Bangor University

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

Serious Leisure And Railway Volunteering: A Study Of The Welsh Highland, Ffestiniog And Talyllyn Railways

Jones, Stephanie

Award date:
2021

Awarding institution:
Bangor University

Link to publication

Serious Leisure And Railway Volunteering: A Study Of The Welsh Highland, Ffestiniog And

Talyllyn Railways

STEPHANIE OLIVIA PENNEY JONES

Supervisors

Dr. Robin Mann & Professor Howard Davis

School of History, Philosophy and Social Sciences

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of a Master of Philosophy Degree

Declaration

Yr wyf drwy hyn yn datgan mai canlyniad fy ymchwil fy hun yw'r thesis hwn, ac eithrio lle

nodir yn wahanol. Caiff ffynonellau eraill eu cydnabod gan droednodiadau yn rhoi

cyfeiriadau eglur. Nid yw sylwedd y gwaith hwn wedi cael ei dderbyn o'r blaen ar gyfer

unrhyw radd, ac nid yw'n cael ei gyflwyno ar yr un pryd mewn ymgeisiaeth am unrhyw radd

oni bai ei fod, fel y cytunwyd gan y Brifysgol, am gymwysterau deuol cymeradwy.

I hereby declare that this thesis is the results of my own investigations, except where

otherwise stated. All other sources are acknowledged by bibliographic references. This

work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being

concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree unless, as agreed by the University,

for approved dual awards.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, would first like to say a big thank you to my supervisor's Dr R. Mann and Professor H. Davis, for their continued advice, guidance, feedback and direction throughout my studies. Also a sincere thank you to Professor S. Machura and Dr R.Hodges for their valuable input at my annual reviews, and for their constructive evaluation when reading my draft chapters. I gratefully acknowledge the funding I received from WISERD (Welsh Institute of Social, Economic Research, Data and Methods), without which, this study would not have been possible. The support which I have received from the WISERD community has been invaluable, and through which I have made many life long friends.

I want to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to all the volunteers at the Ffestiniog, Welsh Highland and Talyllyn Railways, who give up their time to provide me with their valuable personal stories and experiences, and for welcoming me so hospitably to their events. Mr.T. McLlwrick, your knowledge of the railways was invaluable, as was your collection of documents, photographs and articles.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for all their encouragement and support during my PhD, for helping me to achieve whatever I set out to do.

Thank you.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores volunteering at three heritage railways in Gwynedd, North Wales, during the period of 2016-2017. The decision to focus on heritage railways in Wales was taken as it offers an insight into a specific type of volunteering, in a unique setting which is often overlooked in the literature. Unlike many other forms of volunteering, railway participation is generally intense, seasonal, and highly gendered, which challenges many previously held perceptions.

The data was collected by way of structured interviews and participant observations with volunteers and members of management at each of the three railways. This methodology was utilised due to the nature of the organisations themselves, the way in which the volunteers generally lived considerable distances away from the railways, engaged on an intensive basis, and worked long hours. Due to these challenges, interviewing the volunteers in a more structured way, frequently whilst they were working and on their individual tasks, allowed for rich data to be collected.

Through conducting an analysis of interview data and field notes (both analysed through the use of NVIVO), this research seeks to understand the personal stories, histories, and motives of those who participate. Specifically, this research examines how and why individuals came to be involved with the railways.

The findings of this thesis have shown that for the vast majority of the participants, being a volunteer on the railways was a serious leisure based activity, which often went beyond the traditionally held views of volunteering being an ad hoc activity which is engaged upon by the middle classes. Volunteers generally considered their engagement to be a form of 'serious leisure' as a result of their significant commitment. The paricipants often referred to

the six elements of serious leisure ascribed by Stebbins (2006), these being 1) need to persevere at the activity, 2) availability of a leisure career, 3) need to put in effort to gain skill and knowledge, 4) realization of various special benefits, 5) unique ethos and social world, and 6) an attractive personal and social identity. Participants also reflected wider demographics within the industrial heritage industry and following the data analysis, retirement, belonging, identity, community (the railway community), the influence of family, tradition, demographics emerged as key themes.

Furthermore, the research found that particularly post retirement, volunteering provides many benefits including improving mental health, making new friends, feeling useful after ceasing employment, and being able to pursue a lifelong interest. Family was a significant aspect identified, with many indicating a connection either through previous membership, or by visiting as children with their family. Therefore, illustrating that railway volunteering can be considered a form of inheritance which is passed down through generations, particularly amongst the males.

The initial part of this thesis will focus primarily upon participant demographics, connections to family histories, and the motives behind individual engagement. The second part of the study examines the 'serious' nature of railway volunteering, including the dedication and commitment involved, both in terms of time and financial resources, along with how the volunteers develop a sense of belonging and community in this unique form of volunteering. For the purposes of this study, the term community will be used to defined both the local and volunteer communities. The final section of the research will further explore how the participants attempted to differentiate themselves from 'other' groups of volunteers, and how they responded to the stereotypical views held by the general public and perpetuated by the media, thereby helping them to shape their identities.

Overall, this thesis is positioned as a sociological inquiry, theoretically informed by the serious leisure perspective of Robert Stebbins and the field of heritage volunteering.

List of figures

List of tables

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AGM   Annual General Meeting

AIR   Association of Independent Railways

APPGHR   All Party Parliamentary Group on Heritage Rail

ARPS   Association of Railway Preservation Societies

BAME   Black, Asian Minority and Ethnic Individuals

CLS   The Community Life Survey

CPD   Continued Professional Development

EGP   Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero

EU   European Union

FFR   Ffestiniog Railway H

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

HAGF   Harvard Analytical Gender Framework

HRA   Heritage Railway Association

HOS   Helping Out Survey

LAG   London Area Group

MIC   Mutual Improvement Class

NCVO   National Council of Voluntary Organisations

NSFW   National Survey for Wales

ONS   Office for National Statistics

RTCS   Rheilffordd Talyllyn Company Society

SLP   Serious Leisure Perspective

SNP   Snowdonia National Park

STEAM	Scarborough Tourism Economic Activity Monitor
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering – Mathematics
THL	Talyllyn Holdings Ltd
TR	Talyllyn Railway
TRC	Talyllyn Railway Company
TRPS	Talyllyn Railway Preservation Society
TTI	Travelling Ticket Inspector
VMV	Volunteers Managing Volunteers
WAG	Welsh Assembly Government
WI	Womens Institute
WISERD	Welsh Institute of Social Economic Research Data and Methods
WHR	Welsh Highland Railway
YMCA	Young Mens Christian Association

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The study of volunteering has received ongoing attention within sociology since the 1970's, owing in part to the increasing rates of volunteering across Western societies, in addition to a trend leaning towards governments taking a more active role in encouraging volunteering. From a sociological perspective, volunteering is often focused on for a number of features: its economic impact, the effect it has on the identities of individuals, and its function within communities to name but a few. Research has pointed towards the necessity for studying national trends at a local level, however there is incomplete data. A 2013 report from the All Party Parliamentary Group on Heritage Rail (APPGHR) stated that amongst its major challenges was the improvement of volunteering attraction and retention, especially across more varied groups of people. This requirement demands research at a local level in order to understand what motivates individuals from seemingly quite diverse backgrounds and identities to volunteer in heritage railways. Beyond this, the uniqueness of heritage railways in Wales in terms of its demographic composition (mostly male and working class) offers the potential for gaining a broader understanding of demographic tendencies across the volunteering sector as a whole.

This thesis utilises the following definition provided by the Association Of Preservation Trusts (2019) for heritage preservation societies "A heritage preservation society is an organisation dedicated to preserving, collecting, researching, and interpreting historical information or items. Originally, these societies were created as a way to help future generations understand their heritage". This definition was used as it provided a way

in which to understand the complexities and unique nature of these forms of organisations in the United Kingdom.

The research consists of interviews with participants across three heritage railway networks in North Wales: Tayllyn Railway (TR), Ffestiniog Railway (FFR), and Welsh Highland Railway (WHR), each of which are volunteer run charitable organisations. These were selected due to their similarities in overall size, management structures, and their geographic proximity. Through employing a mixed method approach, this thesis seeks to discover what shared qualities derive from their volunteering as opposed to contrasting or comparing data between them. A sample size of over seventy individuals was processed using NVIVO software and analysed from several theoretical perspectives, as detailed below. The research conducted herein focuses on answering the following questions:

1) How does volunteering effect individuals in the development of their own identities, sense of belonging and purpose?.

2) Examine the reasons behind why individuals become involved in the railways: why are they interested in volunteering and what prompted them to volunteer initially?.

   a) How do the motivations vary between different groups such as men and women, or older and younger volunteers?

3) 'Establish whether the general images of railway volunteering held by the media matches up to the views of those who personally volunteer?

4) Do the specific tasks and roles engaged upon by the volunteers in this study produce benefits which are unique to railway volunteering?

5) To what extent are railways and its roles gendered or otherwise viewed as masculine pursuits?.

6) Can railway volunteering be understood and interpreted as a form of serious leisure?.

These questions are elaborated upon in more depth, in terms of what secondary questions these entail, and how far specific answers can be derived from the interviews and what the implications of this are for the topics of Welsh heritage rail and volunteering more generally.

This chapter offers an overview of the background to the study, particularly in terms of previous research on volunteering carried out within sociology and discussion of the main theoretical approaches employed towards analysis of the data.

The rationale for studying volunteering within the context of heritage railways

The impetus for conducting research into heritage railway is derived partly from the government's support of such projects. Recommendations from the All Party Parliamentary Group on Heritage Rail (APPGHR 2013) has mandated that heritage railway should be subject to the same planning and extension restrictions as Network Rail as well as receiving support from the Department of Culture, Media, and Sport in terms of sponsorship and development and training of volunteers (APPGHR 2013, 4). The motivations for this support come largely from the economic advantages of heritage railway for local communities, estimated to be just under £250m per annum (APPGHR 2013, 5). Among the stated goals in supporting such a programme is that it attracts a certain percentage of young people, to 'provide a valuable training ground for subsequent employment on the main line network or elsewhere' (APPGHR 2013, 6). It is also aimed to design benefits for older volunteers, but in particular the stated desire to provide job training for young people in contrast to widely held perceptions that there are very few younger people volunteering in heritage railway is

a potential issue that requires resolving. As the heritage railway across the United Kingdom involves over 18,500 volunteers, there is a substantial reliance upon this labour force to maintain the railways without reliance upon government subsidies, which presently are not available to heritage railways (APPGHR 2013, 7).

The report itself identified several issues with volunteering in this sector, most of which relate to problems in the retainment of volunteers. Among these is the reliance on the specialist knowledge and skills of an older generation of male volunteers and the concern that there may be a shortfall in these skills as the years go by (APPGHR 2013, 29). The dependence on the older generation is threatened by an increase in pensionable ages and the average age that individuals take retirement, as this is expected to severely impact the number of younger retirees able to take on the more physical roles within the railway. Furthermore, there are problems with relying upon volunteers that travel in from outside the local region, as rising fuel costs may reduce the number of people who can feasibly afford to finance commitments in continuing to volunteer. Finally, appealing to young people has proven difficult in general, although there are substantial variations in the proportion of young people involved in volunteering between various rail networks: some, such as Tyseley works in Birmingham, have sectors of their volunteers where up to 50 per cent of the staff are under the age of 30. The APPGHR report implies strongly that the future of heritage railway relies on attracting younger generations to become involved, so theoretically establishing what attracts people of diverse ages to volunteer and how this might be better catered for is essential to the future health of the sector. Goddin (2002, 46-49) explored the theme of an aging volunteer workforce in relation to the Swanage Railway, and indicates that across the heritage railway sector, those born after the phasing out of Britains railways are significantly underrepresented, as typically these individuals are in the

middle of their career phases, and many have strong family ties. Goddin (2002, 46) states that whilst only 10% of 11-16 year olds make up the volunteer numbers at the Swanage Railway, retired individuals represent in excess of 75%. It is further indicated that while heritage railways are often seen as being an 'older members club', there is a need to be proactive in the recruitment of younger people in order to avoid the "generational time bomb" which appears to be looming (Goddin 2002, 46-49).

Volunteering processes and culture

A 'typical' day-in-the-life of a volunteer within the railway is challenging to identify, particularly due to the diverse nature of these roles. Exactly what is entailed within the process may well depend on how invested a specific volunteer is with respect to the role in general, but also related to their amount of free time, their experience within various specialisations at the railway, as well as the changing seasonal demands made of the railway volunteers.

There will be differences in the demographics of the individuals who engage, in terms of gender, age, class, and so forth, and this forms part of the research focus described below. It is necessary to examine the factors for progression between roles: for example, whether particular roles are more prestigious than others, if there is a form of 'hierarchy' present, and what progression is there between roles. For example, whether formal qualifications are required, whether experience is a factor, or if roles are assigned on a rotational or shared basis.

Demographics of railway volunteering

The research focuses in part on issues related to the demographics of railway volunteering, how these coincide with commonly held perceptions of railway volunteering, and what inequalities or issues arise from the demography of the volunteers. Although

these issues may include factors such as ethnicity and socioeconomic status, the research below focuses on issues of gender within railway volunteering.

Crucial to these questions are the participants' own perceptions of the gendered nature of the railway and its roles, particularly the degree to which these are interpreted as traditionally masculine roles. For instance, what roles, if any, are deemed more masculine than others and is this reflected in which roles volunteers aspire to engage in and importantly to whom certain tasks are assigned. This research seeks to establish if or what barriers exist to women participating within traditionally male roles. Are they the result of the physical nature of the tasks, historical or contemporary perceptions of the role or of rail-related work in general, from resistance towards women within male-dominated hierarchies to accepting women into their ranks, or are they otherwise resultant from female preference towards certain generally accepted feminine roles? Interviews with the volunteers can provide some answers to these concerns and light a path to the overcoming of barriers towards more diverse involvement in the railways.

The research looks at other potential barriers to involvement. The perception of railway volunteering as white, middle class, middle aged, and male, is far from ubiquitous but is also not incorrect on the whole. Whether there are any covert barriers existing which prevent participation beyond the reinforcement of perceptions is considered. For example, as a volunteering role, taking unpaid work may prove prohibitive to individuals from some backgrounds, as gender and race are correlative with socioeconomic status. Alternatively, perhaps railways attract different volunteers as opposed to other forms of leisure. For example, though it is 'volunteer' work, it is categorically different from charity work and as such it may be expected that it attracts individuals for a plethora of reasons. The choices that different groups of individuals make in considering whether to volunteer and what sort

of volunteering to commit to is considered through both a review of the relevant literature and also through interviews with the participants. In general, the research reveals much about how perceptions of the gendered nature of the railways affect their decisions on whether to volunteer and what roles to aspire towards, as well as the specific aspects of railways volunteering which motivates them. The research demonstrates significant divergence across gender as well as age amongst the volunteers and suggests that differences in choice result in part from the perceptions of the railway as a gendered pastime.

The influence of age upon decisions to volunteer on heritage railways is also studied within this paper. Volunteers in the heritage railway have an older average age than in many other fields of volunteer work. The decision of many to volunteer later in life may be resultant from one of three causes: a) a development of interest in the railway during maturity, b) interest from a young age but perceptions of the role as only suitable for older individuals discourages the young from volunteering, or, c) the level of commitment demanded of volunteers prevents individuals from volunteering until after retirement (Goddin 2002, 47). Finally, the influence of older family members on volunteers is noted. Analyses of people's primary motivations for volunteering reveal that intergenerational influences play a significant role through the influence of older generations of family members and volunteering on the railways becomes a 'tradition' that is passed down generationally. The influence this may have on the gendered nature of contemporary railways and its roots in the historical gendering of the profession is discussed.

The research proposes that the socioeconomic status of volunteers is in some ways determined by the exclusionary costs associated with volunteering in theheritage railway. This goes beyond the usual demands of volunteering, as the activity itself often requires a

substantial investment of free time from potential participants, the financially precarious circumstances of a number of individuals seems to preclude active engagement as it requires both appreciable free time and significant disposable income from of its volunteer base. Many volunteers often live quite a considerable distance from the railways (over an hour and a half away), which in themselves are fairly remote from major population centres and spend a great deal of time and money travelling to and from the railways, often staying in overnight accommodation in Wales in order to facilitate the long hours involved. Some of the motivation for this is mandated by the demands of the roles but there is a sense by which the level of commitment is either expected by the volunteer community or by a general sense of duty towards meeting a certain standard of contribution to the railway. The research investigates to what extent economic security is a necessity for volunteering in the Welsh heritage railway and how this might act as a barrier in covertly preventing engagement from less affluent and economically assured backgrounds.

Social benefits from volunteering

From the information obtained from participants, it is evident that there are significant social benefits to be gained from volunteering on the Welsh railways, such as perceived elevations in social status, establishing a new network of companions, and providing a social outlet for those who are otherwise lacking in this facet to their lives. However, there are also non-social benefits, particularly to the potential opportunities that it offers individuals to enhance their career prospects, and there is a perspective from which the railway itself is treated like a career, with employee's keen to progress up the ladder of responsibility for their own sense of personal achievement.

Related to the social aspects that volunteering gives to the individuals is the benefit that their input gives back to society. For this reason, the research looks at how the railways of North Wales contribute to their local communities, and how volunteering affects the social standing of individuals within these communities. An unexpected barrier to establishing an answer to the latter question is that the majority of volunteers travel from outside the region and often from outside Wales altogether. The tendency for volunteers to travel from far outside the region and stay in accommodation emphasises not only the commitment required to be a volunteer in the railways but also the lack of local input into Welsh heritage railway.

Previous research has shown that heritage railway volunteers have a tendency towards unintentionally unsettling certain segments of local communities by attempting to rebuild railways at too high a cost to the local community (Holmes and Smith 2009, 58). This paper examines how these railways have attempted to engage with their local communities, how successful this has been, and what the potential reasons are for their successes and shortcomings in this endeavour. It is considered whether improved social standing within local communities can be considered a motivation for volunteering in these railways when the volunteers hail overwhelmingly from outside the local areas. Instead, it is proposed that the social benefits conferred upon volunteers come from within the community of railway volunteers itself. The close-knit culture enhanced by long hours, travel, and shared accommodation, may have assisted in developing the pastime of volunteering into a community capable of conferring social status upon its members.

Volunteering as a form of work or serious leisure?

As demonstrated below, the participants varied in terms of how they perceived their own contribution as alternatively work or leisure. The classification of their input as 'volunteering' is in some respects controversial as it may be seen as an inaccurate descriptor of their roles and their consequences. Volunteering is traditionally associated with charitable work far more than readily merely unpaid labour and therefore it is possible that some participants do not necessarily believe volunteering is an appropriate descriptive term. Alternatively, some may see 'volunteer' as not reflective of the extent to which their role demands significant commitments in time, money, and effort on behalf of its participants. It is not so much that the term is disparaging but in that they view their role more as unpaid work than voluntary, in that, the work is both vital and their commitment goes beyond the normal bounds of volunteering.

The function of volunteering in heritage railway may for many be to construct an identity through work which is lacking in their lives post-retirement. As such, the tendency may well be for individuals to define their role by its traditional job title ('driver', 'engineer', etc.) as opposed to as 'volunteer'. Although some of the participants in this research undoubtedly view their roles as a form leisure, it can be argued that Stebbins' criteria for serious leisure, and volunteering as a form of unpaid work applies to almost all of the participants in this study and thus is the most accurate descriptor for the tasks being performed by volunteers within these three Welsh heritage railways.

CHAPTER TWO: CASE CONTEXT AND A HISTORY OF THE TALYLLYN, FFESTINIOG, AND WELSH HIGHLAND RAILWAYS

Introduction

This study is based within the region of Gwynedd, specifically the towns of Caernarfon, Porthmadog and Tywyn, geographically all three are located along the North West coast, and forms part of the Snowdonia National Park (Visit Snowdonia 2017). Gwynedd spans an area of 2,548 kilometres and is second only to Powys in terms of land area in Wales (Gwynedd Council 2013, 1).

Three railroads comprised of the Talyllyn, Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland Railways run geographically through four river valleys, "the Gwyrfai, which joins the sea near and to the West of Caernarfon" (Williams 2008, 4), "the Glaslyn which reaches the sea at Porthmadog, the Vale of Ffestiniog through which flows the Dwyryd" (Williams 2008, 4), and the Dysynni, which flows into Cardigan Bay just north of Tywyn.

Gwynedd is a predominantly rural and agricultural county, consisting of many small villages and towns. Bangor is the largest city with a population of 18,808 (ONS 2011), whilst Caernarfon 9,615: Porthmadog 4,185: and Tywyn 3,265 are substantially lower (ONS 2011). The higher population rate of Bangor is linked to its status as a university city and employment at Ysbyty Gwynedd Hospital (Public Health Wales 2006).

Situated along the North Wales coast, Porthmadog, Caernarfon and Tywyn had a strong history of world wide shipping exports, including slate, timber, and fleece (Cathrall 1828, 12), however due to the location of these towns being in such a mountainous region, narrow gauge railways were constructed to transport the products.
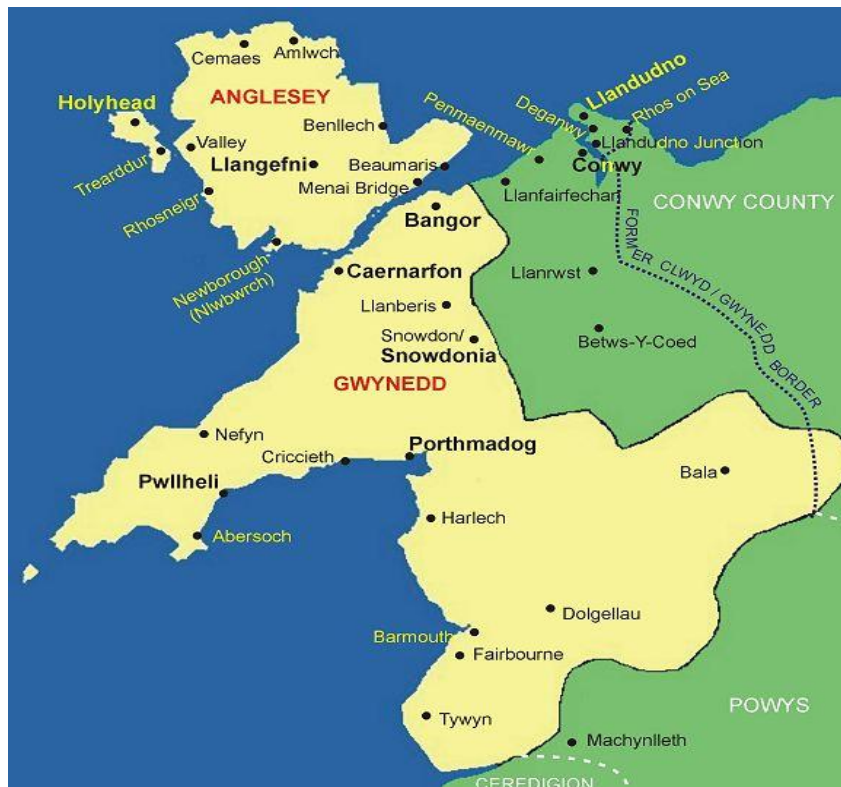
Figure 1. Gwynedd county showing major settlements, Snowdonia
National Park and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (Gwynedd Council
2013, 6).

