcaféen?

”Jeg havde været på Musikcaféen i længere tid, og havde haft nogle rigtig fede koncertoplevelser dernede, og har egentlig haft lyst til at give noget igen så at sige. Så hele pointen for mig var at give noget igen til et miljø, som jeg forguder, altså musik er alt for mig. At gå til en god koncert er virkelig fedt, og jeg ved, hvor meget barpersonalet og lydpersonalet og så videre, de betyder for en god oplevelse, for hvis der står en eller anden gammel person bag baren og serverer dig en fesen fadøl, så er det jo bare ikke sjovt at gå til koncert.”

S: Hvordan har det at være frivillig levet op til dine forventninger? Var der noget, der overraskede dig i positiv eller negativ retning?

”Jeg må indrømme, jeg havde faktisk ikke rigtig nogen forventninger til det, for jeg har aldrig lavet frivilligt arbejde før. Alt det arbejde, jeg har lavet, har været lønnet. Det er meget begrænset, hvad jeg har arbejdet. Det har mest været fagligt arbejde, meget manuelt arbejde. Men generelt vil jeg sige, at hele intro-tiden, den tid, hvor man startede, fordi jeg synes faktisk, der blev taget rigtig godt imod mig, specielt jer gamle tog godt imod os nye. Nu var vi jo en lille gruppe, der startede. Jeg tror, vi var 3 eller 4 personer, der skulle starte på cirka samme tid. Jeg synes, det fungerede rigtig godt ... en af grundene til, jeg er her i dag, kan man sige. Jeg syntes, det fungerede rigtig godt, og at der blev taget rigtig godt imod os.

S: Hvordan har din opfattelse af din egen rolle som frivillig ændret sig, siden du begyndte på Musikcaféen/Radar?

”Altså det har selvfølgelig ændret sig, i og med jeg er blevet mere erfaren, jeg har stået her i 2 år snart. Jeg ved, hvad jeg går ind til hver gang, ikke som første gang, hvor man stod lidt forsigtigt og bankede på Mejlgade 53 og spurgte, ”er det her, jeg skal være?” og blev lidt rustent introduceret til baren, og hvordan det fungerede, så jeg ved, hvad der kræves af mig – eller ikke kræves, for det er jo ikke, hvad der bliver krævet af mig, det er lige så meget, hvad jeg kan give for at gøre det til et godt sted. Det er også, fordi, vi er jo spillestedets ansigt udadtil. Det er os, der gør, hvordan folk oplever det – selvfølgelig også musikken – men langt hen ad vejen er det jo os. Lige så snart de kommer ind ad døren, er det jo os, de ser. Det er os, der behandler dem godt, for det mener jeg, vi skal. Sådan er jeg også blevet bedre til – selvfølgelig i starten var det fedt og noget nyt og så videre, men jeg kan også mærke på mig selv, at det er blevet federe at stå. For det første, jeg ved jo personligt, at jeg er med til at skabe et godt miljø omkring bestemt musik.”

S: Hvordan vil du beskrive publikum på Musikcaféen/Radar, og hvordan passer du selv ind?

”Generelt kan man sige, at publikum er meget blandet i modsætning til mange andre steder, hvor de skaber sig en niche, og retter hele deres intention mod et bestemt publikum. Det kan for eksempel, efter min mening, være Train, som har et meget bestemt segment, som til gengæld også går til koncert de gange, når de kan lide. Hvis der er noget, det segment ikke kan lide, så kommer der måske 50 ned på Train, og det fungerer ikke. Men som som sagt, publikummet er meget blandet alt efter, hvilken koncert, det er, og det, synes jeg, er en force, for det skaber et bredere marked. Det giver os mulighed for at levere større og bedre koncerter, og komme ud til alle mennesker. Jeg ser mig på ene eller anden måde – jeg vil ikke sige perfekt, men meget godt passende ind i det her bredspektrede miljø, fordi jeg hører basalt set alt musik. Selvfølgelig er der nogle band, som jeg ikke bryder mig om, det vil der jo altid være, men der er ikke en genre, som jeg sætter mig fast på, at den vil jeg ikke høre. Nogen har det for eksempel sådan, at de ikke vil høre indie, ikke høre metal, blablabla, altså de låser sig fast af genrer på et eller andet plan. Det nægter jeg simpelthen at gøre. Jeg mener det er skadeligt for musikken, og musikken er der jo for musikkens skyld, og derfor også for vores skyld. Så derfor – jeg vil ikke sige, jeg er idealet, men jeg vil vove den påstand, at mange, som står steder som det her, som er frivillige på andre spillesteder eller ansat for den sags skyld, bør have en meget åben tilgang til hele musikspektret, hele den genremæssige definition, simpelthen for at skabe et bedre spillested.”