A history of the heritage railway movement

A heritage railway is a railway which is operated as a aspect of living history, to re-create and preserve transport history (Conlin and Bird 2014, 12), however it is important to note that whilst there are many similarities between them, heritage railways embrace wide variations. In propulsion systems, steam power was the forerunner, but diesel did have a role in the heritage sector, although most people would recognise the names of many of the heritage steam locomotives, "Tornado", "Mallard", and the "Flying Scotsman" being amongst the most recognisable (Brown 2017, 13). Track gauge variations are not so easily discernible, with narrow and standard gauge being the most common variations. Many heritage railways promote themselves in a high-profile way and are known across the

14

country, however, many others are less highly promoted and are recognised mainly in their local area (Brown 2017, 14). Big or small, well known, or obscure, the preserved railways reflect the transport system of years gone by.

From the pioneers on the Talyllyn Railway in 1953, and the first standard-gauge heritage railway, the Bluebell, in 1960, heritage railways have grown and transitioned substantially. They attract more than 13m visitors per annum, employ around 5,000 members of staff and rely on a base of over 25,000 volunteers. The economic benefits of railways overlap over into the wider areas, with research by the House of Lords (2019) indicating that local communities' benefit by almost three times the turnover of the railways themselves, particularly in terms of the monetary contribution invested by the volunteers and tourists in the local area. As of 2019, heritage railways as an industry is worth in excess of £400 million to the UK economy (House of Lords 2019). Furthermore, heritage railways also support local economies through employment. As with the TR, FFR and WHR, many of these railways operate in rural locations where employment levels are often low and the advancement for career opportunities particularly in the engineering industry is very limited.

The history of mechanically operated railways can be traced back to the early part of the 19th century in England and Wales (Bhati et al. 2013, 2). From humble beginnings, the railway industry boomed, and by 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway had opened, providing a way in which to transport passengers and cargo inland (Bhati et al. 2013, 2). During the early part of the 20th century, the railway industry experienced a decline as a result of increasing toward road transport (Coulls 1999). This contrasting trend reflected de-industrialisation on both national and local levels within the United Kingdom (Bhati et al.

2013, 3), for example, as a result of the decline in the slate industry, the Ffestiniog Railway was directly impacted as it relied heavily on the slate mining sector (Savage et al. 2002, 23).

Heritage railways can often be found in areas which have undergone dramatic changes due in part to industrial decline, and for many of these areas, tourism gained from these railways can have a positive effect, particularly in terms of employment opportunities and boosting the local economy. The railways of this period played central roles in the "social, cultural, economic and technical landscapes of countries all over the world" (Coulls 1999, 24), and combined with their historical significance, many railways have now been given a new "identity" as heritage railway attractions (Coulls (1999, 24).

In the 1950's preserved railways were a curiosity, whereas today they are part of the "fabric" of British social and economic life. "They are part heritage attraction, capable of existing comfortably alongside the stately homes and ancient monuments, part leisure activity, good for a day out, a form of transport, and for some thriving businesses, generating millions for the local economy" (Brown 2017, 9). The heritage railway movement is a strong example of "free enterprise", and an expression of freedom on behalf of those who participate. For many people, railway volunteering enabled them to convey a sense of "worker control" (Brown 2017, 269), or to follow a local tradition which went against large national conglomerates (Brown 2017, 270).

After growing rapidly in the 19th century, "railway mania" reached its height in the years immediately before the first World War. Post war, the railways in Britain faced increasing competition from a growing road transport network, which led to the closure of 1,300 miles of passenger railway between 1923 and 1939 (Brown 2017, 23). As a result of the war, the railways were left in a poor state of repair and were soon nationalised to become British Railways. The Branch Lines Committee of the British Transport Commission

was formed in 1949 with a brief to close 3,318 miles of track. (Brown 2017 34). This period saw the beginning of a closure protest movement, which became a significant force resisting the Beeching's proposal (Brown 2017, 214). The Lord Beechings 1963 report, whilst primarily tasked with making substantial financial savings, resulted in excess of 67,000 jobs being lost, 6,000 miles of track, predominantly in rural and de-industrialised areas were recommended for permanent closure. Some stations and lines were saved as a result of protests; however, the majority were closed as originally planned, which had a substantial impact upon residents residing in rural communities, and continues to the present day (Bradley 2016, 86).

The railway preservation industry began with the Talyllyn Railway in 1950, led by T. Rolt. The quarries which the railway was originally created to serve, closed in 1946, however despite making a continual loss, Henry Haydn Jones MP, continued to run services for holiday makers and local people. Following his death in 1950, a proposal was made to the executors of the estate, that a voluntary society should run the railway (Brown 2017, 22-23). After ownership was transferred, a committee was formed, consisting of members of the Birmingham Loco Club, including Pat Garland who was a chartered accountant. This club steered the society through various financial technicalities, and thus enabled the establishment of the Talyllyn Railway Holdings Ltd (Brown 2017, 23).

Inspired by the success of the TR, WHR, and FFR, and the threat of closure to many standard gauge lines, enthusiasts aimed to replicate this with the Bluebell railway in East Sussex (Brown 2017 40). Whilst difficulties presented themselves in terms of raising funds, the railway grew substantially, carrying more than 90,000 passengers in its first season, and 200,000 the following year in 1965 (Brown 2017, 41). The Bluebell railway paved the way for the preservation of many other railways which had been closed by British Rail, and due to

the Beeching's closures, many preservation projects developed including the opening of the Swanage Railway, Welshpool and Llanfair, Severn Valley, and the Bala Lake Railway (Brown 2017, 46).

In the late 1960's the number of preserved railways had reached double figures, however over the next decade, numbers began to decline, and many railways failed due to a lack of funding. The recession in the 1980's contributed to a further decline in both revenue and passenger numbers, and for many railways including the Ffestiniog and Talyllyn, expansion work was put on hold. Despite these challenges, the preservation movement continued, and due to the crucial work and involvement of the volunteers, many of the railways thrived.

Political divisions

Gwynedd, before 1974 comprised of the old county of Caernarvonshire with parts of Merionethshire and Denbighshire (Institute for Welsh Affairs 2013, 2). The county of Gwynedd is subdivided into boroughs of Dwyfor, Meirionnydd, and Arfon which themselves are divided into community councils. Much of Gwynedd falls into the Snowdonia National Park, through which sections of track operated by the FFR, WHR and TR traverse. Unlike many National Parks throughout the world, the Snowdonia National Park is a working landscape of settlements, farms, small industries, and transport systems (Davidson and Roberts 2005, 3).

Up until 1998 law making powers in Wales were the responsibility of the H.M Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, however in 1998 the people of Wales voted for devolution and so the Welsh Assembly was formed. Since 2007, the Welsh Assembly Government has had the decision-making power on health,

education, and tourism, but much of the legislative powers still remain in Westminster (Leyland 2011).

Language and culture

In the 19th century much of the population of Wales moved their allegiance away from the Anglican Church and began forming non-conformist chapels (Calvinistic Methodists, Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists and Independents) in the villages and towns throughout Wales (Rees 1979, 163).

These congregations steadily grew as they were friendly, democratic associations which allowed the Welsh culture and language to remain at the centre of the community. At the start of the 20th century chapel popularity reached its peak, and by 1914 attendance numbers were in decline (Rees 1979, 164). The cultural focus has moved steadily away from religious institutions, which were at one time at the heart of the community and the Welsh nation.

Political alliances in the region have also seen changes, by 1868 the Liberals successfully contested local and parliamentary elections, subsequently going on to dominate Welsh and regional politics by the end of the 19th century (Jones 2011). The Liberal Party were favourably disposed to Welsh cultural aspirations and religion (Jones 2003), and the last British Liberal Prime Minister was David Lloyd George, an attorney who worked in Porthmadog who regularly used the Ffestiniog Railway to travel to the branch office in Blaenau Ffestiniog. Only recently since the 1970's has Plaid Cymru (The Party for Wales) been the dominant political party in the area, emphasising the linguistic, cultural and economic needs of the country.

The Welsh language was first recognised in the 6th century, although existed for many decades prior to this, and has been spoken in this region of North Wales ever since

(Scaglia 2012, 3), which has defined the Welsh culture and is central to the identity of the people of the region. North West Wales, comprising mainly of the counties of Anglesey and Gwynedd, is a culturally distinct region (Machura et al 2018, 5) in which the Welsh language is very prominent. The 2016 population survey registered 71% in Gwynedd and 63% on Anglesey as Welsh speakers (Machura et al 2018, 5).

Understanding the elements specific to the area concerned is necessary within this thesis. The factors together create a unique environment in which the railways have operated over the years, and it is clear that the railways have been a strong influencing factor in the economic and cultural development of the area.

Economy

At the start of the 19th century, Caernarfon and Porthmadog were mainly slate industry areas, reaching its peak of output in 1870 (Hughes 2017, 19). The population in Caernarvonshire in 1901 had tripled to 123,481, with the populace in other small towns and villages in the region also peaking. Besides the larger quarries, there were smaller established quarries near to Porthmadog in the valleys of Cwm Pennant and Cwm Ystradllyn, which relied heavily on the horse drawn railways to transport the slate to the harbours (Hughes 2017). Nine miles south of Caernarfon was a small quarry area at Nantlle-Moel Tryfan which had a horse drawn railway to take slate for onwards transportation to the port, all these railways became important in the formation of the now Welsh Highland Railway (Hughes 2017).

The mid 19th century saw the slate industry employing thousands of men, the highest in 1899 was 12,674 in Caernarfon and 5,431 in Merionethshire (CADW 2011, 3). Whilst the slate industry was the largest in terms of employment figures, agriculture in the form of farm and estate work were also important employers. A further significant source of

employment in the region was the wool industry. The mills exported wool all over the world, and in 1926 over 250 woollen mills were working, however by 1945, very few remained (Jenkins 2005, 6). Tourism began in the latter part of the 18th century, which grew substantially during the 19th century due to the introduction of mainline railways (Alvares et al. 2016, 64).

The period up until WW2 saw a substantial change for the area, the railway industry was in a decline, the WHR and the FFR both ceased operation, and interventions by the Government and market forces saw Wales shaped as it is today (Alvares et al. 2016). Local council authorities produced development plans which included road improvement and the construction of hospitals and schools. With the decline of the slate trade industry, the port traffic decreased and only a few fishing and shellfish industries remained in the area. Since 1938 there has been an increase in seasonal employment which only lasts approximately four months of the year (Michael 2008, 23). Attractions for visitors in Gwynedd range from the scenery of the area including the lakes, streams and mountains, to the wide diversity of heritage attractions including Criccieth and Caernarfon Castles (CADW 2011). Caravan and chalet holidays became increasingly popular, with many people using and enjoying them at weekends with the hope of eventually retiring into the area. During the 1960's many individuals migrated into and out of Wales (Jefferies 2005, 6-7). Whilst the younger generation migrated out of Wales to gain employment, older individuals moved in, a high proportion being English and retired, this brought particular issues to the area, mainly the changing population, as well as the impact which the influx would have on the Welsh language (Jefferies 2005, 7).

From the 1960's to the end of the 1990's, tourism brought in thousands of visitors to the area weekly, and the employment rates increased, however one of the most

important issues facing the country was the continuing population change, which saw a substantial change between 1961 and 1971 (Jefferies 2005, 6).

Wales is often described as being 'post-industrial', 'idyllic', 'with a strong community', 'rural', and with 'a passion for language'. Duncan (1982, 148), highlights that North Wales can be viewed as a nation in miniature "for here is the stronghold of the Welsh language, a coastline which arguably includes the finest estuary in Europe, fertile farmland, and above all, range upon range of mountains. The notion, and perceived image of "the pretty, cosy and welcoming rural community" has been identified as one of the key elements in attracting people, particularly retired individuals to relocate into small village communities (Little and Austin, 1996, 107) such as those within the county of Gwynedd.

During the industrial era, small communities and their inhabitants grew up around their chapels, the union, and the pit/quarry. These institutions created forms of collective participation, through which, civic identity was constructed (Mackay 2010, 13). Wales has a strong sense of community and family, traditionally, many individuals would remain in the same village or town where they grew up, and therefore worked, lived and socialised with the people who resided within the same area, thus creating close knit and local networks. While this may have changed over time, as a greater degree of migration is present, the sense of community and identity in Wales remains strong.

North Wales is often seen as a typically rural location; however, it is important to note that within the context of this area, the term "rural" can mean many things to different people (Mann and Plows 2011, 3). Hart et al. (2005) define "rural" as being locations, which are "largely unpopulated", "isolated villages", and "smaller settlements close to major cities

and towns". North Wales fits into Hart et al's. (2005) definition of rurality, as this particular region can be broken down into categories of urban- for example, Bangor, Holyhead, Llandudno and Colwyn Bay, rural- Nefyn, Betws-Y-Coed, Criccieth, Dolgellau and Llanberis. In addition to the two categorisations, North Wales also has a number of towns, which border England, including Shotton, Wrexham, Chirk, and Gobowen, whilst also having many small villages and communities, which can be considered as "deeply rural".

Towns such as Caernarfon are not generally viewed as "rural", they are often seen as being "on the edge", however for residents of larger towns such as Wrexham, Caernarfon may be considered particularly "rural", due to its scale and location, therefore within this context, it is important to understand that North Wales has many different dimensions, and can be seen as both urban and rural, depending upon the context.

The economic impact of the railways on the local communities

The railways impact on the local communities of Porthmadog, Caernarfon and Tywyn is substantial. They are supported by people from all over the world, however the majority come from England. Research by Williams (2008, 313) indicates that by taking an "average" season figure for the FFR, of 100,000, the total visitor expenditure (annual turnover) is £3 million, based on survey results which show that residents spend on average around £10.50 in their local economy, whilst railway specific visitors spend in the region of £150 per visit (Williams 2008, 313).

Castle Bakery on Porthmadog high street in 2017 had an annual turnover of £250,000. Approximately half of this trade, £125,000, is directly a result of tourism (Williams 2008, 318). The bakery employs nine members of staff on a full-time basis, and half of these positions are dependent on the tourism trade. £125,000/4.5 (members of staff) = £27,800

(Williams 2008). This figure therefore indicates that for each £27,800 of tourism expenditure, one full time employee is retained. Williams (2008, 315) suggests that in applying this calculation to the FFR and WHR, both railways sustain approximately 135 employees in the local Porthmadog and Caernarfon economy.

It is estimated that each volunteer on the FFR, WHR, and TR spend on average £800 per annum in the local area (Williams 2008, 326). At the time of writing this thesis, the FFR currently have a pool of 684 volunteers, the WHR 316 volunteers, and the TR 498. Approximately 5% of those at each of the railways live locally, therefore by removing 80 individuals from these combined figures, 1,418 non-local volunteers remain. Applying the £800 annual expenditure per individual, a direct contribution of £1,134,400 is made to the local economy.

Furthermore, at the peak of the tourist season in North Wales (August), visitor figures in Caernarfon and Porthmadog often reach 5,000, with each person spending on average £29.80, aside from accommodation (Festrail 2016). This provides an overall expenditure of £149,000. It is suggested that for every pound (£1) which a tourist spends, between £0.25 and £0.65 is generated additionally as income to the local economy (RSPB 2018).

Measuring the overall visitor numbers, expenditure, and the impact of tourism, Gwynedd Council (2012) identified that the overall value of all tourism related expenditure in the country to be £713 million, down 49% from 2006. At the millennium Gwynedd was granted a European Union Objective One status. To qualify, the GDP (gross domestic product) for the region had to be less than 75% of the European average, Gwynedd had an average of 73% (Gwynedd Council 2012). This percentage meant that the area was able to benefit from the EU funding, and one project which benefited substantially from this

support was the reconstruction of the WHR from Caernarfon to Porthmadog. In total the WHR, when fully completed will have received public funding in the region of £10 million, this is just under half of the entire project (Festrail 2016).

Gwynedd Economic Partnership was formed to manage Objective One projects in Gwynedd to oversee the distribution of funds, subsequently ensuring that a variety of projects benefit from the EU money (Gwynedd Council 2012). Economic possibilities which Wales offers underlie the Wales Spatial Plan, published in 2004 by the Welsh Assembly Government. It set out specific policies for each area of Wales, identifying Gwynedd within Eryri, Mon and Snowdon (Gwynedd Council 2012). The communities of Bangor, Caernarfon, Menai Bridge and Llangefni were identified as key to the future development of the region. It was argued that the successful growth of the area would lead to increasing prosperity in the towns on the outskirts such as Holyhead and Porthmadog (Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2016). One of the primary factors in the economic development of the region is to develop and sustain high value tourism. The WHR's northern terminals lie within a geographic area selected for growth by the Welsh Assembly Government, and the Porthmadog area was identified as a location that would benefit from the expansion of the main hub (Gwynedd Council 2012). The WHR and the FFR which already form a core tourism provider in the region, also have the potential to promote and develop the high value tourism which the plan seeks.

From 2000 to 2006, Gwynedd not only reaped the benefits of EU funding, but also shared in the comparative economic prosperity of the United Kingdom as a whole. Although in this period, new investments in Caernarfon other than the "Galeri" were very sporadic and almost noticeable by their absence (Galeri Creative Enterprise 2019). The "Galeri" is a

creative enterprise, a £7.5m development which was opened in April 2005 and was marked as a significant development for the creative industry in North Wales.

Porthmadog is evolving into a regional hub as the spatial plan indicated, and underlined by several new developments, the largest of which being the construction of a Tesco supermarket on the former site of the towns primary school (Gwynedd Council 2012). Statistics confirm that during this period of slow but steady investments, the region has remained true to its cultural traditions. The 2011 census showed that 70% of the population of Gwynedd speak, read or write in Welsh (Gwynedd Council 2020) Four wards in Porthmadog had Welsh speaking populations varying between 59% to 85%, and Caernarfon showed the highest average of 87% to 89% (Gwynedd Council 2012).

The Gwynedd region and locality in which the railways pass through, form a socially, economically, and culturally distinct area compared to the rest of the United Kingdom, and even to other parts of Wales. Characterised by an economy that expanded rapidly in the 19th century and continued for much of the 20th century, the decline in slate quarrying was not fully offset by a growth in tourism, however this has now become an important sector within the Welsh economy.

The populatity and reconstruction of the railways reflect a major growth in tourism as an industry within the region, and within a locality identified for development by the Welsh Assembly Government. The European Union Objective One status led to the increase of investments; however, the economy of Gwynedd is still lagging behind other parts of Wales in terms of investment into the economy (Gwynedd Council 2012). Wales has undergone significant changes during the last decade in terms of globalisation, deindustrialisation, and population change, as a result of a decline in traditional industry.

Coal mining and steel manufacturing have dramatically declined in Wales during the last fifty years, and has been replaced to a high degree, by the tourism and leisure industry. Wales has one of the lowest employment rates in the United Kingdom, particularly within regions previously dominated by mining, steel manufacturing and heavy industry. In 2012, the largest industrial sector in terms of employment in Wales was "wholesale, retail, transport, hotels, and food" with 342,000, followed by "human health and social work activities" with 200,600 employees (Adamson 2008, 32).

A century ago, three quarters of the population of Wales lived in the south-east of the country, and coal mining was the largest source of employment, whilst smaller communities in Gwynedd and Clwyd were reliant on slate quarrying (Adamson 2008, 49). These traditional industries previously created an image of Wales as being "working class", linked to trade unions and strike action.

A growing concern amongst Welsh speakers was the survival of the culture and language of Wales, which remains prominent today. The population of Gwynedd increased, however despite this, the percentage of those born in Wales decreased, along with the number of Welsh speakers (Hartwell et al. 2007, 12). Official Westminster policies were designed to acknowledge and respect the Welsh language, and in 1974 with other local government changes, the spelling of Portmadoc was changed to the Welsh spelling of Porthmadog. The 1970's saw the nationalist movement increase in strength throughout Wales, with their main aim of promoting the use of the Welsh language especially in areas where English was being widely used (Hartwell et al. 2007, 14). House prices during the 1960's and 1970's were much lower in Wales than in many parts of England (Beckett 2014, 9), and therefore that significant factor influenced the inward migration of many English

individuals into Wales, of whom many eventually went on to purchase second homes (Beckett 2014, 8).

The effects of the recession of the 1980's and 1990's was deeply felt in Gwynedd (Day n.d). The average wage was consistently lower than the average for Wales during this period, due to the rural nature of much of the county, a lower cost of living associated with a rural lifestyle, and the lack of large scale industrial and professional employment in the area (Day n.d). Data provided by Gwynedd Council (2012) highlights that Gwynedd's economy is relatively small in comparison to the overall economy of Wales. In 2002, the employment rate in Gwynedd was 68.4%, the previous year 22% of the population was at or above retirement age, this compared with a UK average of 16% (Gwynedd Council 2012). The vast majority of employment in Gwynedd was in the public sector, accounting for two out of every five employees, who work in local government, NHS based at Ysbyty Gwynedd, Bangor University and Coleg Menai, the last three based in and around Bangor, the only city in the county (Gwynedd Council 2012). In Gwynedd, tourism and the retail sector employ 25% of the working population in the county, which is 5% higher than the national average for Wales. Tourism is particularly important to areas such as Porthmadog which rely heavily on the business generated from the tourist season.

The Welsh Highland and Ffestiniog Railways

The town of Porthmadog did not exist prior to the 1700's, and at this time the area was remote, largely agricultural and mountainous (Festrail 2012). In the latter part of the century, W. A Madocks, an agricultural improver and MP for Boston in Lincolnshire, carried out a reclamation project of "The Cob", (an embankment) which created a natural harbour called Port Madoc, now known as Porthmadog. Following four years of construction, The

Cob was completed in 1811, however in 1812 partial rebuilding was required due to high

tides and storms and reopened in 1814 (Festrail 2012).

During this time, slate from the mines of Blaenau Ffestiniog were quarried and transported

by cart and "pack animals" down the mountains, over rough and uneven roads to the River

Dwyryd. At this point, the slate was loaded onto river boats for onwards travel to large, sea

going vessels for world wide export (Festrain 2012). This process was both labour intensive

and expensive, especially due in part to the number of slates broken in transport, the

manpower required, and the transportation facilities required.

In 1828, W. A. Maddocks died, and following his death, S. Holland, a slate miner, and

H. Archer, a businessman from Ireland, came together to promote the Ffestiniog Railway

(FFR) which was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1832 (Festrail 2012), with James

Spooner joining in order to oversee the survey and construction of the railway.

In 1840, it was illegal for steam locomotives to carry passengers, as it was believed that they

were both unsafe and impractical due to their narrow gauge, compared with the standard of

"4 feet 8.5 inches" (Festrail 2012), and as a result of this, the introduction of steam was

delayed until Charles Spooner took control in 1856 (Festrail 2012).

Four contracts were signed between C. Spooner and G. England & Co of London, to

create four small locomotives named "The Princess", "Mountaineer" which arrived in 1863,

and "The Prince", and "The Palmerston" in 1864. During the same year the Board of Trade

provided the railway with permission to run passenger trains, thus making the FFR the first

narrow gauge railway in Britain to do so (Festrail 2012). The initial rolling stock, despite

being seen as quite "primitive" by todays standard (Festrail 2012), provided a cheap and

reliable service for the local quarrymen, and as the popularity of the railway increased, in

1866 two additional locomotives were built, called the "Little Giant" and the "Welsh Pony" (Festrail 2012).

In 1869 an Act was passed to double the line, however due to the cost implications which would have been incurred as a result of this, R.Fairlie was contracted to create a new locomotive with twice the power, and this train, called the "Little Wonder" enabled the FFR to be a pioneer in narrow gauge railways (Festrail 2012).

Henry H. Jones (MP) purchased the railway in 1911, and by the 1920's the FFR became ever more dependent upon tourism for its operation as a result of industrial action and strikes within the slate industry (Festrail 2012). At the same time, the Welsh Highland Railway (WHR), was built to connect to the FR, and in 1923 traffic levels were high, however in the years that followed, levels continued to decline. Receivership was put into action in 1927, and the decision was made to operate the WHR and FFR together in 1933, however three years later, the final passenger journey on the WHR was completed (Festrail 2012).

During WW2, and on the 1st of September 1939, Ffestiniog Passenger services ceased, the railways equipment was requisitioned for the war effort, and the line carrying slate to Porthmadog was closed and abandoned in 1946. The Act of Parliament did not include any provisions in the event of abandonment, and therefore after the railway closed, it was subject to vandalism and looting (Festrail 2012).

In 1951, a group of people met in Bristol to discuss possible routes and subsequent the restoring of the railway, and in 1954 Alan Pegler gained a controlling interest in the company, which he then transferred to the Ffestiniog Railway Trust. Consisting of a volunteer board of directors, a small group of paid staff, and numerous volunteers, the rebuilding of the line to Blaenau Ffestiniog began (Festrail 2012). Between 1954 and 1957 passenger services started once more, and year by year new sections of the tracks were

restored and became operational, and the Welsh Highland Railway was formed as a tourist attraction.

The FFR became involved with the WHR in the late 1980's. Two years later, the 2.5mile route to Blaenau Ffestiniog was completed, and in 1987, passenger services began (Festrail 2012). The FFR took over control of the WHR's track bed in the early 1990's, and the WHR society was launched to focus upon volunteering efforts for the WHR's reconstruction, with the railway opening on the 13th of October 1997 (Festrail 2012). Organisational structure

Volunteers perform the vast majority of the roles within both the Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland railways, these include engine driving, firing, guarding, and catering. Whilst there is a core element of permanent staff, the WHR and the FFR rely heavily upon volunteer effort to maintain and run the lines and its infrastructure (McLlwrick 2017). In addition to regular commitments, many volunteers participate on a short term or episodic basis, and therefore numbers fluctuate during the year, with its peak being in the summer months (McLlwrick 2017).

The organisational structure within the FFR and WHR as shown in the diagram below (Figure 2), illustrates the various sub-organisations of the Ffestiniog Railway Trust and the Ffestiniog Railway Company which oversees the operations of both the FFR and WHR. The management structure at both railways consists of the following: General manager, Finance manager, Infrastructure manager, Operations manager, Commercial manager, Locomotive manager, Duty site supervisor, Engineering manager, Volunteer co-ordinator, and a company Health and Safety officer (Festrail n.d). Several hundred volunteers are active within all departments (Festrail n.d). The tasks and activities carried out are identical

between the paid and voluntary individuals, and all personnel are required to comply with the same dress code and safety requirements. It is, as a result, challenging to differentiate between the two classifications of staff. A high proportion of the paid staff first discovered the railway as volunteers, and later made the transitional leap to it becoming a full time job (McLlwrick 2017).
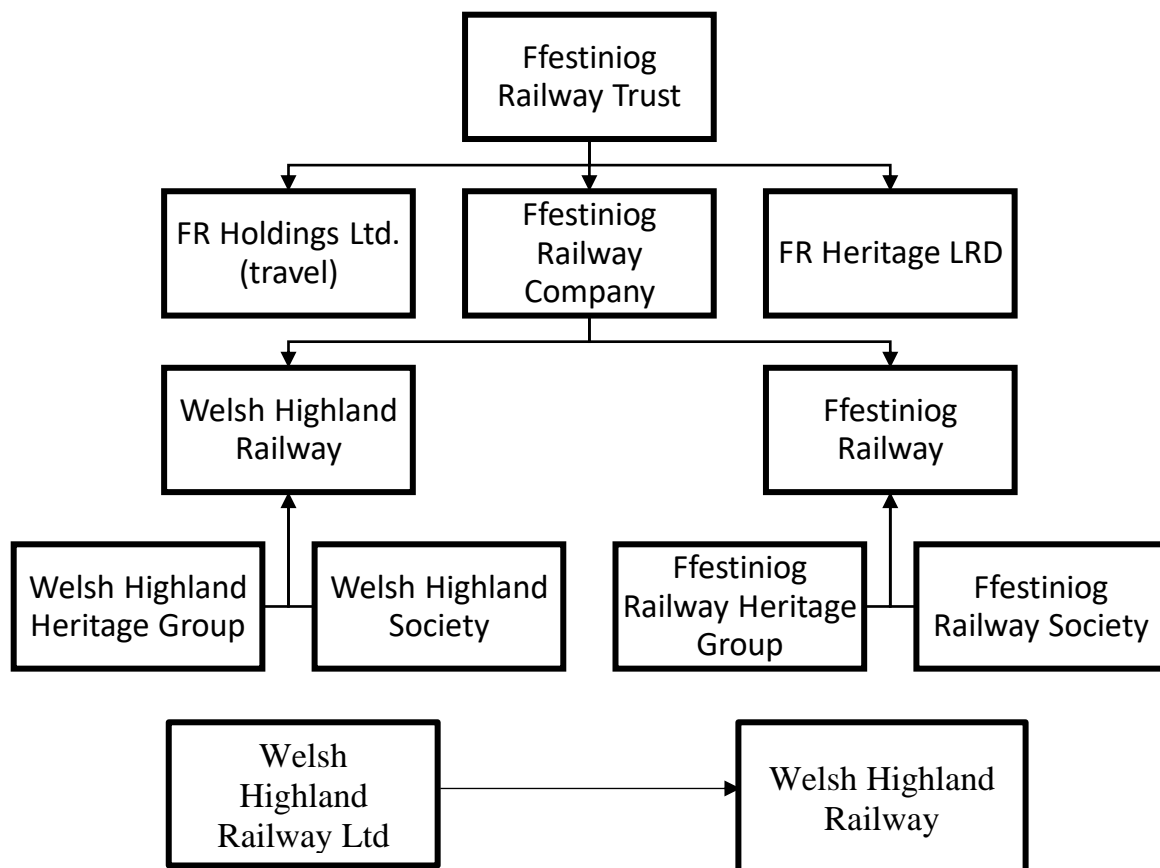
Figure 2. Organisational structure of the Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland Railway, adapted from McLlwrick (2017).

Prior to any individual beginning work at the railway two inductions are required, initially it is performed by one of the managers, then, following completion, the second is conducted by a supervisor in their prospective department to familiarise them with health and safety procedures, personnel, site geography, and rules of conduct (Festrail n.d). The

volunteer training processes has no fixed timescale, it is flexible depending on each

individual, their time commitments, and ability. Within the locomotive department for

example, the initial role would be as a volunteer engine cleaner, conducting activities such

as preparing the engines each morning, while informal on-the-job training is provided by

more experienced personnel, formal training is overseen by the locomotive manager

(Festrail n.d).

    After a period of time, an expression of interested can be made to progress further.

If this is accepted, a ten-day trial is given which involves determining the ability level of the

applicant (Ffestiniog Railway Society 2017). If successful, the progression is made to a formal

trainee which can take between two months to several years. Rule tests and practical

assessments are required annually for many of the "safety critical" roles such as driving or

firing, in addition to a medical which must be repeated every three years (McLlwrick 2017).

Funding for the FFR, WHR and TR derives predominantly from the Heritage Lottery fund

who allocated £464,000 under its Skills For The Future Programme, The Welsh Assembly,

European Union and the Millennium Fund who provided a total of £12.5million in 2004

(North Wales Tourism 2017). Additionally, the three railways are supported financially by

personal donations, legacies, fundraising and membership fees (Festrail 2012). The WHR

received funding of £735,000 from the European Regional Development Fund, £4.3million

from the Millennium Commission and the Welsh Assembly Government combined (Railway

Technology 2014), with regular funding coming from the Welsh Development Agency, Wales

Tourist Board, WHR society, personal donations, memberships, and legacies (Festrail 2012).

Talyllyn Railway

"In this ancient kingdom of Gwynedd, under the shadow of Cadair Idris, we have striven against odds not merely to preserve a railway, but to keep alive a spark of that fine tradition which flourished so richly when the Talyllyn line was born" (Rolt 1961, 152).

Slate was first quarried at Bryn Eglwys in the 1840's by J. Pughe who used pack animals to transport the slate to Aberdovey for onward shipment by sea. By 1863, due to the American Civil War, a group of Manchester cotton mill owners who, concerned about the shortage of supplies, sought to diversify into slate mining (Rolt 1961, 4). They acquired the lease and invested substantially in the quarry's development, including building a railway from the quarry to Tywyn, where it could connect to the newly opened line along the coast, which subsequently linked to the National Railway Network (Rolt 1961, 5). The vast majority of the land was acquired by negotiation from three estates, but small parcels of land had to be gained by an Act of Parliament to build the railway, which gave them power to compulsory purchase the land. The Act was granted on the 5th of July 1865, which created the Talyllyn Railway company (Rolt 1961, 6). When the construction of the line was complete, it was inspected by Captain H. Tyler from the Board of Trade, who was unhappy with it on several points, however it was re-inspected and permission was granted for the line to open during December 1866 (Rolt 1961, 6-7).

The venture was overcapitalised and never really thrived. By 1879 it was clear that the railway was not a success and both the quarry and railway were put up for auction. No buyer or buyers were found during either the first or second auction, after which in 1882, the property was bought by W. McConnel, who was one of the original investors (Rolt 1961,

7). The quarry expanded and later the business was taken over by W. H. McConnel upon the death of his father, however as the leases on the land began to run out, there was little incentive to invest, and on the 17th of December 1909, the men were told the shocking news that the quarry was to close the next day (Rolt 1961, 8).

After years of running the railway at a profit, the TR suffered when it was hit by a general decline in the slate industry (McLlwrick 2017), and by 1911 the quarry and railway were purchased by the local MP, Sir H. H. Jones who formed the Abergynolwyn Slate and Slab Co Ltd, who wanted the line to continue for the duration of his time, and he negotiated new leases with the landowners (Rolt 1961, 8).

After WW1, sale figures dropped, and although the quarry remained open, the work moved from opening up new levels to cutting away at the pillars in the underground chambers (McLlwrick 2017). During this time, there was significant tension between Sir H. H. Jones and the quarrymen, which resulted in the quarry closing for long periods of time, and only operated for three days out of the week (Rolt 1961, 8). Following a serious collapse on the 26th of December 1946, the quarry finally closed the following year, however Sir H. H. Jones was true to his word, and kept the railway operating until his death in 1950, at which point the railway faced its biggest crisis. His widow kept the service running for the season, however, when it closed for winter in October 1950, it was considered unlikely to reopen (Rolt 1961, 8-9).

The Birmingham Post published an article on the 5th of September 1949 and included the statement that the railway "seemed more like a ghost train rather than a passenger service on a once thriving line. Will the Government or British Rail do something" (Rolt 1961, 9). The writer of this article prompted the formation of the worldwide railway preservation movement, and the report unbeknown saved the TR and ensured its survival to

this day (Brown 2017, 22). An article appeared in the newspaper reporting on the death of

Sir H. H. Jones, subsequently T. Rolt, author and engineer, took it upon himself to formulate

a plan to save the railway, and appealed in the newspaper for other volunteers to contact

him, one article stated the following "It would be a great loss, not only to railway

enthusiasts, but to all lovers of North Wales. If the career of this beautiful and historic little

railway was to come to an untimely end" (Brown 2017, 23).

The first volunteer meeting was held on the 11th of October 1949 in Birmingham, 70

people attended, including E. Thomas who worked alongside Sir H. H. Jones, and fulfilled

various roles including accountant, secretary, booking clerk, and station master. The aim of

the initial meeting was to generate sufficient interest to form a working committee, and as

this was successful, the first group meeting was held on the 23rd of October, and the title of

"The Talyllyn Railway Preservation Society" (TRPS) was adopted, with the overall aim of

continuing the running of and preserving the railway for the future (Rolt 1961, 10).

An agreement was formed between Lady H. Jones and the TRPS to hand over the running of

the railway. Part of this arrangement was that the family would continue to appoint some of

the directors to the TR company board, and if the scheme fell through, the family would

receive the first £1,350. In February 1951, the TRPS officially took over the railway (Brown

2017, 24). As today, the initial volunteers provided support both financial through

donations, membership, and labour. As funds were short initially, support came from

members of the Stephenson Locomotive Society, in addition to many individuals who had

seen an advertisement in the Railway Magazine and joined for a £1 annual subscription

(Brown 2017, 12). A nationwide appeal for volunteers in March 1951 produced the railways

first working parties, and one of these first volunteers was J. Slater, who later became editor

of the Railway Magazine, and who volunteered for over 50 years (Brown 2017, 12).

History was made on May the 14th when the line reopened to become Britains first preserved railway and many of the volunteers turned out to work wearing suits and ties. The Territorial Army in 1953, donated its annual two week training exercise, towards getting the railway track, back into shape. As a result of this, the future of the line appeared more secure, this proved to be another first, as many heritage lines have benefitted from TA exercises during the past 50 years (Brown 2017, 10). The BBC sent two of its high profile commentators at the time, Wynford Vaughn-Thomas and Hugh Weldon to the railway on the 22nd of May 1957. This proved to be excellent publicity as the number of passengers doubled that year, however as a result of this, a strain was placed upon the railways resources which meant that more carriages had to be built, and more trains needed to be operated (Rolt 1961, 12).

During 1976, the Nant Gwernol extension and station opened, and passengers could now travel the full length of the original line. Since the TRPS took over the running and operation, the railway has been fully restored, and the track, structures, locomotives and stock are all in excellent condition (Brown 2017, 13). As the TR is now into its 60th anniversary under volunteer operation, is it continuing to improve its facilities and experiences for its passengers in a world which has changed out of all recognition from 1951, when the first volunteers arrived on a working party (Brown 2017).

Volunteers perform the vast majority of the roles and activities within the TR and TRPS, including engineering, out-door work, catering, retail, operations, social media, maintenance, and control (McLlwrick 2017). It is also worth noting that often, volunteers work across more than one department. The TR has depended upon volunteers and their work since 1951 (McLlwrick 2017), and today, whilst a number of roles are full time and/or paid positions including retail and finance, volunteers are crucial for the day to day running

of the organisation, and approximately twenty volunteers are required in order for the railway to operate each day (McLlwrick 2017).

Organisational structure

Generally, the organisational structures of heritage railways reflect that of an "operating company, most often a plc" (All Party Parliamentary Group on Heritage Rail 2013, 14-15), which is responsible for the network, trains, and safety. Additionally, in most instances there is a supporters' association, which is responsible for volunteer recruitment and fundraising.

The TR has a complex organisational structure, it is owned and run by the Talyllyn Railway Company which was formed in 1865. Shares in the TRC are held by Talyllyn Holdings Ltd which is a registered charity (Talyllyn Railway n.d).

Members of the TRPS annually elect twenty individuals to its council, and in turn, the council appoints four directors to the board of THL, in addition to the family of Sir H. H. Jones appointing a further two (Talyllyn Railway n.d), these directors make up the board of the TRC. The TRPS council is responsible for appointing a number of trustees of the Narrow Gauge Railway Museum, which is described as being a spinoff organisation legally separate from the Talyllyn Railway, but located however, at Tywyn Wharf Station.

The Talyllyn Railway Co. structure consists of various department heads, including engineering, catering, and administration, who report to the general manager who is in turn responsible to the board of directors. There are additional volunteer organisations distant from the railway in locations throughout the United Kingdom, these local branches distribute publicity material and raise funds, but also publicise the profile of the railway in areas of the country which otherwise would be unaware that heritage railways even existed.

Currently, within the TRPS there are approximately 4,300 members including juniors, adults, seniors and lifetime memberships (Figure 3). These members are entitled to attend and vote at the annual AGM held every September in Tywyn, who then elect nine members to the TRPS council, each successful candidate holds the position for two years, there are eighteen members on the board, and therefore there are nine vacancies each year. There are a number of committees, made up of council members, which often include both co-opted members and paid staff, an example being the General Manager. These committees each represent the views of specific groups and/or particular areas of concern, they include Engineering, Finance & General Purposes, Marketing, Traffic & Operating, Membership, Llechfan Hostel, and Strategy (Figure 3).

Funding for the TR derives from a number of sources, the most prominent being the Heritage Lottery fund, which provided £42,700 for the development of the Tywyn Museum (McLlwrick 2017). Funding also comes from public donations, legacies, gift aid, and fundraising. "The Sir Hadyn Appeal" which is fundraising to overhaul one of its locomotives, and the "Open Carriage Appeal" which is attemptin to raise £200,000 to rebuild four open carriages to accommodate wheelchairs (Talyllyn Railway 2016).

```
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   Talyllyn Railway      │
│   Preservation Society  │
│   4,300 members         │
└─────────────────────────┘
            │
            ▼
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   AGM Tywyn             │
│   195 members           │
└─────────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────────┐
│  Talyllyn Railway│         │ Nine council members,│
│  Holdings        │         │ elected for two years│
└──────────────────┘         └──────────────────────┘

┌──────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Talyllyn Railway │         │  Sub committees:     │
│ Company and the  │         │  F&GP                │
│ family of        │         │  Engineering         │
│ Sir H. H. Jones  │         │  Marketing           │
│ appoints         │         │  T&O                 │
│ directors        │         │  Membership          │
│                  │         │  Llechfan Hostel     │
│                  │         │  Strategy            │
└──────────────────┘         └──────────────────────┘
```
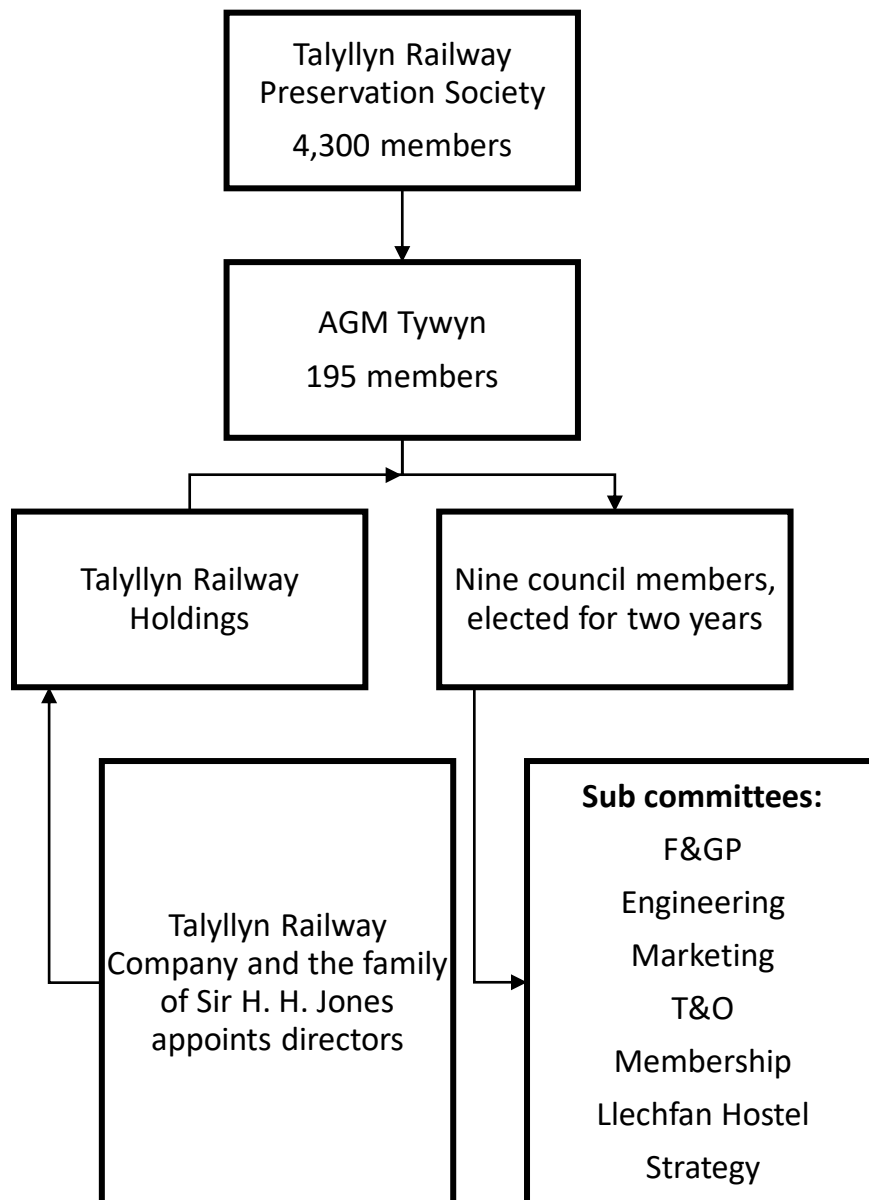
Figure 3. Organisation structure of the Talyllyn Railway.

The role of volunteers at the railways

Table 1 highlights the number of volunteers, paid staff and members across the three railways. Membership data from the WHR is combined with the FFR due to data collection methods employed by the railways. It is important to note that despite these figures, volunteer numbers fluctuate, and therefore the recorded numbers are only a reflection of "regular volunteers".

Table 1. Total numbers of volunteers, paid staff and members across the three case study organisations.

Railway	Volunteers	Paid staff	Members
Ffestiniog	684	87	8,000
Welsh Highland	316	63	(FFR & WHR)
Talyllyn	498	52	5,000

The TR, FFR, and the WHR each have similar models of volunteer involvement and can be viewed as Figure 4 by The Building Change Trust (2001, 10). Each organisation is volunteer based and employs relatively few paid staff in comparison. Volunteers deliver services directly to the visitors, while the paid staff are generally employed to manage and support them.
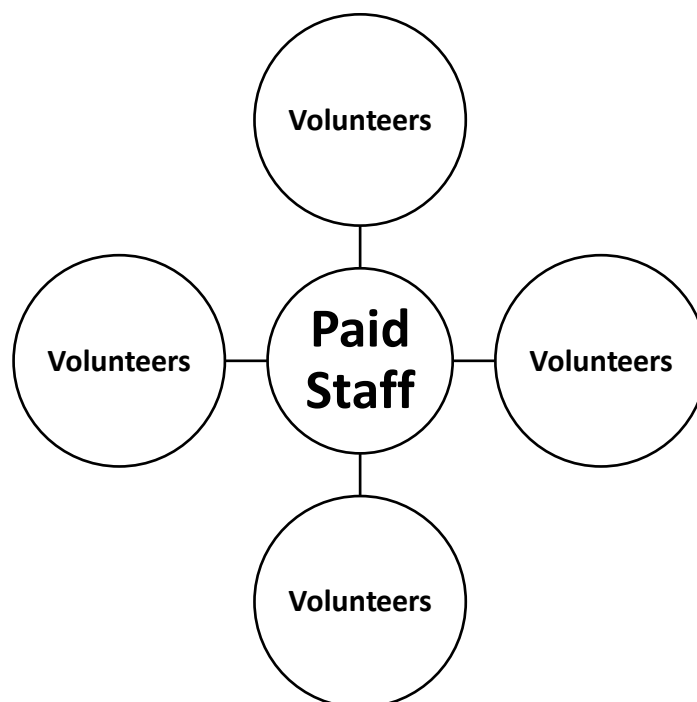
Figure 4. Service delivery model (Building Change Trust 2001, 10).

Volunteer management is not a "one size fits all" approach, and it ultimately depends upon the organisations themselves (Paull 2002). The management of volunteers is often assigned to paid staff, however within certain organisations, this duty falls upon the volunteers themselves, and it is this latter approach which is utilised within the WHR, FFR, and TR.

The service delivery approach within Rochester's (1999) 'four model' of volunteer involvement illustrated below (Table 2) can be directly applied to the railways within this research. The majority share of the work within each organisation, is carried out by volunteers who are recruited to conduct pre-determined and specific roles, tasks and activities. This is in contrast to the role of paid staff whose predominant function is to engage in recruitment and training (Rochester et al. 2010, 35).

Table 2. Four models of volunteer involvement (Rochester 1999).

	Service delivery model	Support role model	Member/ activist model	Co-worker model
Role of volunteers	Majority of work is conducted by volunteers	Volunteers supplement the work of paid staff	All positions held by volunteers	Unclear distinction between volunteers and paid staff
Recruitment	Specific recruitment based on volunteer ability	Volunteers are recruited to take on non-operational roles	The purpose of volunteers within organisations is self-defined	The purpose of volunteers within organisations is self-defined
Motivation	Potentially relevant to paid employment	Sense of doing good	Involvement for personal growth	Develop or maintain a

			and development	particular service
Management	Workplace model	Combination of teamwork and workplace	Teamwork and personal leadership	Teamwork and personal leadership
Relationship of volunteers to governance	Clear differentiation between volunteers and paid staff	A clear distinction between paid staff and volunteers	No paid staff, organization governed by member activists	Ambiguous difference between volunteer and paid staff

The Meijs and Hoogstad (2001) model of programme and membership can also be applied to understand the organisational context of each railway. The model of involvement is broken down into two categories of programme and membership management (Table 3), and as VMV's (volunteers managing volunteers) is present within the TR, FFR and WH Railways, the membership management typology illustrates how the focus of these three organisations is on the volunteers themselves rather than the programme management (Meijs and Hoorn 2008, 38). Across the three organisations VMV's are responsible for the day-to-day activities and their management, and it can be seen as a form of "self-steering team of mechanisms" (Goddin 2002, 46), who to a degree, make their own independent decisions on how to organise themselves (Meijst and Hoorn 2008, 38) whilst also having a small number of paid staff members who take on activities including organising annual training. These organisations can therefore be categorised as being "staff supported organisations" (Ockenden et al. 2011, 3).

Table 3. Model of programme and membership (Mejis & Hoogstad 2001).

	Criteria	Programme management	Membership management
Structure	Flexibility of approach	From task to volunteer	From volunteer to task
	Integration	Free standing programmes	Integrated approach
	Direction of integration	Vertical	Horizontal
	Management	One single manager	Group of managers
	Executive committee	Arm's length	Close by
Culture	Organisational	Weak	Strong
	Volunteer involvement	Low	High
	Multiple involvement	Often	Sometimes
	Level of homogeneity	Low	High
	Relationship between volunteers	Weak	Strong
	Motivation 1	Goal orientated	Socially orientated
	Motivation 2	Increase in external status	Strengthening internal status
Process	Cost of admission	Low social cost	High social cost
	Cost of transfer	Low	High
	Expectations	Explicit	Implicit
	Recognition	On basis of performance	Based membership length
	Hours spent/invested	Low	High

Case material: Historic images collected through archive searching

45

The London Area Group:

(Fisher 2019)

(All photo credits are owned by the Ffestiniog Railway Society, and explicit permission was given for their use in this thesis)

(Image shows Lottie Edwards in 1964, who at the time was the crossing keeper in Minffordd)

Volunteers from the London Area Group first went to work on the Ffestinog Railway in September 1954 when Mike Elvy, one of the first volunteers at the FFR took a group of school children from West London to the railway. Camping at Boston Lodge in Porthmadog they began the task of clearing the lines of over nine years of growth. The following year in 1955 the London Area Group was officially formed and, since then the 'LAGs' have fulfilled

important roles in the continuing development of the railway, performing functions including fundraising and volunteer recruitment.

Lottie Edwards (above) was the keeper at the level crossing in Minffordd and she and her husband Dai lived in the adjacent cottage, this part of the line was named 'Lottie's Crossing', and still retains this name today (Fisher 2019).

The Tan Y Bwlch line:

(Fisher 2019)

The images above show the FFR's then upper terminus at Tan-y-Bwlch in June 1964, along with the London Area Group clearing the lines.

Today, Tan-Y-Bwlch is an intermediate station, and is still a favourite stopping off point for many of the railways passengers as it is located in the hills of Snowdonia.

Images of some early volunteers:

The photos above show some of the initial FFR volunteers at Lottie's Crossing in Minffordd Porthmadog. Many of the individuals during this time were engaged in engineering or mechanical work in the permanent way group at Boston Lodge, which had been neglected for many years. The images show how the ballasts were almost non-existent and many parts of the track were held together by mud and turf. The volunteers above are shown to be removing these to excavate and replace the sleepers.

Tanygrisiau station building:

Both of the images above show the Tanygrisiau station building and surrounding community of Blaenau Ffestiniog in October 1960. Shortly after this time, the station

building became derelict and was ultimately destroyed, however the goods shed to the left

of the first image still survives. The shed building today is now lower than the trackbed, as it

needed to be reconstructed in order to circumnavigate a new lake; this formed part of the

Ffestiniog Pumped Storage Hydro Electric Scheme which flooded a section of the original

line (Fisher 2019). Train services were fully extended to Tanygrisiau in 1978, and in 1982 the

trains were once again able to run through to Blaenau Ffestiniog.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Introduction

This chapter looks at the topic areas covered by this study, its' research background, the specific demands, of the volunteering sector it is situated in, and how the study conducted fulfils these demands in addition to the contemporary literature on volunteering. This provides a clear justification for the research and outlines the importance of its' results. Research focusing on the role of volunteers in the heritage industry is vast and has spanned numerous fields including sociology, psychology, health, and history. This review will examine relevant literature focusing on volunteering, participation and the heritage/railway industry, whilst also identifying any gaps within the research. First, the concept of volunteering will be considered. Secondly, volunteering as both a form of serious leisure and work will then be discussed. Thirdly, the literature devoted to the reasons leading to volunteering will be evaluated, and this will be followed by a consideration of the role age and gender have upon volunteering and their influence upon the perception of volunteering. Finally, contextual influences upon volunteering will be discussed in the form of intergenerational effects, community influences and the role of volunteering in rural communities.

Rochester et al. (2010, 9-10) suggests that the term "volunteering" is a complex issue to define. Determining what is, or what is not considered an act of volunteerism is challenging, as lines are frequently blurred between activism and caring (Musick and Wilson 2007). To date, there is no universally agreed definition of volunteering, however most definitions have similar features, which can be seen in both the definition provided by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (2015) below, and Welsh Assembly

Government's (2015) Voluntary Sector Scheme "Volunteering is an important expression of citizenship and is an essential component of democracy. It is the commitment of time and energy for the benefit of society and the community which can take many forms. It is undertaken freely and by choice, without concern for financial gain".

For the purpose of this research the following definition provided by NCVO (2015) has been utilised which highlights that volunteering is "any activity which involves spending time, unpaid, engaging in something that aims to benefit the environment or someone (individuals or groups) other than, or in addition to, close relatives. Volunteering must be a choice freely made by each individual, and can include formal activity undertaken through public, private or voluntary organisations".

Background to the research area: The importance of studying volunteering

As the welfare state has grown, so has the non-profit sector, and the latter often works alongside the former in terms of supplementing the labour of governmental departments or agencies. From an academic perspective, the rise in identity politics has seen interest grow in understanding disparities in volunteering rates and choices across various groups, prompting research into explaining such differences:

"As an expression of post-materialist values, this kind of politics signals a shift from issues of distribution to those of identity: it does not follow traditional class alignments. Identity issues have spawned a wide range of groups that draw heavily on volunteer labour, but defy conventional theories of volunteering" (Musick and Wilson 2007, 5). This has drawn particular interest as it contradicts traditional explanations of the motives behind volunteering, which are typically split between the perspectives of altruism or cost-benefit models, which reflects serious leisure. Political reasons for supporting volunteerism, particularly a perception that it contributes to the democratisation of society have led to the

analysis and redesign of the structures of volunteer organisations, such as in the development of the 'civil society' model (Musick and Wilson 2007, 5). The requirements for voluntary organisations to improve their methods of recruiting and retaining staff in particular has mandated the study of what makes volunteers join and stay in certain fields of volunteering. Whereas previously, class was the main difference observed and studied and the motivations of volunteers were largely ignored. Developing theories that can assist in attracting potential volunteers from a wide range of backgrounds is now required by voluntary organisations and has in part, motivated much of the upturn in research into these aspects of the subject. Beyond the demands of governments and voluntary organisations themselves, there are concerns which also motivate research from the perspective of sociology specifically.

One regard by which volunteering is held to be important within sociological research is in terms of its contribution to local communities and through its ability to create such networks. Popescu et al. (2015) have argued that in the context of an increasingly globalised world, volunteering can produce rewarding localised communities where either none previously existed or, can otherwise preserve traditions and practices that are obsolete in the modern, globalised world: "In these circumstances volunteering is the way in which people support, understand and preserve traditional values, communitarian, based on customary and on healthy living standards" (Popescu et al. 2015, 49-50). This is particularly pertinent to the research carried out herein as it relates specifically to the heritage railway, technology that has been rendered obsolete by modern advances. Importantly, steam engines and their railways have not only produced workplace communities but also have powerfully affected local communities, having previously been their main link to the broader world, which is particularly relevant in the case of rural North

51

Wales. Volunteering is essential to the preservation of the heritage railway networks, along with maintaining a vital part of the local character of many communities.

Beyond this, volunteering is viewed as a means towards developing society through networks which facilitate individuals working together (Butcher and Einolf 2017, 7). One way in which volunteering is thought to do this is through encouraging social capital, particularly through bridging bonds of social capital together (Putnam 2000). For example, whilst an informal and localised form of volunteering may bond a local community together, formal, and wider reaching forms of engagement are hoped to bring people from different communities together (Putnam 2000, 83).

In the context of heritage railways, a project that was limited to individuals from the local community would be considered as bonding social capital (Putnam 2000, 82), but would require input and interaction from further regions to be considered bridging social capital. In the examples studied within this thesis, the participating volunteers largely originate from outside of North Wales and thus it can be considered a means of bridging social capital, as in this respect, bonding is understood in terms of place (Putnam 2000). Resolving tensions between bonding and bridging social capital – between the local and the national/global – is a significant focus of contemporary sociological research into volunteering.

Whilst this thesis does not take a 'motivation approach' which is typically examined in the field of psychology, instead fitting within a voluntary sector typology of unpaid work, it is important to examine some of the reasons behind engagement. It has been identified by Shagurova et al. (2016) that the main aspect which prompts volunteerism is an altruistic drive, even amongst those areas of voluntarism which are not categorised as charitable or forms of activism (Shagurova et al. 2016, 857). That is not to say that altruism is the only

motivation for volunteering: in fact, almost all forms of volunteering are dominated by either altruistic or self-serving motives but ultimately do involve significant other incentives or stimuli which contribute towards engagement (Shagurova et al. 2016, 857). A plethora of additional motivations may affect whether a person decides to volunteer and whether or not they find it fulfilling: Kee et al. (2018, 935-6) has observed that individuals with a positive perspective of the past ultimately achieve far greater life satisfaction from volunteering and are more likely to persevere with voluntary projects. Relevant to this research also is the potential positive benefit which encapsulate the personal wellbeing and sense of fulfilment perceived by the elderly volunteers, a phenomenon which has repeatedly been observed. For example, Hunter and Linn (1981, 205) compared the profiles of pensioners who volunteered versus those who did not and found that the elderly volunteers were more likely to have higher life satisfaction, fewer symptoms of depression and anxiety, as well as a generally stronger will to live life to the full.

Sociologists have drawn upon several theories for explaining how these factors influence the decision to volunteer, such as in the application of Cornish and Clarke's (2004) rational choice theory, a model utilised to explain decision-making in criminal activity. The argument is that individuals tend to make decisions in terms of benefits outweighing costs.

However, this to some extent seems to contradict the example of Welsh heritage railways, as the costs of volunteering are significantly higher than most other forms of volunteering. Furthermore, this as a theory contradicts the altruistic explanation for charitable and activist forms of volunteering. Thereby focuses on alternative explanations for motivation, such as social and intergenerational influences. The research seeks to test to what extent family and social groups motivate individuals to engage, and what the potential

benefits are from this perspective, e.g., improved social standing, closer relationships with family members, etc.

Understanding what influences different groups to offer up their services to volunteer is still being advanced and John Wilson's statement that 'many of the associations between volunteering and background factors remain just that, correlations, and we are in no position to make causal statements' (Wilson 2000, 234) is now, twenty years on, being rendered obsolete by the outpouring of research into this very issue. As one of the demands of this research is to understand what motivates individuals to commit to volunteering in this area and how these motivations differ across demographics, including age groups. In this way, the research fits into gaps in the current literature, and the example of Welsh heritage railways particularly because of their demographic uniqueness allows for new comparisons and perspectives on volunteerism to be drawn.

Research into the demographics of volunteering is strongly related to the study of the influences behind volunteering outlined above. Emphasis is often placed on the high average age of participants, a phenomenon that is particularly pronounced in heritage railways (Holmes 2002). Much of this is likely related to time constraints: high rates in volunteering post retirement age are likely an effect of increased free time, as are corresponding lower rates of participation amongst the young and middle aged. There are also quite feasibly different motives across the whole spectrum of age groups, as is investigated by this study.

Engagement among the younger individuals is often seen as a way of augmenting curriculum vitae's, with youths looking for more diverse and shorter-term voluntary programmes than the more mature individuals (Egli et al. 2014, 370-2). In comparison, volunteering by the older generation is often studied in terms of its benefits to individuals

potentially suffering from isolation or health problems and how volunteering combats the onset of these problems. In particular, the idea that volunteering offers elderly people a chance to construct a new identity in the wake of retirement is also a popular theme within the literature, as Ekerdt (2010, 72) states, "retirement is one big selection mechanism: workers progressively self-sorting or being sorted into work and leisure roles". Whether retirees view this transference of skills and labour as a work or leisure role is something discussed in more depth in the introductory subsection on theoretical approaches. Finally, social influences may also be a factor in terms of perceptions of volunteering as an activity for the elderly, which generates a self-fulfilling prophecy in terms of age demographics across the sector. The extent to which these findings remain correct within this study is discussed.

The demographic focus of research likewise touches upon socioeconomic influences but focuses especially on gender. Whilst there are still significant disparities in the proffering of skills towards projects between men and women, the gap has been closing across the United Kingdom (Low et al. 2017, 19). Naturally, this trend is not uniform across all industries, with volunteering sectors such as youth sports and industrial heritage having noticeably higher engagement rates of men than of women. Disparities in volunteering for offering skills and knowledge towards specific roles also appears to vary quite considerably but this is an area where more research is required. It is possible that perceptions of roles as being 'gendered' in specific ways, or even entire volunteering sectors as being gendered – encourages or discourages specific groups from taking part. To some extent, questions such as these are at the centre of the focus on demographics, insofar as they can inform how identity shapes, and is shaped by volunteering. The goal of this research is ultimately how

barriers may be removed to ensure a more diverse involvement in volunteering sectors,

whether these be physical or psychological in nature.

Relevance of this study to the literature

Research focusing upon volunteering within Great Britain has increased, and

therefore the challenges to the third and voluntary sectors are becoming clearer. However,

as is explained, there is substantial variation between these sectors and subsequently, even

more of a differential at a regional level. Whilst research into volunteering in Great Britain in

general terms is now receiving due attention, research into the heritage rail industry is

however far less comprehensive. Holmes' (2002) report into Volunteers and Visitor

Interaction in the UK Heritage Sector constitutes the only comprehensive publication on the

subject. The research is even thinner once specialised parameters are applied. For example,

in spite of there being in excess of a hundred heritage railway networks across the United

Kingdom, the 2013 APPGHR Report of the Value of Heritage Railways is one of the few

pieces of independent research into this subject. Much of the research into volunteerism in

the United Kingdom likewise does not take into account regional differentials within the

United Kingdom, often even between its constituent nations.

Overall rates for participation in formal volunteering vary significantly between the

four nations: Northern Ireland has the lowest rate at 21 per cent of the adult population,

Scotland is significantly higher at 32 per cent, Wales is higher again at 40 percent, marginally

behind England at 42 per cent (Rochester et al. 2010, 40-1). However, the sample size from

Wales is the smallest, and the oldest in terms of the date of data collection, with the most

recent all-encompassing surveys dating from 2001 and 2003. However, even Rochester et

al.'s British-centred 'Volunteering and Society' study (2010) is highly focused on

volunteering trends in England and has very little data on volunteering in Wales. The breadth of studies currently ill serves the needs of the non-profit sector in Wales that are dependent upon reliable information to assist in volunteer attraction and retention.

The decision to focus on heritage railways in Wales therefore offers a unique insight into a volunteering sector often overlooked in a uniquely Welsh context. Discovering what challenges face volunteering in this sector and how they differ from expectations across the United Kingdom are important and may shed light on previously unforeseen barriers or solutions to the issues discussed above. Heritage railways in North Wales are an important case study as it offers a unique example of a demographic that is often underrepresented in voluntarism, in that most of the volunteers are both working class and male. The episodic and seasonal nature of railway volunteering also makes heritage railway volunteering unique within the wider sector which is diverse in terms of the range of organisations. It is these unique aspects which makes this area worthy of study, enabling gaps to be filled regarding to the role of volunteering in retirement, masculinity and engagement, the dynamics between unpaid work and serious leisure, the influencing factors behind volunteering, and self identity.

Tang, Morrow-Howell and Hong (2009, 821-4) have previously observed the importance of diversifying the demography of those who become involved in volunteering. Although participation among adults over 60 years of age is increasing, there are still significant barriers to facilitating involvement of those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Tang, Morrow-Howell and Hong 2009, 810). Their research has demonstrated that the active involvement of less affluent or more marginalised groups in volunteering relies heavily upon the degree of engagement offered by the voluntary institution, in comparison to flexibility, which was favoured among more affluent volunteers. Interestingly,

heritage railway has a reputation for being a highly demanding voluntary area. Looking for correlations between the high degree of working class and male volunteers and a perception of a high level of engagement demanded by the voluntary institution may function as a blueprint for future research into how individuals from diverse backgrounds might be encouraged to volunteer in other areas in future.

Research into volunteerism increasingly focuses on the demographic composition of the volunteer bases of specific volunteering fields and comparison to the national averages. For example, statistical research into the rates of volunteering in Britain have demonstrated that the number of young people volunteering in England has declined substantially (Cabinet Office 2016, 4), but this is a trend that likely does not hold across all types of volunteering or all industries. Similarly, the rates of women in volunteering have historically been higher than that of men and continue to be so (Low et al. 2017, 19-20), making this research as a male-dominated volunteerism area a particularly unique area of study. This study can hopefully shed light on some of these trends through its focus on a volunteering culture that contradicts statistical expectations for its demographic composition.

Smith and Stebbins (2016, 1382) recommend that studies should consider multiple variables, rather than focusing on single issues: e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, etc. This approach is also recommended by Wilson (2000), who suggests that the demographics of participants studied should be diversified, to better understand the effects of volunteering on specific groups, such as younger individuals: "More studies are needed for younger age groups, and more attention needs to be paid to how beneficial effects are contingent on such factors as freedom of choice of task and working hours" (Wilson 2000, 234). Smith and Stebbins (2016, 1382) contend that studies must to take into account multiple variables, which may then place demands upon associated methodologies: "Only interview surveys

and time diary methods lend themselves to this approach, as neither experiments nor experimental games lend themselves to testing many variables simultaneously". As may be evidenced from the methodology section to this study, this is a factor that has influenced the development of the surveys and interviews used within this study.

Wilson (2000, 233) further observed that despite the plethora of sociological research into volunteering that has emerged since the 1970's, specialisations in research are only now coming to the fore. For example, distinctions between various genres of volunteering are only recently being developed, as well as a focus on how volunteering trends often vary significantly across localities: trends in American volunteering rates and demographics, do not necessarily reflect those of Britain. This is an important factor in specialising research that Smith and Stebbins also note, stating that the substantial differences in demographic data between nations, demonstrates the need for localised approaches to research.

Much of the difficulty in conducting multi-national analyses is, that there are many nations or regions with scant data on volunteering available. Even within the United Kingdom itself, there is a significant amount of variation between the data statistics of England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. Even within the home nations there is a degree of regional disparity (CLS 2016, 32-4). Therefore, according to the demands of the field moving forward, there are substantial regional gaps in the literature as it currently stands.

This summary of the gaps present within the current literature indicates why a more extensive research strategy is required into this area of volunteering. Principally, the need to conduct studies that measure multiple variables and the differences on a localised level, using methodologies such as individual surveys and interviews, which is clearly stated by

some of the leading researchers in contemporary volunteerism. The following subsection should demonstrate more fully how this thesis's focus of heritage railway in Wales fulfils these demands and offers new insights into volunteering trends, particularly in terms of the motivations across the demographics represented in Welsh culture.

As indicated previously it is essential to conduct research in localised contexts, as there is a large degree of variation at an international and even inter-regional level in the trends within volunteering. Firstly, it is important to note that volunteering levels within Britain are themselves growing, although this trend does not hold across all sectors (NCVO 2019). Part of the difficulty in comparing these rates to those of other nations, is the lack of multi-national meta-analyses. The most recent comparison of rates across Europe demonstrates that over a third of British adults volunteered in some capacity (Rochester et al. 2010), although the statistics are over twenty-five years old, and therefore do not reflect current rates. However, they do also demonstrate that there is significant variation across European countries, and that there is no clear trend. Whilst Eastern European nations or less affluent countries may be interpreted as volunteering less, Germany as one of the most prosperous, Western European countries has some of the lowest volunteering rates in Europe. A more recent global survey confirms the rates seen in the European survey, and the substantial variations in uptake levels between countries that share cultural, economic, or political similarities indicate that there is a degree to which volunteering patterns and behaviours are unpredictable when considered on an international scale. The idiosyncrasy of national cultures, therefore, cannot be underestimated (NCVO 2019)

It is necessary to approach research into volunteering in respect of the unique concerns facing volunteerism in Britain. One of the issues Britain shares with other Western industrialised countries is an ageing population, a result of both a declining birth rate and

prolonged life expectancy (Rochester et al. 2010, 69). Coupled with this, young people are staying in education longer, similarly adults are continuing, in full time employment longer, pushing back the retirement age considerably with many women having their retirement age increased from 60 to 65 (Rochester et al. 2010, 71). All of this is relevant to volunteering as changes to these demographics potentially affects the groups of people available to volunteer. Another influencing factor in British society is the erosion of closely-knit communities.

Volunteering typologies and theoretical approaches

In order to establish how best to analyse the data, it must be determined which theoretical interpretations within the field of volunteerism are to be employed towards the data gathered in this project. Within the current literature, there are two main models for interpreting trends within volunteering: the dominant/non-profit paradigm and the civil society paradigm (Rochester et al. 2010, 9-11). The latter model often focuses on establishing voluntary organisations on the principles of mutual aid and follows a horizontal model, in comparison to the hierarchically structured dominant view that treats volunteer industries more like non-profit businesses rather than activist groups. The non-profit paradigm is the dominant model in the United Kingdom and the heritage railway organisations studied in this paper broadly reflect this means of structuring volunteers.

The alternative means of interpreting volunteer organisations is through the lens of 'serious leisure' and work. Rochester et al. (2010, 73) identify this perspective on volunteering as a 'common sense' interpretation of volunteerism but lament that it has been historically neglected by sociologists: "In a sense, it is simple common sense to view volunteering as a leisure time activity, and it has been identified as such by scholars for

more than thirty years. Until recently, however, this perspective has been largely neglected by scholarly writers on volunteering. This lack of interest may be explained by the association of leisure with ideas of fun and frivolity which are at odds with the serious business of much voluntary action and with terms like 'amateur' and 'hobbyist' which are often used pejoratively" (Rochester et al, 2010, 73).

By far the most prolific developer of this theory is Stebbins, who has identified three types of volunteering activity: casual, project-based, and volunteering as serious leisure (Stebbins 2004, 5-7). Serious leisure may be understood as distinct from casual leisure, although both may motivate the decision to volunteer. For example, casual leisure may motivate individuals to volunteer at a church fayre or some other fun activity that is instantly gratifying. Serious leisure, in comparison, is not necessarily an obviously enjoyable task. Stebbins gives examples such as working with autistic children, presiding over a grassroots organisation, or coaching youth sport (Stebbins 2004, 5).

There are six ways in which Stebbins believes that serious leisure may be distinguished from casual leisure. For example, it requires a degree of perseverance whereas casual volunteering may be episodic. The lack of instant gratification in comparison to casual leisure, indicates that participants must be committed and persevere, in order to gain satisfaction from volunteering. Serious leisure is also distinguished from casual leisure in that it offers the opportunity to follow a 'leisure career' path, which perhaps involves moving upwards in an organisation or advancing in roles, in comparison to casual leisure which does not. The requirement for some form of specialist knowledge or skills also marks out serious leisure, perhaps even to the extent that training is required to participate.

Another feature is that of a 'unique ethos', which Stebbins identifies by the creation of a 'social world' surrounding the field that is created by its enthusiasts (Stebbins 2004, 6).

To an extent, this is a grassroots social world, defined and maintained by the participants in the leisure field rather than being managed by a company or organisation. This leads enthusiasts to strongly identify with the pastime, perhaps integrating it into their perception of their own identity. Finally, serious leisure is identifiable by the benefits it confers upon its participants, which are 'actualization, self-enrichment, self-expression, regeneration or renewal of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, social interaction and sense of belonging, and lasting physical products of the activity' (Stebbins 2004, 6).

Casual leisure does not offer the prospect for a leisure career, does not require the same level of perseverance for gratification, and its benefits are more instantaneous and less enduring. The other type of leisure identified by Stebbins is 'project-based leisure', which occupies something of a middle ground between casual and serious leisure. It does involve many of the same features of serious leisure – such as in the complexity of organisation involved – but is a project rather than a 'career': it is a demanding project but a short term one. Stebbins (2004, 7) gives examples such as organising parties, preparing for travel, or participating during sports events.

This study makes the case that the form of leisure which volunteering in heritage railway most resembles is the serious variety, and this argument is developed in more depth in a following section. However, it is possible that the seriousness of the pastime and the demands it places upon its participants should classify the roles involved as more than mere volunteering.

A history of volunteering: The big society and the heritage debate

Volunteering has a long, rich, and diverse history within the United Kingdom, and its roots date back to the 16th century, alongside the development of charitable trusts, and the creation of the 1597 Charitable Users Act (Davis Smith 1994).

During the 19th century, voluntary societies increased dramatically, including, for example, the creation of the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), and the Salvation Army who used volunteers to fulfil their main aim of helping those in need (Davis Smith's 1994). The late 19th and early 20th century saw the development of student activist groups, and "rag" fundraising which became an important element of student life during the 1950's-60's, with a focus on helping local charities, hospitals, and the prevention of cruelty to animals (Brewis 2014). This form of volunteering remains prominent within the environment of universities.

From the 18th century to the present day, substantial changes have occurred in terms of political angles, specifically the notion of the "Big Society". The idea, developed in the early part of the 21st century by the Conservative Party, and subsequently used in their 2010 general election manifesto, aimed at creating an environment, which strived towards empowering communities and local people, to ultimately create a "Big Society" which would redirect power from politicians and redistribute it to the people (Brewis 2014, 14). Whilst many have favoured the idea of a "Big Society", its concept of community has been criticised as it may not entirely exist in the traditional sense of the term, for example, the contrast between rural and urban environments. The main criticism with regard to the idea of the 'Big Society' is funding and its unreliability (Civil Exchange 2012). Whilst large scale organisations may be able to maintain themselves financially due to precarious funding,

smaller scale and locally based organisations may be unable to replicate this, and these organisations are the very ones which require the most assistance from the 'Big Society'.

During the 1960's volunteering numbers increased substantially alongside a growing number of voluntary based organisations, as many individuals expressed a sense of disappointment with the lack of ability to participate in mainstream decision making (Howlett 2008). Under Edward Heath in 1979, the Conservative Party adopted a "contract culture", which promoted the ideology that voluntary organisations should provide services as both an alternative and cheaper option to those already provided by the state (Howlett 2008, 14). Furthermore, as Howlett (2008) discusses, volunteering at this point in time was seen predominantly as a way in which to keep both the unemployed and young people active. In 1997 a new Labour Government was elected under Tony Blair PM, and a renewed focus was placed on volunteering as a means of engaging individuals within their local communities (Howlett 2008, 22).

In the seven/eight years that followed, volunteer numbers throughout the country were increasing, and Gordon Brown MP stated that 2005 would be "the year of the volunteer", through developing new engagement opportunities, and encouraging more individuals to become involved (Howlett 2008, 22). Volunteering remains an ingrained aspect of policy within the United Kingdom, and particularly following the 2012 London Olympic Games, the legacy aspect of volunteering continues.

Heritage has existed for centuries, however an understanding of the way in which it is used and applied is considerably more recent, along with the understanding of it as a valuable legacy, which is inherited from past generations by their descendants. Both tangible and intangible forms can provide an increased level of pride in a nation as it

contributes towards a sense of place, and acts as a continual reminder of the position held within history as the progression is made towards the future (Avrami et al 2000, 3). "Heritage is the legacy from the past, it is what we live with today and what we pass on to future generations, while the term initially appears to be relatively straight forward to define and understand, when examined in detail it is considerably more complex and challenging" (Avrami et al 2000, 5). A general definition is provided by Hewison (1987) as "anything, which someone wishes to conserve or to collect, and to pass on to future generations". Regarding this statement, a prime issue/area of concern is the lack of specification with regard to the term "anything", for example, an item passed down through bequest such as a painting, may be considered by one individual as being part of their heritage, while another may simply view it as an object of personal value, therefore, in this context, the process of defining is substantially more complex.

While it is often noted within academic literature that the term heritage is notoriously difficult to define, Avrami et al (2000, 4) highlight's that the scope has broadened substantially since the adoption of the Venice Charter in 1964 and associated framework, through a transformed focus to include both tangible and intangible heritage. Avrami et al (2000, 5-6) critically analyse the way in which the term is applied, and how this has changed over time to view heritage as a social construct. It is argued that artefacts, buildings, objects, environments and so forth, are not static embodiments of heritage, they are however, an instrument and method through which identity, power, belonging and society are created. The findings presented by Avrami et al (2000, 6-7) identify that heritage can no longer be defined as fixed, which previously held notions seem to suggest, as it

embraces all aspects and elements of social life which individuals consider to be a part of their self-definition.

Similar to the research conducted by Avrami et al (2000), Tonkin (2012) analyses how attitudes towards heritage can change and adapt over time, based on a case study of Australia. Tonkin (2012, 1) suggested that heritage can be defined as that which is inherited, including landscapes, objects, structures, stories, languages, and traditions, which encompass both natural and cultural places possessing tangible and intangible values, whilst remaining an essential aspect of life today. The research provides a particularly interesting examination into the way opinions, attitudes and perspectives with regard to heritage, can modify substantially over a period of time, through analysing life experiences of the indigenous people and immigrant communities. It is identified that during particular periods, individuals felt a need to hide and deny their origin and culture, whilst interestingly at times, those origins have been proudly embraced and acknowledged. Tonkin's (2012, 2-3) research significantly contributes to the sociological understanding of heritage, and makes the suggestion that any given generation, finds it particularly challenging to identify present day things of value, which future generations will also cherish. A case study of built heritage is evaluated, and it is argued that whilst it may have once been seen as vulgar, its appearance and associated attitudes can also change in the future, for example the wrought ironwork of the 19th century.

Comparable research is also provided by Harrison (2014) who examines the concept of heritage, and what the term entails, through an in-depth analysis of a number of case studies. Harrison (2014, 5) presents the Great Barrier Reef in Australia and the Mir Castle complex in Belarus to make the initial case, that heritage is a complex and widely

encompassing term, and highlights that while both are considerably different in terms of one being a natural wonder and the other a man made structure, they are both classified as examples of world heritage sites according to UNESCO.

Harrison's (2014, 8) research indicated that there are varying ways in which people relate to, understand the importance of, and provide meanings to heritage sites, objects and practices. Heritage is suggested to be a dynamic process, which consists of a competition over whose version of the past receives recognition in the present. The case studies reviewed as part of this study show that there are two inter-related understandings of heritage, the first being a top down approach to the classification and promotion of specific locations by the state as an embodiment of regional, national and/or international values which creates "official heritage", whilst in contrast, the bottom up approach emphasises the connection between people, objects, places, traditions and memories which form the creation of "unofficial heritage" at a local level (Harrison 2014, 8).

Heritage as a concept is critically analysed by Harrison (2014, 9) who suggests that historically, the term has been used to emphasis the need to protect objects, property and buildings. Similar to the research conducted by both Avrami et al (2000), and Tonkin (2012), Harrison (2014, 9) defines heritage as an amalgamation of both the physical and invisible, these are identified within the research as being language, culture, popular song, literature, customs, and traditions. It is extensively argued that these forms are equally as important to protect as are buildings, monuments and objects, as they enable individuals to understand who they are. A particularly interesting aspect of the study is the suggestion that for each and every example of tangible heritage, an aspect of intangible heritage is linked to it, for example Harrison (2014, 10) indicates that this can include the language used to describe it or its' position in social practices.

In order to highlight the complexity of defining heritage, Harrison (2014, 12-13) provides an overview of the diverse range of categories which are considered to be examples of official heritage, these are: historic cities, cultural heritage sites, cultural landscapes, underwater heritage, museums, movable cultural heritage outside of an archaeological context, handicrafts, documentary and digital heritage, cinematographic, oral traditions, languages, festive events, rites and beliefs, music and song, performing arts-theatre, drama, dance and music, literature, culinary traditions, sports and games.

Current academic debate primarily centres on the scope and context of the definition of heritage, which has prompted discussions of how the subject area should be viewed and whether adjustments and amendments are needed to make policy documents more encompassing. Within Smith's (2006, 11) research on authorised heritage discourse, the argument is made that there is "no such thing as heritage", it is not a thing with pre-defined meanings and values, but an intrinsic political and conflicting practice which creates the cultural work of today, which ultimately tells us more about the present rather than the past. Smith (2006) considers that the utilisation of heritage is often linked to power relations, particularly the power to legitimise and de-legitimise certain cultures. The research highlights how powerful groups, over time, have become prominent in defining what is considered to be a national heritage. This notion conveys the idea that heritage is a prime example of common national inheritance, ancestry, and a primary concern for a singular past which must not be altered and can be clearly identified across tangible heritage, where tastes and values are largely determined by expert opinions rather than lay judgements.

Comparable to the research conducted by Harrison (2014), Tonkin (2012), Avrami et al (2000), and Smith (2006) stresses the importance for heritage definitions to move away

from its continual association with buildings, objects, locations and so forth, to view and understand it instead as a cultural process. A case study analysis of Waanyi women in Queensland Australia is provided, and through Smith's (2006) ethnographic research, the conclusion is drawn that heritage is a living thing, located in the experiences, and performances of those involved, and not the site itself. Therefore, Smith (2006, 51-52) provides an interesting view of the complexity surrounding heritage definitions, and through the author's own first hand visitor research conducted in both the United Kingdom and Australia, at a number of archaeological sites, country houses, and museums. The analysis is able to take on a further dimension, thus not entirely relying upon a generalised theory as many discussions of heritage do. Smith's (2006) study provides a substantial contribution to the current academic research into this area, by aiding in the development of a new research framework, which views heritage as a social and cultural process, and not as an object.

In recent years, as the research suggests, definitions of heritage have transitioned and adapted substantially to encompass both tangible and intangible forms. Smith and Waterton (2009), debate that whilst the addition of natural, tangible, and intangible heritage has become more accepted on an international level, within the United Kingdom it persistently remains unlikely that formal recognition of the importance of the wider definition will be applied within current legislation (Smith and Waterton 2009, 289). Their argument presents compelling evidence by way of interview transcripts from the period of 2004-2005 by English Heritage representatives; the results identify how despite changes; the relevance of intangible heritage remains explicitly denied within a British context.

Following the conclusions drawn by Smith and Waterton (2009, 298-299) it is clear that the research implies that the current policies and legislation in place are one of the key

barriers to wider definitions, whilst the proposal is made that heritage should be thought of and considered as a set of processes which relate to aspects of identity creation and community. This research provides a substantially more functional view while contributing a range of more conscious and variable associations between communities and their past.

While it is evident from the research examined above that there are many definitions and views of what precisely constituted heritage, however, an important question is what frameworks are in place to manage such definitions. Carman and Sorensen (2009, 11) highlight that caution must be taken to ensure that the field is not impeded through a primary aim of "repairing" the issue of narrow, limited, and restricted definitions. It is argued that by placing precedence on accurately identifying the subject, it can result in the analytical efforts becoming constrained, which will ultimately lead to a vague compromise; however, the statement is made that while current heritage studies are in their infancy, it should therefore be viewed as the contemporary phenomenon it is (Carman and Sorensen 2009, 12).

Harrison's (2012, 4) research complements that of Carman and Soresen (2009), in that he also highlights that caution is needed when approaching the stage of definitions, while indicating that the priority should be less about "what" and more about "who", through critically analysing both positive and negative aspects of who are being represented by heritage. Underlying Harrison's (2012) study is the notion that heritage is not specifically about truthful representations, it is however suggested that it is connected to deliverable political objectives and reinforcing social cohesion through the creation of myth, origins, and identity.

The critical approach to the understanding of society and heritage by Harrison (2012, 1-12) further examines the theory of a "crisis in memory", which provoked a discussion of

the increasingly broad definitions of heritage and how its dramatic development threatens to overpower the amplitude to remember, therefore as a result heritage may become ineffective. While Harrison (2012) does provide an important analysis into this area, one of its prime criticisms is the lack of practical first hand evidence.

The popularity of volunteering within the heritage sector is increasing, and volunteers now account for a large proportion of the "staff" within such organisations (Orr 2006, 194). The heritage industry and associated attractions have strived towards capitalising upon the public's fascination with the past, which has featured strongly during the past ten years in Britain, for example through programmes such as "Full Steam Ahead" which aired on BBC Two, featuring historians Ruth Goodman, Alex Langlands, and Peter Ginn.

The documentary looked back at the golden age of steam, it explored how Victorian railways created and shaped modern Britain, whilst charting the evolution and development of rail transportation. Social history was a prominent feature throughout, as they examined the lives and stories of the individuals who built and worked on the railways, whilst addressing aspects of economic decline, industrial growth, women's rights, and the rise of the working class (BBC 2016).

Orr (2006, 196) critically examines the transitions made regarding heritage participation and new technology, it is observed that modern developments have provided individuals with considerably more routes and means of access to heritage, through for example the internet. Orr's (2006, 196) example focuses upon the National Virtual Museum, which offered, based upon the BBC series *The Ship*, a Captain Cook museum voyage, for those who "prefer to keep your feet dry and hands free of calluses, while exploring the history of Cook's explorations". This example illustrates that individuals who are seeking to

"consume" heritage experiences can watch television programmes and utilise the internet to virtually "visit" such attractions and to "step back in time". However, as noted by Orr (2006, 197) there are those who seek more than a consumption experience and pursue their interest in heritage not only through visiting but by volunteering to help.

Heritage volunteering is interpreted by Orr (2006, 197) as a way for people to "visit" attractions, develop and expand their interests, and to express their commitment to a specific place or location, and states the following "many people visit heritage sites, whether they are stately homes, railways, museums or gardens, and discover that a couple of hours are simply not enough to gain full benefit from the experience".

Crang (1998, 141) proposed a particularly interesting notion with regard to connections to "place". It is suggested that a shared, local senses of identity and belonging can be created, through a community's culture, traditions and history. The example provided focuses on de-industrialised locations, specifically ex-coal mining areas whereby specific regions are defined by past occupations. Crang (1998, 142) makes the following observation: "Looking to the coal fields of the UK, we find these most 'industrial' of communities scattered amid 'rural' counties, forming a landscape of stark contrasts. The communities themselves developed a deep connection with their work. People did not just happen to work in a mine, they were miners. The job implied a whole culture and way of life... in such communities the strength of common bonds, through shared experiences and shared work and depending on the mine, could build extremely strong links between people – a distinctive ethos" (Crang 1998, 142).

Former mining communities make a particularly interesting case study with regard to the creation of belonging and identity. Bell's (2007) research, which focused upon historical

accounts of miners in Leicestershire, identified that they lived in a tight-knit community, which was considered essential; they worked and relaxed together, often participating in competitions and events such as growing vegetables and choral singing. Therefore, it is evident that individuals develop their own senses of place, resulting from connections to landscapes, culture, histories, networks and communities (Massey 1994, 6).

Individuals, communities, and groups create and develop their own unique senses of place through links with physical locations, for example the environment, traditions, and history, alongside social communities and networks including the internet. As suggested by Jackson (2008), whilst globalisation has resulted in increased global homogeneity, individuals are increasingly striving to preserve and maintain their local cultures and heritages.

The last twenty five years have been marked with a number of significant historic events, technological innovations, and wide spread social and cultural transitions in both Western civilisation, and indeed globally. Bauman (2000) presents the case that as a direct result of this change, the nature of heritage, its correlation to society, the sociological approaches to its study and analysis, has gone through a dramatic transition. Criticism is presented by Waterton and Watson (2013, 546) regarding heritage theory, who indicate that little development has been made in understanding the way in which the subject can be theorised, as it appears that a number of debates including large concepts and notions of identity and authenticity do not thoroughly address the true nature of heritage as a concept.

Waterton and Watson (2013, 547) present their idea of viewing heritage theory in terms of what they call a critical imagination, by using current and developing theories, to produce frames through which heritage can be viewed in its many forms. It is further debated within this study that often, theories associated with heritage are sourced from outside the field and applied within, such as management modalities, and typically are subsidised with other perspectives from areas of art, history and/or architecture, however despite the criticisms made rarely have such approaches questioned heritage at an ontological level. While Waterton and Watson (2013, 549) highlight the complexity of attributing theories to this subject, their findings raise a particularly important area of discussion, of how key concepts have developed over time, and how as a consequence of their continual transition, have led them to become part of the fabric of heritage theory. The criticism made by Waterton and Watson (2013, 550) that whilst current theories concerning heritage continue to remain influential and successful today in aiding the understanding of the topic, problems are also present which need to be addressed and resolved, before the past can be accurately understood in the present.

In order to gain a comprehensive and in-depth overview of heritage theories, Waterton and Watson (2013, 550) utilise a historicising frame of heritage through which sociological debates from the mid to late 1980's within the United Kingdom can be examined. The discussion draws upon an interesting aspect, of the emergence of heritage being viewed for the first time as an industry, and therefore the movement was made from a primary concern for objects to the new focus on the social and cultural context. A number of studies were used as the theoretical background for this research including Lowenthal (1985), Wright (1985), Hewison (1987), and Samuel (1994) as they drew upon historical and

cultural perspectives, the review of previous research enabled Waterton and Watson (2013, 550) to conclude that the above cited work, with their collective notion of heritage as a cultural phenomenon, provided a critical approach, which as a result, led to a change with regard to the shorter range theories.

Throughout the research an in-depth historical view of semiotics and its connection to heritage, the commodification and marketing of the past, and a re-ignited interest in the critical role which photography plays in heritage tourism are examined. While the main theme of the study focuses upon the way in which heritage and tourism must be viewed as more than simply a cultural phenomenon, this notion underpins both the conceptual and methodological approaches of this work. In examining these issues, Waterton and Watson's (2013, 550) study, aims to understand what precisely occurs in moments of encounter and engagement across the heritage sector with regard to a number of elements including "doing", "performing", "framing", "producing", and "acting".

One of the main criticisms presented within this article is connected to what the authors define as "contours of intensity" linked to heritage in place. It is argued that generally, guidebooks and tourist maps aim to highlight particular attractions and sites, therefore the more prominent the heritage location, the more intense its position will be in tourist itineraries. While Waterton and Watson's (2013, 549-550) examination of intensity contributes significantly to research in this area, a shortcoming of the study is that it places precedence on large scale grand locations with high tourism/ participant levels while lacking a consideration for smaller scale settings, with lower levels of tourism levels but with individual, family or local interest.

Sociological theories of globalisation can also be linked to heritage participation, as noted by Castells (2005, 5) it is a conquering powerhouse of change and transitions with the "local" seen as historic residue, and in the face of increasing globalisation, attitudes have altered, whereby people now resent the decline of power over their own lives, their environment, heritage and culture. Globalisation is multi-dimensional; it highlights the increasing connectivity and relationships between individuals and countries throughout the world, through referring to notions of economics, society, politics, history and culture, whilst also modifying and diversifying attachments, and the bonds between where an individual resides and their own, personal activities, experiences, and identities (Hernandez I Marti 2004, 6). Hernandez I Marti (2004, 8) critiques current sociological theories, due to their unambiguous nature, and suggests that there are a number of questions which are to date, substantially under examined in relation to this specific area, these are noted as being: is globalisation a process or condition, how does it relate to modernity and postmodernity, and what is its connection to nation states.

An interesting aspect derived from the analysis conducted by Hernandez I Marti (2004, 6-8) is the perception that whilst globalisation does have negative outcomes, for example, weakening identity and individuality, possible threats to cultural diversity, which have resulted in a reduction of face-to-face contact between individuals. It also presents positive elements including the sharing of ideas and experiences of people and cultures, increases awareness of events and issues in other parts of the world such as the destruction of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, and looting at the Museum of Hama during the Syrian conflict.

Connected with the sense of a loss of personal and face-to-face contact as a result of such globalisation, is the development of the cyberspatial environment. Hernandez I Marti

(2004, 9) draws the conclusion that today, a high proportion of heritage sites and associated interested groups now have an online presence which fills this particular void. Websites, social media platforms and discussion forums are routinely utilised to project themselves through the internet to gain attention, to reach a wider audience, and to target individuals with an emotional attachment to a specific location or activity, who may be unable to directly participate in person, therefore while it is shown by Hernandez I Marti (2004, 9-10) that globalisation does have a number of negative implications, in terms of heritage participation and protection, the positives, to a degree, outweigh the negatives.

Theories of social capital, such as Putnam's (2000) draw upon elements of Tocqueville and Bender's (1981) research into civil society which highlighted that, if the "habit of forming associations in ordinary life is not encouraged then democracy is unlikely to survive, because the act of forming and taking part in voluntary associations teaches members civic skills and values, ultimately, voluntary associations act as schools of democracy" (Tocqueville and Bender 1981, 3). Putnam's (2000) research focused upon participation in community based voluntary associations and hypothesised that a decline in such engagement would result in a reduction of the creation of social capital.

The study highlights that participation within communities is resulting in a considerable increase in social cohesion, through referring to Tocqueville and Bender's (1981) work and associated data, Putnam (2000, 19) presents the notion that an active civil society in which individuals come together and regularly connect with others through mutual participation in activities of personal and communal interest, for example: choirs, sports clubs, and bowling leagues will create more social capital which is defined by Putnam (2000, 18) as being "connections among individuals, social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them". Putnam's (2000, 22) study proposes

the idea that engagement in organisations and groups can aid in the creation and development of trust in others, while also increasing a sense of communal beliefs and values. The work by Putnam (2000) has been particularly influential within the fields of community and sustainability discourse, as it highlights the true importance of social capital, whilst also providing a comprehensive overview of substantial historical trends. Overall, the theme of Putnam's (2000) work highlights that the key aspect for gaining sustainability is not to mourn the loss of particular groups and organisations, but to create new ways and methods of developing social capital through volunteering, voting and education.

Putnam (2000) found that there has been a general decline in social capital in America, the result of a substantial disengagement with community and civic life by those born post 1960s. Putnam (2000) suggests that there are a number of key causes, which may explain the decline in civic participation in America, it is noted that these include generational replacement, television viewing, increasing time pressure, increasing geographical mobility, a decline of marital stability, and the decline of religious affiliations. Putnam further suggests that the "long civic generation" born between 1910 and 1940, is now being replaced by later age groups whose members are substantially less inclined and motivated to actively participate in civic life (Putnam 200, 276).

The media, specifically the television, is suggested as being a potential cause of individuals ignoring social and civic activities, thus resulting in the development of feelings such as isolation, loneliness, and alienation (Putnam 2000, 283). Putnam (2000, 204) further notes that geographical mobility considerably effects community ties and links, as it "pulls up roots", which take a long time to re-develop.

Increasing time pressures, predominantly as a result of employment, are suggested as a key cause for declining participation, as "active" civic engagers may potentially be limited by time-poverty (Putnam 2000,189-203). The decline in religious affiliation is correlated by Putnam (2000, 67) to a fall in engagement in civil society, as being a member of a church/religious community is recognised as being a powerful indicator of civic engagement, volunteering and humanitarianism.

Heritage tourism

Whilst there is currently much debate surrounding the "true" nature and extent of heritage studies and its associated definitions, Zeppal and Hall (1992, 49) indicates that a general approach should be taken. Products of heritage including tourism are substantially easier to identify and define in contrast to heritage itself and are seen as providing a considerable benefit for any town or city striving towards stimulating economic growth. During the 1980's to 1990's heritage tourism grew substantially in popularity, Zeppal and Hall (1992, 50) provide a general definition of this subject area, as being a broad field of speciality travel, based upon a nostalgia, and a desire to learn about and experience a range of diverse cultural landscapes and forms. Zeppal and Hall (1992) state that heritage tourism can be viewed as a set of cultural, ethnic, and educational forms of special interest tourism, which consist of a variety of aspects of touristic behaviour such as examining and documenting physical remains of the past to the experiences of modern cultural traditions.

Bella Dick's (2000) research titled "Heritage, Place, and Community" examines the development of the Rhondda Heritage Park on the site of the Lewis Merthyr Colliery, which closed in 1983, while aiming to highlight connections between Welsh heritage and its cultural, social, and economic identity. The research provides a highly detailed, firsthand

review of the site, including the various tourist attractions for example, the "black gold-shift in time" experience, which provided visitors with an opportunity to witness what life was like as a miner. Debates surrounding the notion that heritage provides a way in which local life can be represented in a thought provoking and accessible way form the basis for this piece of work, along with in-depth historical reviews (Dicks 2000, 7-8).

In several decades, as Dick's (2000) research highlights, the heritage sector has increased substantially within the United Kingdom, particularly during the 1980's as a direct result of an aim to regenerate failing industrial economies, therefore leisure and tourism were used to fill the void which declining manufacturing and de-industrialisation had left.

The research provide by Dicks (2000) provides an important contribution to debates surrounding the heritage industry in Wales and beyond, through an extensive historical review of tourism in the Valleys, Cardiff Bay and Swansea, with a primary focus on the Rhondda Heritage Park, Llancaiach Fawr and the Big Pit. Through using the South Wales Valleys as a case study, Dicks (2000, 17) highlights that there are six heritage sites promoting the strong coal mining history of the area, however overall, the Big Pit witnesses the highest level of visitors per year in contrast to its counterparts, so therefore received elevated funding, and is being considered to be included in the UNESCO world heritage list.

Through identifying the opportunities heritage tourism could bring to the South Wales Valleys, Dicks (2000, 28) indicates that the Welsh Tourist Boards report, listed a number of avenues for marketing and promoting the area and its heritage to tourists, in order to develop a more realistic view of the true nature of the Valleys, and therefore moving away from the stereotypes based upon "how green was my valley", where all coal miners sang on their way to chapel, played rugby, and were shown bathing in pithead baths.

81

Dicks (2000, 29) highlights that as a result of this unrealistic portrayal, the focus shifted to include built resources such as industrial archaeology and heritage, cultural resources including literature, arts, sport and famous events, and natural resources forest trails, conservation, parks and gardens.

An important aspect of Dicks (2000, 198) study is the review of visitor motivations for participating in heritage tourism, previous work from Urry (1990) presents the notion of gazing upon the exotic other, while Light (1995) suggests that it may be as a need to increase their informal education, however, current research as proposed by Dicks (2000) conclude that participation is a result of various cultural rather than structural factors, however, motivations and associated experiences can differ substantially depending upon the form of activity, for example individuals visiting Llancaiach Fawr Manor House in South Wales may be interested in learning about domestic living arrangements, while in comparison those visiting the Rhondda Heritage Park may be particularly interesting in learning more about their ancestors.

Within Dicks (2000) research, a review of Light's (1995) study is examined, which focuses upon a case study of four historic monuments in Wales in order to determine what visitors learnt and took from the tours. A primary criticism is presented with regard to the research methods for this particular study, Dicks (2000) states that in order for the data to be collected, visitors were asked to select an answer from a pre-determined list based upon their understanding of the monument and its historical significance, an issue with this analysis is the notion that heritage communicates unambiguous information to its visitors, which is understood, accepted, and perceived in identical ways.

Dicks (2003) examines in the book "Culture on Display", the scope and wide spectrum of cultural and heritage products, the varying ways of representation and how it is shown in a

visible form to become a market product. Underpinning the research is a view of heritage from an anthropological perspective; from the eyes of the native to determine the importance of heritage in terms of creating a "world on display" (Dicks 2003, 41).

A significant proportion of the worlds population now frequently travel, relocate to other destinations and through this, discover other cultures, traditions and histories which are different to their own. Dicks (2003, 42) suggests that visitors typically participate in activities such as sports, festivals, carnivals, and visit museums, which can result in a better and more advanced understanding of our own socio-cultural background. Furthermore, Dicks (2003, 46) highlights the role heritage plays as an attraction for participation in touristic settings. It is noted that "heritage suddenly seems to be everywhere, wherever there are exhibitions, buildings, performances and townscapes designed to pull in visitors" (Dicks 2003, 46). This emotive notion of nostalgia and longing for the past can create a social-cultural link to the relationships between then and now. Therefore, the conclusion is drawn that witnessing the past under present conditions, in a visitable form/tourist setting provides a different way to conserve, develop, and question memories, experiences and identities. Dicks (2003, 112) further analyses the museums, and argues that they are amongst many other heritage settings, currently in the "business of attracting tourists" subsequently many examples today have souvenir shops, dining facilities, and state of the art technology to enhance visitor experiences. The research provided by Dicks (2003) highlights the varying ways and methods used in heritage/cultural settings to engage with the public and fills an important void in the research.

Similar to the work of Dicks (2003), Gouthro and Palmer (2010) critically review industrial heritage and mining tourism through a case study analysis of the Big Pit in Wales

and Cape Breton coalmine in Nova Scotia, with regard to their transition from sites of industry to tourist attractions. Gouthro and Palmer (2010, 4) present the case that mining attractions are particularly unique in that they are not "traditional" sites which typically attract tourists such as theme parks. However, comparable to the conclusions drawn by Dicks (2003) such locations with scars of their industrial past, along with the landscapes, traditions, and cultures of mining communities should be preserved before it vanishes, as they portray the history of a nations past. A key argument provided by Gouthro and Palmer (2010, 5) is the notion of pilgrimage, which was initially proposed by Bauman (1996) with regard to liquid modernity and the continual transitions of identity, which play an essential role in the way a person conveys themselves to others, which can be linked to Cooley's (1998) theory of the looking glass self, whereby individuals define themselves within the remit of their socialisation, and through such interactions, unintentionally, an identity is created based upon the perceived image believed by others.

Bauman's (1996) research suggests that an individual can be positioned within a number of categories, these being: pilgrim -a person on a journey, who knows their destination but is unsure of when they will arrive, vagabond -also an individual who is transient and on the move, however, they let life guide them rather than creating their own path, stroller -observes others and has a fragile correlation to society in general, player -an individual who remains ahead of others instead of shaping their own identity, and tourist -someone who enjoys venturing out of their daily routine, to travel, explore, learn new things, experience the unknown, while their true identity remains safe at home. The above examples are 'pilgrimages', similar to those of a religious nature, they are not simply a form of identity development, they are identity strengtheners, as visitors and/or participants who

84

share their own unique connections and relationships to the specific site and its history, while enabling them to complete their own past and family connections. Therefore Bauman's (1996), research provides a particularly interesting approach to the study of heritage tourism similar to that of Dicks (2000), which highlights that heritage sites can, in many ways be considered destinations of pilgrimage.

Through examining Baumans's (1996) research it is clear that within the context of heritage participation, volunteers can be considered pilgrims, as generally those actively involved are taking part in scenarios which have familial connections, for example, they visited as children and their interest developed from there and/or a parent or grandparent also volunteered, thus inspiring them to continue. Gouthro and Palmer's (2010, 7) research examines a similar concept and suggests that visitors become pilgrims of heritage tourism as a result of them discovering meanings and connections from the site by making the journey with others, whilst also creating a collective sense of "belonging" and "identity" to a way of life which existed in the 'industrial' past which may have been experienced by their ancestors.

Wallace's (2006, 222) research focuses specifically upon individuals engaged within the North Yorkshire Moors Railway, and by utilising elements of Bauman's (1996) theory provides a compelling analysis of how volunteers within preserved railways may be defined as pilgrims.
The research highlights that volunteers within this particular field, often travel the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, and in some cases, individuals come from all over the world to specifically volunteer for heritage railways ranging from two or three days, or up to months at any one time (Wallace 2006, 222). Pilgrims, within this context, join in, and are

also immersed in a mixed community of full time paid employees and other volunteers, all with unique life experiences and history.

Wallace (2006, 223) further provides a critical analysis of volunteer pilgrims in relation to identity, belonging and community. It is suggested that through conducting such activities, individuals transition in and out of time, whereby they can detach themselves from their everyday identity and become immersed into the volunteer "community". "Working as a volunteer becomes a kind of pilgrimage, in which the baggage of external identity renders itself invisible. It does not matter who or what you are in the outside world; all that matters to the volunteers is what you contribute whilst you are there. It is pilgrimage into a form of religiosity as the railway becomes similar to the "retreat" as the pilgrims seek out forms of peace and contentment" (Wallace 2006, 229).

Wallace's (2006) research into heritage railway volunteering draws upon the notion of non-alienated labour to understand the motivations of those who participate and offer their expertise towards the running of steam/diesel locomotives. Wallace (2006, 220) focuses upon the elements which attract individuals to the preservation of 'heritage' artefacts, which produce emotions of nostalgia, novelty and an 'idealized' view of a bygone era. Wallace (2006, 219) introduces the concept of liminality which refers to a set of experiences which are outside and significantly different from, those experienced in one's everyday milieu. Wallace (2006) states that railway volunteers inhabit a transition from industrial to post-industrial society in which they attempt to recreate what they view as the romanticism of an industrial past.

As Wallace (2006) argues, volunteers often have difficulty in coming to terms with the demand of post-modern existence and what they see as a process of de-industrialisation and the process of de-skilling. Volunteers are modern-day pilgrims through their moving in

and out of different identities and leaving behind experiences in the real world as they seek out the certainty of operating and working in often complex and highly satisfying workplaces (Roberts 2011, 33). Wallace (2006, 230) notes that volunteers must negotiate the negative perceptions often associated with railway enthusiasm and suggests that "to admit to being a trainspotter in a wider social milieu leaves oneself open to high levels of ridicule amongst others". A highly committed and passionate railway volunteer may appear, to many, as intense and dull in their devotion to rail heritage, engineering, and preservation. Taking the railways 'too seriously' can therefore lead to stigmatizing cultural stereotypes of heritage railway volunteers as being far too earnest in their approach to volunteering.

Railway enthusiasm is, according to Carter (2007, 12), a "particular tendency of the British". He estimates that in the mid 1990's approximately 10% of the British population "entertained a significant interest in trains and railways" (Carter 2007,12). It was identified that railway enthusiasm has historically remined the pasttime of the "white males" (Carter 2007, 279). He further suggests that it was the post war baby boomers who led the way in engaging with "trainspotting", model railways, and steam preservation, with very little interest being shown by younger generations, thus railway enthusiasm is facing a decline. Carter's research is "written from within the culture which it seeks to understand," and he creates his distinct habitus by adding that his study describes "a life-world for those unfortunate enough not to live in it" (Carter 2007,10). He identifies areas of railway enthusiasm and examines each in turn, beginning with an account of the rise and decline from 1946 to 2005 of book and magazine publishing dedicated to railway subjects, as well as rail fan societies and clubs.

Carter explores the legal and political attempts to reinstate the Welsh Highland Railway and titled this chapter "Blood on the Tracks", which refers to the judicial reviews,

financial manoeuvres, and in fighting among various groups and supporters of rival steam preservation groups across the last sixty years. Carter's (2007) research highlights the quintessential aspects of mid and late 20th century life in Britain. His accounts of each form of railway enthusiasm, from trainspotting, working as a TTI, to grappling with the fine detail of a model railway layout, reflect the work of Marchant (2003), who concludes that heritage railway volunteers often engage in nostalgic re-enactment, through recreating the romance and glamour of the railways, whilst 'ignoring' the modern reality of often inefficient, dirty, and overcrowded public rail travel in the UK.

Stranglemans (2002, 147-158) research explores the element of the 'Golden Age' of heritage, and the romanticism and nostalgia which accompanies it, through focusing on the auto-biographical accounts of railway workers. The study suggests that the nostalgia which many of the volunteers feel towards the railways manifests itself through encapsulating human life, its' experience, and memories. The railway station as observed by Strangleman (2002, 148) is a gateway through which people pass "in profusion on a variety of missions. A place of motion and emotion, arrival and sorrow, parting, and reunion. Railways are a place of "countless stories, of drama, mystery and adventure".

"Heritage railways are a world in miniature. They are often self-contained, definable, understandable even by attentive amateurs and therefore welcoming to escapists; yet they are ubiquitous, infinitely diverse, complex within their own limits and wrapped in their own mystique. They have their own language, mausoleums, and rustic beauty; they offer majesty and meanness, laughter, wonder and tears" (Strangleman 2002, 147). Very little of this can be seen in the modern railways of today, with their typically characterless trains and homogenised services, and it is this which Strangleman (2002, 147) suggests is key to the nostalgic and romantic experience which many volunteers actively seek.

Davis Smith's (1994) research provides a particularly comprehensive historical account of the progression and transition of volunteering. The analysis, illustrates that during the 19th century, voluntary societies increased dramatically, including, for example, the creation of the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), and the Salvation Army who used volunteers to fulfil their main aim of helping those in need. The late 19th and early 20th century saw the development of the student activisms groups, Brewis (2014) indicates that "rag" fundraising became an important element of student life during the 1920's-30's, with a focus on helping local charities, hospitals, and the prevention of cruelty to animals, this form of volunteering remains prominent within the environment of universities today.

Brewis (2014, 14) further discusses developments from the 18th century to the present day regarding political angles, specifically the notion of "big society". The idea, developed in the early part of the 21st century by the Conservative Party and, subsequently used in their 2010 general election manifesto, aimed at creating an environment, which strived towards empowering communities and local people, to ultimately create a "big society" which would redirect power from politicians and redistribute it to the people. Whilst many have favoured the idea of a "big society", it has a number of disadvantages, the most prominent being that the concept of "community" may not entirely exist in the traditional sense of the term, for example, on a rural village level it may work, whereby typically the residents form tight knit associations. However, a concern is, would it work in a similar vein on an inner-city housing estate, where very little interaction takes places between neighbours or individuals.

Regarding volunteering for heritage railways, they have fascinated people of all ages for generations. This has been capitalised upon by the film industry for example the *Titfield Thunderbolt, The Railway Children, Harry Potter, The Polar Express, and Around The World in*

Eighty Days, along with television programmes such as *Thomas the Tank Engine* (Burman and Stratton 2013, 2).

Conlin and Bird (2014, 42) critically examine the role railways and trains play within literature, it is debated that steam travel is depicted as being romantic and mysterious with "wreaths of smoke, mysterious small compartments, and a loud whistle warning of danger (Conlin and Bird 2014, 42). With regard to Conlin and Bird's (2014) analysis, a focus is placed on children's books, therefore while very compelling, further research could examine its portrayal in literature/film across all genres, for example, the *Bridge Over The River Kwai* is based upon the construction of the Burma railway during World War Two, or *The Murder On The Orient Express* by Agatha Christie.

It is evident that there is a substantial market for luxury heritage train travel. The Venice Simplon Orient Express has a particularly interesting business model, which places a focus upon high quality luxury travel, dining and service. By conveying an atmosphere of glamour and decadence associated with the 1920's art deco period, travellers can be transported back in time to the "golden age" of train travel. The Orient Express train played vital roles in many novels including Bram Stockers *Dracula* and featured in films such as *From Russia with Love.*

Approximately 280 Orient Express journeys were made during 2013, with seat prices ranging from £240 to £495 for a three to five hour trip, with one of the most popular destinations being the London to Venice via Paris route which costs in excess of £3,660 per person for a period of two nights (Fontana 2000).

An interesting aspect is the depiction over time, from the 19th to early 20th centuries which view stories of train travel as an exciting adventure (Liew and Pang 2014, 131). full of glamour, danger, fun, and surprises, whilst paradoxically also being stable and reliable. In

contrast, during the mid 20th century it is noted that the transition is made to a view of nostalgia being worthy of preservation, with tourists searching for authenticity of the past, while faced with rapid changes. Today, it is suggested that steam locomotives have undergone another dramatic development in terms of their portrayal within children's novels, they are now seen as the gateway to a magical adventure, for example, as seen within J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* books and subsequent film series which as stated by Conlin and Bird (2014, 51) describes the *Hogwarts Express* as a "gleaming scarlet steam engine…with clouds of steam billowing from it, through which the many Hogwarts students and parents on the platform appeared like dark ghosts".

Industrial heritage is particularly appreciated in Europe, it entered public debate in the UK during the demolition of the Old Euston Station. Britain pioneered steam engine technology since the early 18th century, when the first "modern" railway with regular services opened in 1825 between Liverpool and Manchester. It is suggested by Burman and Stratton (2013, 7) that Britain leads the heritage railway industry, with its presence in Westminster through the All Parliamentary Group.

The closure of many railways during the 1950's and 1960's resulted in the development of the preservation movement, initially with the re-opening of the Talyllyn and Ffestiniog railways.

Burman and Stratton (2013, 5) provide a highly detailed account of the transition made from the substantial decline in the use of steam engines in Britain, and the surge in interest from enthusiasts to protect what remained. An important aspect noted within Burman and Stratton's (2013, 6) research is the view that the movement has become one of Britain's most successful post war accomplishments, and the most remarkable

manifestations of voluntary engagement that has ever been seen in this country, with numbers of activists far exceeding 20,000.

The substantial growth of railway preservation is illustrated with great detail in Hewison's (1987) study of correlations between specific heritage forms and deindustrialisation. Similarly indicated by Burman and Stratton (2013), Hewison (1987, 4) identifies that the railway preservation movement began in the 1950's in Wales as a result of the purchase of a number of disused railway systems, previously linked to the quarry industry, by dedicated enthusiast groups with the primary objective of restoration, the Ffestiniog, Welsh Highland and Talyllyn railways were the original projects from this movement. Hewison's (1987, 7) historical account provides an in-depth critique of the Lord Beechings 1963 report, and illustrated that whilst the primary task was to make substantial financial savings, in excess of 67,000 jobs were lost, while additionally the document recommended that 6,000 miles of line, predominantly in rural and de-industrialised areas should be closed down permanently, and while protests resulted in some stations being saved, the great majority were closed as originally planned, which had a substantial impact upon residents residing in rural communities, and continues to the present day.

Roberts (2011, 154) provides a particularly interesting historical insight into the development of the Ffestiniog Railway regarding the Welsh language. The research by Roberts (2011) focuses upon and examines the often uneasy relationship between locals and non-Welsh volunteers, indicating that the hostility expressed by local people in the 1950's towards the rehabilitation efforts, and the fact that 'very few Welsh speakers were part of the voluntary effort to save and restore the Talyllyn and Ffestiniog Railways'. In the case of the Talyllyn Railway, Roberts (2011) concurs with Marks (1999, 202) who asserted that the "language used, the attitudes shown, and the values expressed create an

unmistakable image of an intrusive, patronising, and quasi-racist cabal which was trying to force the local community to accept the return of the railway to Blaenau Ffestiniog". Marks (1999) further argues that the railways are 'narrow swathes of English eccentricity, English people playing with trains, oblivious to, or completely ignoring the Welsh industrial and cultural parts of the railways histories. This aspect is further explored by Hohmann (2002, 22) who states that while many of the items associated with the heritage railway industry are able to tell their own unique story, it is the vital work of the volunteers who keep the railways running and organised, which ultimately shows that there is far more to a heritage railway than just 'playing with trains'.

The Blaenau Ffestiniog branch of the Welsh Language Society focused their protests and concerns on the use of "Festiniog" rather than the Welsh equivalent "Ffestiniog" in the company's name in 1978 at the time of the newly developed route towards Tanygrisiau. It is noted that the protest included seven members of the organisation travelling on the train without any form of ticket, the individuals were arrested and later appeared in front of the Magistrates Court, where it was argued by the Railway Company that the name could not be changed without considerable effort as it formed part of a Parlimentary Act. Roberts (2011, 164) further highlights that the Welsh Language group refuted these claims, and following numerous protests and demonstrations which included various signs being painted, the company changed its name to the Welsh version "Ffestiniog". Roberts (2011, 164) indicated that at the time, many local people and Welsh speakers viewed this event as an indication of the gap between the railway and local communities, very few local people were involved in the restoration of the railway, and as noted by one railway worker at the time, " a Welsh volunteer worker on the Ffestiniog is a very rare bird" (Roberts 2011, 164).

A Heritage Discourse

Heritage discourse changes over time, it is fluid, active and continually shaped by social, political and ideological developments, initially focusing on tangible examples to the present day, which places an equal importance on the intangible. Margaret Thatcher P.M and the Tory Government during the 1980's played a key role in the British heritage and conservation movements. Significant heritage legislation was passed during this time including the National Heritage Act 1980 and the creation of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the "heritage boom" witnessed during this time provided substantial benefits to an economy suffering from mass unemployment. "In a society which has lost much of its manufacturing industry, heritage provides a welcome resource in generating an industry through visitors both from home and overseas. The heritage industry has developed at a time when it has been able to fill a void, provide much needed employment in depressed areas, and regenerate self-esteem and enterprise amongst communities which had lost both" (Buchanan 1989).

The "heritage boom" witnessed during the 1980's was not unique to Britain; a similar trend was also witnessed in both Canada and the United States during the same period. William Morris founded the first preservationist orgnisation in 1877; this was later followed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1920, the Georgian Group in 1937, and the Victorian Society in 1953 (Zumpano 2008, 1). During the 1970's pressure groups began to develop including the *SAVE* organisation, which was created by a small group of architectural historians, journalists and planners, who strived towards protecting historic buildings and monuments from destruction, one of their most significant projects as

noted by Jones (2003) was number 6 Palace Street Caernarfon in 1994 which was due to be

demolished as it was regarded "dangerous" by Arfon Council (now Caernarfon Council). This

building, aside from the castle, is the oldest building in the town, dating back to the

Medieval period, its preservation set an example for Welsh conservation projects then and

now.

While Zumpano's (2008, 1) research initially begins with a cross-comparison of the

United Kingdom and the United States, the main text specifically focuses on British

examples. An analysis focusing on similarities or variations between the two countries

would have provided a wider perspective, however, despite this omission, Zumpano's

(2008) study provides an account of the transitions made with regard to heritage from the

1970's to present day, with particular reference to developments made by Margaret

Thatcher PM and the Conservative Government at the time. During Margaret Thatcher's

election campaign, the slogan "Britain has lost its way" was routinely used in connection to

the aim of strengthening the country following WW2, with the promise being that, if

elected, commercial growth would be reinvigorated, the "stranglehold" of the unions would

be broken, and industry would be privitised (Zumpano 2008, 2).

Thatcher's government passed a number of heritage legislations including the National

Heritage Act (1980) which provided grants to aid in the acquisition of land, buildings or

structures, along with their subsequent maintenance and preservation. The National

Heritage Memorial Fund, also introduced during the same period, acted as a form of

depository for willed properties in lieu of paying estate duties, therefore, following many

years of "socialist taxation policies" this legislation was an important step in a new national

vision (Zumpano 2008, 18). It is further acknowledged by Zumpano (2008, 18-19) that

despite cuts to tax and social welfare programmes, there was a significant increase in grants

and funding to heritage and the arts, along with elevated attendance and participation.

Railway heritage and global perspectives

Today, across the globe abandoned railways are being purchased and restored,

providing a range of benefits to communities, tourists and the economy, they are gaining

increased attention, and many are now considered to be a world heritage site by UNESCO,

for example, the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway, Nilgirl Mountain Railway, and the Kalka-

Shimla Railway in India.

Eastern Europe is a particularly interesting example; in recent years the number of

heritage railways has increased substantially within Russia, Romania, Moldova, Lithuania,

Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary. There is a strong link between volunteers involved in British

heritage railways and their counterparts in Romania, according to Harris (2015) Romanian

volunteers and British railway preservationists are currently working together, combining

their expertise to restore the narrow gauge railway line which runs through the Hartibaciu

Valley in Transylvania. The project aims to replicate the success seen in the United Kingdom

aiming to place Romania on the "heritage railway map of Europe". Stewart (2015, 1129)

discusses that a UK supporters' group (SARUK) for the Sibiu Agnita Railway was created,

they now organise trips to raise vital funds for the railway, (approximately £4,100 has been

raised to date), to provide expertise and advice, along with practical assistance and

awareness. While it is noted by Stewart (2015, 1128) that volunteering remains a novel

concept in Romania, the development of the railway is a golden opportunity to revive an

attraction which is becoming increasingly popular throughout Europe. The primary aims are

to highlight their heritage, culture, and history and to provide a link between small rural

communities/villages and a source of income derived from tourism which is similarly seen regarding the Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland Railways in North Wales.

Heritage railways have grown substantially in popularity during recent years in the United Kingdom, however, this trend has also been witnessed globally in countries including Canada, America, India, Malaysia/Singapore, Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, Russia, Lithuania, Serbia, Sweden, France, Italy, Australia, Vietnam, Argentina, Finland, Switzerland and Slovakia as a result of an increased desire for nostalgia and history. Echensperger (2000) provides an in-depth examination into a case study of German heritage railways, from their initial creation during the mid 1960's to present day. The research highlights that the "museum railway movement's" primary aim was to save rolling stock, sections of line, and stations from demolition. While the number of preservation groups/societies remained low until the mid 1960's, a substantial increase was witnessed during the 1970's to the 1990's, as a result of railway groups becoming independent societies. The increasing importance of preserving the past has become commonplace in modern society, as younger generations view it with curiosity and older generations view it with a sense of nostalgia and novelty.

Comparisons between Germany and the United Kingdom are provided by Echensperger (2000), which indicates that both countries rely heavily upon volunteers to carry out duties such as engine driving, signalling, maintenance, and sales, whilst also employing paid staff within roles such as accountancy and marketing. While there are a number of similar aspects between the two, one significant area of difference is the size and number of the preservation groups in Germany, which are noted to be considerably smaller than their British counterparts, reasons for this are suggested to include less operational steam engines in use, lines are continually being closed in rural areas, many lines are now

being run as commercial enterprises by the state, and in comparison to the UK, preservation groups have favoured the developed of small scale museums in contrast to saving entire railways due to a lack of government funding.

Echensperger's (2000) study highlights that, in comparison to Britain, German preserved railways have a substantially higher number of younger volunteers in their workforce, typically in the age range of 20-35, whilst in the United Kingdom the average age is considerably higher, approximately 50-65 years old. Echensperger (2000) attributes this contrasts to the application of a career path scheme, which allows and actively encourages personal growth. In order to increase the involvement of younger people in this form of activity, individuals are able to carryout any role which appeals to them following on the job training, from engine driving to ticket sales, while jobs such as cleaning are rotational and carried out by volunteers at all levels, while in Britain "low level" roles are typically undertaken by new volunteers which can have a significant impact upon new recruit retainment.

In a similar vain, McGrath (2016) also examines this phenomenon, with a focus on the industries "anxiety" with regard to the "demographic time bomb". It is noted that the volunteers are generally males, with an age range north of fifty. McGrath (2016) states that a point of concern amongst heritage railways and their enthusiasts is a worry with regard to encouraging a younger demographic to volunteer, and the risk of loosing individuals with high levels of engineering experience in very specialised roles such as a boiler smith.

From traditional types of volunteering to episodic and micro forms

The voluntary sector is both diverse and ever changing (Hustinx and Meijs 2011). In recent years, research has moved its focus from a more "traditional" form of engagement consisting generally of highly committed and long-term engagement, to more "current" forms, including episodic volunteering (Hustinx and Meijs 2011). Episodic volunteering is growing substantially as a field of study within tourism, management and volunteerism research; however, it is not a new phenomenon (McNamee and Peterson 2015). For centuries, individuals have been participating in short term projects within their local communities, by way of illustration, helping out at a school sports day or bring and buy sales (Macduff 2005).

Macduff (2005, 29) categorises episodic volunteering into three distinct groups: "occasional" (regular intervals for short periods of time), "interim" (less than six months), and "temporary" (a few hours), within these sub-categories the terminology of "collective" and "reflexive" are used, which refer to community and personal orientations (Macduff 2005, 29). The "occasional" category, with regard to the collective element, can include as a case in point, selling flowers at a church for the annual St David's Day celebrations, while the reflexive aspect can include volunteering as an umpire at a yearly community cricket event. The second category presented by Macduff (2005, 31) is "interim" which includes activities with a pre-determined time scale, the collective aspect can refer to working for two months with a group of parents to re-build an outdoor play area for local children, while in contrast, the reflexive group can include offering oneself up as a student volunteer during the summer holidays at an animal rescue centre. The "temporary" category, whilst similar to the first, places a focus on one-off events, with the collective element being for example, joining

work colleagues to raise money for a charity through a bake sale, or in the case of the reflexive, being a guest speaker at a youth club.

Various themes present themselves within current literature on episodic volunteering including its origin, definitions, links to general volunteerism, its prevalence, and challenges/issues with regard to management. Cnaan and Handy (2012, 29) review this form of participation in relation to rational choice theory, and they suggest that it should therefore be expected that individuals with low incomes would volunteer their time, whereas their wealthier counterparts would donate money, creating maximum output according to their personal endowments, however as Cnaan and Handy's (2012, 29) example shows, issues can often be present.

Focusing on two contrasting occupations, a lawyer who earns approximately £500 an hour and a supermarket cashier earning £7.88 an hour, Cnaan and Handy (2012, 24) discuss that while both individuals have a passion for public gardening, in order to provide maximum impact, the rational choice theory would suggest that the lawyer should work an additional hour, which would hire 50 hours of gardening at £10 an hour in lieu, of personally volunteering one hour, whereas the cashier would maximize impact by donating time and labour. Cnaan and Handy (2012, 29) illustrates that rational choice theory, and the decision to provide time over money, often comes down to personal satisfaction, "the world is not wholly rational, and people find the very act of volunteering satisfying above and beyond the contribution to the production of public goods".

While the term "episodic volunteering" generally refers to individuals who participate in one-off activities or those of a limited duration, a number of issues are present (Cnann and Handy 2012, 37). Providing two hours of free support towards organizing a fundraising party for charity can be considered episodic, however, a concern of Cnann and

Handy (2012) is how would the individual be categorised if they were to return to do the same activity six months later, this shows that while "true" episodic volunteers do exist, in several instances, distinctions are quite difficult to apply in practice.

Micro volunteering as a form of participation is also increasing in popularity (Browne et al. 2013) due to its flexible nature, both on and offline. Activities can range from signing a petition, baking cakes for community events, setting up a Facebook event, or manning a stall at a fair (Browne et al. 2013, 13). Micro volunteering has several strong features, including, being easily accessible, requiring very little planning, it is also flexible regarding convenience and location, and involves no formal agreement (Browne et al. 2013, 14-15). This particular form of participation is also known as micro actions, tasters, ad-hoc, spontaneous and mini-help activities, and covers a wide range of activities, with or without face-to-face interaction (Browne et al. 2013, 19). Technological developments and the increased use of mobile devices such as smartphones, tablets, and laptops have provided individuals with a more flexible and convenient way to participate in comparison to more traditional approaches (Jochum and Paylor 2013, 4).

While this form of volunteering appeals to individuals with limited amounts of free time such as, those in full time education/employment or parents with young children, it can also provide a route for those individuals with handicaps, disabilities, or health issues to contribute, as it enables them to complete small actions for shorter periods of time, such as engaging in online forums or filling in questionnaires (Browne et al. 2013, 14-15).
It is acknowledged that whilst micro volunteering 'draws in' people who would not otherwise participate due to individual circumstances or skill levels, it may also exclude groups if conducted online, such as those who do not have access or knowledge of digital technology (Browne et al. 2013, 36). Micro volunteering activities are a way to reach "those

outside of the civic core", who do not necessarily have an interest in a more structured or formal participation (Jochum and Paylor 2013, 6), although often, individuals move on to more long-term opportunities. Smartphone and web based "apps" promoting volunteering opportunities have increased substantially in recent years, such as, the Orange Network: do some good, Help from home, Brightworks, Sony +U, Snapimpact, Skills for Change, and VocalD app's, which advertise online and off-line volunteering activities.

The key principle behind micro volunteering is the idea that "every little action counts" (Jochum and Paylor 2013, 5), therefore, regardless of the time commitment or scale, each activity is powerful due to its combined impact. Aside from the strong result of collective action developed through this form of participation, it is also important to highlight the impact of small individual actions or "random/informal acts of kindness", which have a dual benefit, both for the donor and the recipient (Browne et al. 2013). Volunteering is often dependent upon individual circumstances and personal preferences, therefore the increase in participation within episodic, reflexive, and micro forms of participation, can reflect the changing ways in which people engage due to complexities such as gaining an adequate work life balance, family commitments, and employment (Browne et al. 2013).

A serious leisure perspective

There have been several attempts at defining leisure. Stebbins (2011, 4) defines leisure as an "uncoerced activity engaged in during free time, which people want to do, in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way (or both), use their abilities and resources to succeed at this". The concept of free time is, time that is spent away from more mundane obligations (Stebbins, 2011, 4). In many cases, the concept of free choice is applied, in the sense of

uncoerced action. However, Stebbins (2011, 4) suggests that this is not applicable in the case of leisure: choice is not completely free, but usually hedged with various conditions. Therefore, leisure can be categorised, although not in the sense that an individual is not coerced or encouraged to do, but according to the type of activities that are completed. These are characterised according to the type of activity and the benefits that accrue from them.

Stebbins (2011, 1) states that the 'serious leisure' perspective is one that synthesises three main forms of leisure: the serious leisure, casual leisure, and project-based leisure. Serious leisure is defined as follows: "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling that, in the typical case, they launch themselves upon a (leisure) career centred on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge and experiences" (Stebbins, 2011, 5).

Leisure may be considered to constitute three types: amateur pursuits, hobby activities and career volunteering (Stebbins, 2011, 6). In some cases, the amateurs are counterparts to a professional contribution such as in music, in other cases, the amateur approach has no professional counterpart, such as in model-making. Stebbins (2011, 6) states that a "professional should be distinguished in terms of someone who is dependent upon the income that is made from a specific activity. This distinguishes them from those who have little or no remuneration from the leisure". However, this does not strictly delineate some leisure pursuits, that do not earn enough or are not reliable enough to be categorised as professional yet do represent an effective form of leisure. For example, several amateur craftspeople or musicians may make a welcome contribution to their income from their leisure, but this does not necessarily contribute an income that they

depend upon. Although the standard at which they participate in their chosen leisure activity may be to a standard that is comparable to a professional level.

Stebbins (2011, 11) suggests that serious leisure is defined by six qualities or characteristics. Firstly, there needs to be an element of perseverance, and the positive feelings that come from perservering. The second quality involves the pursuit of a leisure career, which is affected by various contingencies. Stebbins (2011, 11) counters the notion that the term of a 'career' should only apply to occupations that can defined more generally in terms of being substantial, complicated roles, such as those in work or leisure, or even in interpersonal relationships. Thirdly, serious leisure requires significant personal effort, and this will involve training, and experience. The fourth feature of serious leisure is that the leisure activity will result in durable benefits or broad outcomes, such as self-actualisation or enrichment (Stebbins 2011, 11). The fifth element is that the serious leisure context includes a unique ethos and social world. The final aspect involves an attractive personal or social identity. This is not necessarily true of all serious leisure pursuits: a runner may enjoy running and conform to most of the elements but resist the social identity as a runner. In contrast, casual leisure is defined as immediately and intrinsically rewarding, a short-lived activity that requires little or no specialist training to achieve (Stebbins 2011, 11).

Multiple concepts of volunteering

Volunteering has been examined by Cnaan et al. (1996, 364), who argued that the term is used frequently in denoting non-salaried service and argues that it lacks a clear and coherent definition. Ellis and Noyes (1990, 4) define volunteering as acting 'in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit,

going beyond one's basic obligations. This demonstrates that there are several underlying factors that contribute to the definition of volunteer.

By reviewing the different approaches to volunteering in the literature, Cnaan et al. (1996, 380) suggest that there are four dimensions that are common to most concepts of volunteering. The first identifies a volunteer in the sense of an adult who offers their time, who helps people not previously known to them, and receives no remuneration. The second dimension is of an individual who performs an uncoerced action without remuneration, but might also gain personally from the action, although the contribution to the activity is of a higher cost than the benefit obtained (Cnaan et al., 1996, 381).

The third concept of volunteering refers to a volunteer in the sense of someone who gives up his or her time to avoid a negative situation or is required to volunteer in activities such as jury service; this might also be applied to volunteering for military service (Cnaan et al., 1996, 381).

This review of the literature indicates that some conceptions of the term volunteer includes a degree of coercion, or a sense of obligation attached to the volunteering process (Cnaan et al., 1996, 381). However, although Cnaan et al. (1996, 380-1) identify a number of different definitions of what constitutes a volunteer, this does not refine what is meant by the term or help refine the concept. Nonetheless it does offer a range of conceptual insights into what is meant. Furthermore, Cnaan et al. (1996, 381) identities an important factor in the notion of net cost as applying to volunteering: the higher the amount of work done, everything else being equal, it is more likely that the person will be perceived or categorised as a volunteer.

There are also factors that are associated with the volunteer's status.

Certain activities may be actually expected by the person's status, and so might not be accepted as constituting volunteering. A doctor can be perceived as volunteering if working in a charity shop, rather than addressing a professional meeting (Cnaan et al., 1996, 382). Sixsmith and Boneham (2003, 47) note that volunteering appears to be highly contested, deriving from a middle-class notion of helping those less fortunate than oneself, and note that 'popular preconceptions of the volunteer include being female, older, religious, affluent, middle aged, well meaning or sometimes interfering.' Sixsmith and Boneham (2003, 47) also note that people's reasons for volunteering may have less to do with a sense of altruistic do-gooding and is perhaps more concerned with caring for 'known others' together with capacity building, empowerment and emotional situations.

Volunteering for socially excluded groups, provides for people to have the opportunities to improve their own lives as well. Therefore, according to Sixsmith and Boneham (2003, 48) volunteering may be associated with the desire to improve social capital. Social capital is defined by Putnam (1995, 67) as 'features of social organisation, such as networks, norms and trust, that facilitate co-ordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.' Therefore, volunteering may not produce an economic benefit, but will nonetheless offer volunteers significant benefits other than those which are simply economic.

A life course approach

Early life and childhood, along with the influence of family, specifically parents, is seen as the initial stage within a life course which quantifies an individual's approach to volunteering (Eisenberg et al. 2006, 150). Parents who are actively involved in volunteering

are often seen to encourage, and act as role models for the next generation of volunteers, and those who have strong family ties and connections, are the most likely to participate well into adulthood (Duke et al. 2009, 166-167). In addition to the influence of family, education, through the engagement in extra curricular activities, serves as a further influence on participation, for example, individuals are more likely to volunteer in adulthood if they took part in activities such as sports societies, drama club, or the student council during their schooling (McFarland and Thomas 2006).

Stable patterns of volunteering are generally developed during "mid life", at which point individuals have typically settled into "adulthood" regarding work and family, which "build up their stake in community affairs" (Flanagan and Levine 2010, 160). Clear patterns of volunteering are evident across the life course, as often, participation declines or fluctuates because of certain life stages, however levels appear to peak during the ages of 45-50 as family obligations are reduced, associated pressures decline and the preparation for retirement begins (Flanagan and Levine 2010, 163).

The meaning of volunteerism on a personal level can alter and change over time. It denotes various things to different people, depending upon their own personal social, cultural and political positions (Lukka and Ellis 2001, 105). In later life, it is often seen as a way to pass on skills, knowledge and experiences to future generations, or as a way in which to keep active after the termination of full time employment (Warbuton and Gooch 2007). However, it is shown that there is a strong link to continuity theory, in that individuals often maintain their volunteering activities over time, and thus for many people, volunteerism within retirement is an extension of their participation within other life stages. Griffin and Hesketh's (2008) study of employees and retirees within three organisations identified that individuals were more likely to have considered participating in voluntary work after

retirement, if they had enjoyed their work and enjoyed being occupied. It is further shown that people who have been made redundant, or experienced mandatory retirement, also have elevated desires to engage, predominantly as a way to substitute their work (Griffin and Hesketh 2008).

Post-retirement work or "bridge employment" (part-time or casual) is becoming increasingly important (Weckerle and Shultz 1999). On an individual level, it can provide a continued routine, a way in which to extend their social network, and can enhance well-being (Herzog et al. 1991, 226). Each of these aspects is of significant benefit as life expectancy is increasing, and the trend to take early retirement is growing, this means that now, individuals are spending longer periods of time in retirement, and volunteering can be a way to provide continued levels of satisfaction (Shultz 2003).

Characteristics of preserved railway volunteers

McGinnis et al. (2003, 6) suggest through a review of gender participation and volunteering, that notions of masculinity and femininity are not clearly defined. Their study demonstrates how certain activities can be categorised and placed under specific gender labels, for example, bike riding, playing tennis, running, skiing, and swimming can be considered "neutral". While skateboarding, surfing, rock climbing, kayaking and fishing are viewed as more "masculine", activities such as shopping, arts and crafts, walking, and aerobics are considered "feminine".

When profiles of heritage volunteers are cross compared against those who engage in community groups for example, Rhoden et al. (2009, 23) argues that demographics vary substantially depending upon the form of activity. Rhoden et al. (2009) reflects upon data

provided by the National Trust, and highlights that a high proportion of participants (52%) are over the age of sixty five, therefore, illustrating that there is a strong older representation of participants in museum, historical building and heritage attractions. Rhoden et al. (2009, 23) suggests that heritage volunteers in terms of transportation, preserved railways for instance, are typically male, retired, and white Caucasian due to the gender preferences of the subject matter. The survey shows that there is a distinct relationship between subject area and gender. Art museums had a male to female ratio of 25:75, historical museums 60:40, and science museums 72:25, while the National Trust reported that their ratio was 50:50 and therefore gender neutral.

Mattingly (1984, 40) highlights that this variation can be attributed to gender differences in terms of the form of organisations which attract volunteers, as seen in fact that men were more inclined to participate in sports clubs, and re-enactment groups while women, in contrast, were more likely to engage in social welfare groups, historical gardens and property conservation. Aside from gender, location is also a feature within volunteerism literature, as illustrated, by Mattingly (1984) who suggested that volunteers often live large distances away from the hub of their involvement or group, and therefore display a considerable commitment to their role, by being willing to travel substantial distances to carry out their work. Mattingly's (1984) research identifies that approximately 39% of individuals questioned through a survey of volunteers, stated that they regularly travelled more than ten miles, and although eligible, only 43% claimed out of pocket expenses.

The heritage sector is an anomaly within the general volunteering sphere, as it has evolved differently in contrast to other organisations (Holmes 2002). Through cross comparing volunteers and the form of activities in which they participate in, Holmes (2002) suggests that, with regard to the heritage industry, the over fifty five and retired groups

participated at a substantially higher rate. This is expanded upon by Lynn and Davis-Smith (1992) who suggest that generally, across the sector, approximately 43% of volunteers are over the age of sixty and permanently retired. This highlights that there is a bias towards the recruitment of older individuals, as an increasing number of activities are scheduled for the period covering 9am-5pm during weekdays. Lynn and Davis-Smith (1992) further discuss that as a result of this, it is challenging for individuals who are currently in full time employment to take part, additionally, as a result of the demand for weekday volunteers, young people also have significantly less opportunities to participate.

Currently, as noted by Rhoden et al (2009) there has been a lack of academic research into the area of participation and associated motivation regarding heritage transport, although volunteers have started to gain sociological attention in recent years the focus has been placed generally on m5useums, historic properties and the National Trust. A gap remains regarding participation and motivations in heritage railways. Rhoden et al (2009) considers volunteers to be an essential element in maintaining the long term operations of heritage activities, to enhance tourist experiences as a result of their enthusiasm, and to provide specialist skills and knowledge. Whilst it is acknowledged by Rhoden et al (2009, 22) that very little data is available upon volunteering records, it is further suggested that during the years of 2006 and 2007, approximately 476,000 individuals participated in heritage activities.

Rhoden et al (2009, 23) indicates that while 97% of volunteers are generally happy and content with their role and associated activities, there are occasionally drawbacks to volunteering including a lack of organisation, too much bureaucracy, out of pocket expenses are not always reimbursed, their work is not always appreciated, they sometimes have to carry out work which they don't particularly enjoy, interest is occasionally lost, time

commitments are too long, and they are sometimes unable to cope with the demands placed upon them.

The varied motivations for volunteering

There are a number of broad explanations for people's likelihood to volunteer. These might include an emphasis on the benefits that come from volunteering such as social status or esteem, the personal benefits acquired, such as the development of new skills, or an emphasis upon personality traits that indicates that some people are more likely to volunteer than others because they are more psychologically inclined towards altruistic behaviour. Explanations of volunteering can include the theory of planned behaviour, which is explored by Ajzen (1991, 79-181) and involves the perspective that volunteering constitutes a rational decision by participants, reflecting subjective norms and past experiences. This does not tend to take into account social or demographic variables as predictive, and was explored by Warburton and Terry (2000, 245-251) who examined the intentions of a random sample of people aged between 65 and 74 in Australia. The inclination to volunteer predicted the subsequent volunteer behaviour (Warburton & Terry 2000, 255). Volunteering was also more likely to be perceived as offering a range of benefits by these groups (Warburton & Terry 2000, 255).

Wilson (2000, 215) argues that there were two approaches that might offer explanations of volunteering. The first is the subjective approaches, in the sense of relying upon the individual's own motivations, norms and values. Wilson (2000, 215) suggest that these are weakly associated with volunteering, and the values do not necessarily show what makes individuals more susceptible as volunteers, much as it indicates what meaning volunteering holds for volunteers. Wilson (2000, 215) therefore proposes that volunteering

might be better observed through behaviourism, in that it could be understood as a rational choice, made after considering the costs and benefits. Resources available and the existence of an alternative income can contribute positively on the decision to volunteer (Wilson 2000, 215).

Personality traits may play an important role in predicting volunteering. According to Carlo et al. (2005, 1293-1300), the traits of resilience, extrovertism, low levels of neuroticism and self-efficacy are all associated with a likelihood of volunteering. Perry et al. (2008, 445-451) also note that levels of altruism in a personality are likely to result in higher rates of volunteering. Furthermore, it is also argued that any prosocial motivations may be strengthened by the process of volunteering, thus producing a self-reinforcing pattern. The focus upon personality traits provides an important insight into the demographics and types of people who may volunteer, however this research does not fully address the extent to which such traits may find alternative expressive outlets other than volunteering. The availability of volunteering, and the contributory factors such as the social capital gained, may contribute more effectively to this process.

Clary and Snyder (1998, 157) propose an inventory that can identify the functions that volunteering holds for participants. This includes prosocial values such as a desire to gain more knowledge, learn new skills, and pursue career goals. This approach has also been adopted by Einoff and Chambre (2011, 302), who have attempted to create a model that combines all the different approaches to volunteering, including those concerned with personality traits, underlying resources and background, and argue that there is validity in each approach: a substantial proportion of the variation in volunteering is demonstrated by each broad grouping of the variables as resources, social factors, or personal traits. Einoff and Chambre (2011, 307) argue that the variables that are used in surveys will tend to

measure the effects of different factors; for example, social integration and social roles might have independent effects upon volunteering.

Questions surrounding why people offer their services have attracted significant attention within volunteering literature. This is explored from many different perspectives, including economics, which suggest that the decision to volunteer is based upon the weighing up of the associated costs and benefits, as seen in the rational choice theory by Cornish and Clarke (1987), who assume that an individual will only take part/engage in an activity if the potential benefits are anticipated to outweigh the costs.

Being asked to participate is the most widely cited reason for engagement (Putnam 2000), and this aspect is explored within Adler and Goggin's (2005) study of retired individuals in the United States of America. The research highlights that 84% of participants who were asked to volunteer, responded positively and ultimately decided to engage (Adler and Goggin 2005). Social pathways into participation are crucial, and "even highly motivated people are unlikely to volunteer unless they are asked, and people with little motivation might agree to do so if they are constantly badgered by friends to give some of their time" (Musick and Wilson 2007, 50), the "mere fact of being asked to volunteer, greatly increases the likelihood that people start to volunteer" (Penner 2004).

Masculinity, gender and volunteering

Volunteering may be seen as gendered in three ways: the process of volunteering itself may be gendered, the activity may be gendered, and the stereotypical view of volunteers may be gendered. Boneham and Sixsmith (2003, 47) argue that gender plays an important role in a decision to volunteer, and can determine the kinds of activities that

participants felt able to comfortably engage in. From discussions with various volunteers, the results indicate that women were more likely to take pleasure in volunteering compared to men. Boneham and Sixsmith (2003, 53) suggest that notions of masculinity, work and identity were associated with the way in which volunteering was constructed as 'work' and was linked to the participants' identity as working men. In this context, volunteering was a potential threat to masculine identities, whereas for the women it constituted an extension of their caring roles (Boneham & Sixsmith, 2003, 58).

Spracklen (2013, 177) notes that it is not simply masculinity that is associated with volunteering, but certain underlying characteristics such as ethnicity; some volunteering activities, particularly those involving outdoor leisure, are largely preserves of western world individuals. Indeed, such perspectives of volunteering may have origins in the interpretation of colonial identities, and the perceived masculinity of the officials who volunteered for colonial service. It may also be associated with the concept of military service. However, it is less connected with the notion of volunteering in terms of charity, which is seen as more closely linked with a female social role, in terms of an extension of the 'caring role' (Spracklen 2013, 177).

The nature of volunteering activity might influence whether it is gendered. Gender has been found to have a significant positive effect upon volunteering in sport, with a number of studies indicating that in this case, male volunteering rates are considerably higher than female rates (Davis-Smith 1998, 3). This indicates that there is a significant male bias in volunteering in sport, and thus reflects the male bias in organised sport participation. In sport, young people provide the majority of volunteers, with the next most likely group being those aged between 35 and 59. The fact that age has an important impact upon volunteering in sport suggests that there is limited potential for a unified theory that ignores

the type of activity that takes place. Sports volunteering is more likely to require physical activity, and thus limits the likelihood of volunteering in older age.

Volunteering and its connection to retirement

Smith (2004, 56) suggests that in the USA at least, volunteering is seen as a natural and valuable part of retirement. There have been attempts made to increase the time spent by retired Americans in volunteering (Smith 2004, 57). Retirees may often find themselves with much stronger social capital to be gained from volunteering and stand to benefit from increased social integration that volunteering produces once the society of work has been lost. There has also been an increase in the number of elderly citizens volunteering since the 1970s (Goss, 1999, 408). However, this does not necessarily mean that there is an increase in the proportion of the retired community volunteering, and it has been argued that retirement is not necessarily associated with higher rates of the practice (Smith 2004, 58). Despite this, many non-profit organisations actively pursue retirees as sources of volunteer labour.

A life course perspective may offer an insight into the role that volunteering can play in the lives of older adults after retirement. The key elements of the life course theory are that the prior experiences of an individual will shape their life choices and transitions, and the social meaning of a particular event – including retirement – is an important part of how such experiences affect people's attitudes. Finally, the location of the event within an individual's own experiences of work and leisure will determine how important it is. According to Smith (2004, 59), the meaning of retirement has changed its social meaning and become more individualised as a life transition. Smith (2004, 59) suggests that one way

of understanding the role of volunteering depends upon the relationship between what influences the 'dynamic interplay between perceptions of volunteering and retirement.' Smith (2004, 61) argues that the factors that will predict the volunteer behaviour in later life will also predict the perception of volunteering in terms of an appropriate activity to be pursued in retirement.

Although retirees may not volunteer at a noticeably higher rate than working-age individuals, those that perceive it in positive terms are more likely to volunteer. Burr et al. (2005, 247) attempted to examine whether informal caregiving among older adults was related to former volunteering and so was considered a natural development of previous attitudes. This involved suggesting that caregiving should be distinguished from volunteering, because it would be undertaken in private and to a specific individual usually known or related to the caregiver. This supports the view that caregivers were more likely than their non-caregiver counterparts to become volunteers, and this may also indicate that volunteering is gendered (Burr et al., 2005, 247).

In terms of perceptions, volunteering is often seen to represent an extension of a desire to care for others, and is therefore gendered (Burr et al., 2005, 247). This may indicate that engagement is based upon a perception of a specific set of activities, and that volunteering encompasses many other activities, such as sports coaching, which may not be automatically defined as 'volunteering' in the first instance.

The stereotype of volunteering being a natural part of the life course is also subject to challenge, with it not necessarily constituting a natural extension of the increased capital of free time and no need to receive financial compensation. Erlinghagen (2010, 603) also supports the view that the effects of retirement upon volunteering can be significantly exaggerated, even though there are expectations that conditions will be particularly

favourable at this stage. As shown by Smith (2004, 61) in the American context, Erlinghagen (2010, 607) demonstrates that in the German context, the likelihood of volunteering after retirement can be over-exaggerated. For Haas (2013, 1374) the volunteering of retirees can vary by context, and for British retirees in Spain, volunteering constitutes a significant part of their post-retirement life abroad.

However, for these individuals in particular, volunteering constitutes an important part of adapting to a new life-style and might be considered as a part of the transformative expression of the migrants' cultural bifocality, showing an emphasis upon what the migrants consider to be an important feature of British community spirit (Haas, 2013, 1395). This could suggest that encouragement might come from the social and cultural context in which the individuals find themselves. Seaman (2012, 245) argues that for women who are expecting to retire, their interest in volunteering is concerned with the personal benefits that are brought by volunteering, and their interest in volunteering will not be based upon altruistic benefits but focused upon personal ones.

Volunteering in retirement has been considered of significant interest: Sherman and Savit (2012, 1363) suggest that it has an impact upon the social costs of retirement, and older people draw on the potential to contribute to production. Sherman and Shavit (2012, 1360) further explore the life-cycle perspective in explaining retirement and suggest volunteering can be shown to have a contribution to wellbeing for those later in life. Sherman and Savit (2012, 1364) indicates that an increase in unpaid work takes place as a way of increasing participants' present consumption of the non-pecuniary benefits of work. Work thus carries a consumption value and is carried out for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons. The intrinsic motivations constitute a number of psychological and social benefits

(Sherman and Savit, 2012, 1365). Building friendly relationships in work offers significant benefits, and this increases the benefits over the economic value that work offers.

Komp et al. (2012, 282) suggest that age is sometimes used as a direct explanation for why individuals engage as volunteers. According to Komp et al. (2012, 282), some 'researchers… find it so self-evident that they do not explain the mechanisms behind it.' However, Komp et al. (2012, 282) suggest that the findings of investigations into this phenomenon tend to produce contradictory results. Komp et al. (2012, 282) suggest three ways in which age might be associated with volunteering: it might change the behaviour of individuals. Disengagement suggests that individuals often withdraw from social activity in order to prepare for older age, but this is limited to social interactions that are not considered to be emotionally significant. Therefore, this indicates that volunteering should decline with age.

A second potential explanation is that age can reflect different logistics, and there are external effects that can influence how volunteering takes place: the members of a country will observe the same historical events that will make them more or less disposed towards volunteering (Komp et al. 2012, 282). However, this indicates that there might be no gender differences between volunteers, and this is demonstrably not the case. Volunteering has also been given some attention as a part of 'successful ageing' (Youssim et al. 2015, 4). This is usually applied to indicate sustaining an engagement with productive activities.

A resource model of volunteering in later life involves identifying the role of capital or resources to perform productive activities. Older adults with a higher socioeconomic status will demonstrate a higher likelihood to engage with paid and unpaid work. Wilson and Musick (1997, 696) argue that there should be a multi model of capital that is needed to

perform the productive activities. First, this would involve an individual level of capital, in the sense of the resources that individuals will bring to the activity. Secondly, the relational level of social capital refers to any aspect of a social organisation that can be seen as productive leisure. At a cultural level, it can be seen in terms of the attitudes, or knowledge and preferences.

Cultural capital is an important feature of volunteering work but may tend to be overlooked because it might be presumed that it will not be accrued in some contexts and will be difficult to redeem in others. This illustrates how models concerning volunteering tend to focus upon different underlying elements and focus upon the reward structure that comes from each aspect: for example, models considering personal benefits indicate that personal satisfaction is its own reward. However, it is possible that different models apply to different volunteers, and although there is a likelihood for age to be a factor, it contributes to, but does not determine the likelihood of volunteering.

Models connecting volunteering to age must therefore consider a number of factors: older adults may have more time and less need for monetary compensation with advancing age, together with a disposition to seek out volunteering, to replace the social or personal benefits that they may have lost post retirement. However, these factors may also be affected by the personal disposition for volunteering. The social and personal benefits obtained from a working relationship may be obtained in other contexts such as socialising, hobbies, clubs, or other interactions. There is no need for volunteering to obtain these benefits. Therefore, it might seem reasonable to suppose that there are inherent characteristics of volunteering that are associated with the altruistic benefits in that it gives the person a sense of doing good or extending care to others.

This satisfaction, and the sense of giving back, or making a positive contribution to others, would seem to distinguish volunteering from other activities. Furthermore, decisions to volunteer after retirement may also be conditioned by the fact that some activities are likely to be enjoyable or at least fulfilling to the individual concerned, such as teaching. There is less likely to be significant interest in volunteering experiences that offer no pleasure or compensatory factors, even if they offer benefit to others. For example, volunteering in a charity shop may be a pleasurable experience, but volunteering in the sense of unpaid work such as cleaning the charitable premises are less likely to offer such benefits; although this may be conditioned with the sense of attachment to the premises. There is thus a hierarchy of volunteering work that might place it on a higher level than menial work, even though the benefits of both towards the objectives of charity might be substantial.

Intergenerational inheritance of volunteering

Youssim et al. (2015,4) examine the effects of the intergenerational inheritance of volunteering, and notes that although there is significant attention given to the role of critical life course events in discussing volunteering, there has been less concern given to the role of 'family social background' upon volunteering. By drawing on the perspective provided by Bourdieu (1990, 59), the inherited nature of volunteering may be understood in terms of the family culture or dispositions that mean individuals will 'behave in ways meaningful for their native social milieu'.

Habitus is concerned with the patterns of thinking, the perceptions, and understanding of appropriate behaviour. The habitus draws upon experience to ensure that

there is a permanence of practices over time. Inheriting habitus is an important precondition for determining the number of preferences individuals have for example, the cultural milieu of parents may influence music tastes and may serve as a way in which tastes, and appropriate forms of behaviour may be imparted through socialisation, and through a recognition of the benefits that it brings. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to extend this to some patterns such as volunteering, to realise the cultural capital. However, it also has an influence upon volunteering patterns in that it requires the provision of economic capital or resources to perform the tasks themselves (Wilson & Musick 1997, 697).

Family background has a significant influence upon the likelihood of volunteering and demonstrate that individuals who inherit economic and cultural capitals will be more likely to engage in volunteering than those that have a less advantageous background. Wilson & Musick's (1997) study supports the view that different capitals which are or can be transmitted intergenerationally play an important role in allowing for these activities. These may be created during the formative life stage and could be considered in a similar framework to socialisation or social learning theory.

This research might indicate that those who grow up in contexts in which the benefits of an activity are more clearly demonstrable may be more likely to engage at a later stage in their lives. It also may seem reasonable that volunteering is part of the life course if it has been observed in family contexts previously. However, Youssim et al. (2015, 12) identifies some caveats with their approach, in that their data does not allow different volunteering activities to be clearly distinguished. Also, it does not allow the intergenerational communication of volunteering to be clearly examined because they did not hold data on parents' volunteering activities. Therefore, although it seems reasonable to

support, it is part of the underlying influences towards volunteering, the link between parental background and different volunteering practices are not conclusive.

As discussed above, individuals engage in specific forms of volunteering (both traditional and modern) for many different reasons, however, a move in recent years to include a more disembedded relationship with volunteering has occurred, as ever-increasing numbers of individuals are now seeking voluntary activities as a way in which to develop skills and to increase their employability. Many 'older' individuals, participate as a result of a family history, and is regularly examined in relation to the intergenerational transmission nature of volunteering, or as a form of inheritance or tradition which is passed down through families.

While a family history of volunteering for many individuals influences their engagement, Musick and Wilson (2007, 26) highlight that this connection does not always guarantee enthusiasm, and that often, individuals participate reluctantly as a result of a sense of responsibility which they would rather refrain from. Within the family, parents are often the main influencers for political preferences, religion, personal values and habits (Kalil and De Leire 2004, 16), and this can aid in the explanation of why young people, with parents who have volunteered have a higher level of engagement, in contrast to those who have little, if any, history of volunteering.

Family is an important aspect in the engagement of potential volunteers, this can lead to individuals becoming predisposed, particularly during childhood. Early influences often created during infancy can contribute to increased levels of formal participation during later life (Bekkers 2007). Volunteers, who are parents, often reflect upon their children that engagement is a way to "do good in society", by relinquishing aspects of their free time in order to aid and help others, or to contribute to an overall goal. Children and

young people who witness their family volunteering, often become accustomed to the view that personal sacrifice for the greater good has intrinsic value (Bekkers 2007).

The influence of the family on life cycles and participation is emerging as a core concept within volunteering literature, particularly in terms of primary socialisation. The institution of the family provides a significant support structure for participation, as individuals learn how to interact with others in the wider community, through receiving guidance on civic and political involvement, this can often create a sense of "togetherness" (Johnson-Coffey 1997), and as stated by Musick and Wilson (2007, 229), "parents who volunteer are more likely to have children who volunteer", also "prior volunteering affects current volunteering" (Okun 1993, 68). This idea is expanded upon by Wilson (2000) who highlights the impact of influential factors such as parents, and the way in which young adults are often more likely to engage in specific actions if there is a history within their parentage, as they have been exposed to the positivities associated with such involvement, as children often learn from observing, imitating, and modelling their behaviour on others.

Taylor and Pancer (2007, 320-345) examine the relationship between community service and volunteering. This reports upon a questionnaire given to university students who completed a community placement regarding the extent to which they felt supported by their families and friends (Taylor and Pancer, 2007, 322). This indicated that those students who had a more positive and fulfilling experience, were more likely to continue volunteering. Taylor et al. (2012, 201) examines the determinants for volunteering, and how much time is contributed to these activities by individuals volunteering in sport in England. The results indicate that there are significant factors that contribute to the likelihood of volunteering: for example, having children was found to contribute positively to volunteering, despite the fact that it could be argued that this would reduce the time

available for other activities (Taylor et al. 2012, 215). This factor may have contributed to

the lower levels of volunteering for those parents with young children (Taylor et al., 2012,

215). Full time students were more likely to volunteer than other groups. Interestingly,

income or wealth was found not to be a significant determinant of involvement, although

having more disposable free time was found to have a positive impact.

Volunteering and developing a sense of belonging and community

The effect of community upon the likelihood of volunteering may vary. Community

may not be defined in terms of a homogenous geographical region but can constitute

religious or community groups within a specific geographical location. For the purposes of

this study, the term community will be used to defined both the local and volunteer

communities and will be expanded further by the works of Roberts (2011) 'local versus non-

locals' and Wallace's (2006) research on 'pilgrimage'. Regional factors influence the

likelihood of volunteering. However, according to Einoff and Chambre (2011, 299) the

research concerning these factors have produced contradictory results as they depend in

part upon the availability of volunteering organisations. Portney and Berry (1997, 632-636)

identify that racially homogenous neighbourhoods are more likely to have high rates of

volunteering. The effect of a specific community has also been identified by Einoff and

Chambre (2011, 299) note that external events have a significant effect upon volunteering:

for example, individuals infected with AIDS were significantly involved in volunteering in

contexts where there were no other forms of support for victims.

Askins (2015, 461) examines the relationship between conceptions of volunteering

and belonging. Volunteering is seen as a way of contributing to the place, improving

belonging, and strengthening the relationship between social actors. Dallimore et al. (2018, 22) examined the relationship of volunteering to a specific geographical location. By looking at how volunteering takes place within two localities in Wales, they suggest that the ways in which volunteer groups function in these localities involve the provision of space and support, and thereby help individuals to participate in civic projects and public discourses and form the foundation of civil society. Contextual variables that inform volunteering are significant, and the context and the practice can be considered to be closely interlinked. Dallimore et al., (2018, 22) suggests that places which seem superficially similar may produce patterns of volunteering that are significantly very different. The view that volunteering is directed simply at belonging fails to take into account the way in which it can result in a cohesive local volunteering society.

Dallimore et al. (2018, 39) note that in their case study of North Wales localities, contextual variables played an important role in creating the variables leading to volunteering. In Rhos, volunteering was based upon shared association, culture, language and histories, and this can create an exclusive society. In societies such as this, where social mobility may be limited, volunteering can create the opportunities for individuals to gain social status. Within the community of Rhos, individuals who volunteer, often do so as an expression of their inherent sense of belonging, whereas in other locales, they suggest individuals are often obliged to turn to the activity to demonstrate new forms of association and participation such as litter picking or arranging summer fairs. This indicates that there are a number of underlying community-based factors that can increase the likelihood of volunteering. These can contribute to a desire for volunteering even in situations where there is no personal inclination to do so amongst the specific volunteers because the rewards may be substantial.

Volunteering in rural communities

Volunteering in rural communities has been considered from a number of diverse

perspectives. To an extent, there is no substantial distinction between rural and urban

communities, except that there are fewer available volunteers and often fewer

opportunities for volunteering in rural locations. Liu and Besser (2003, 360) suggests that in

many cases, social ties and a sense of community are very important for predicting elderly

involvement in community activities, but that they vary in terms of the engagement.

Kilpatrick et al. (2010, 198) examine the experience of volunteers in rural Tasmanian

communities, and demonstrate the ways in which volunteers might vary in their skill set and

motivation from those in different parts of the world. Skinner and Jospeh (2007, 120)

consider the role of older participants in rural communities and suggest that it has emerged

as an important reflection for resistance of change in such contexts.

Research by the ONS (Payne 2017, 1) highlights that levels of formal volunteering are

consistently higher in rural rather than urban locations, however, due to the population

difference of 81.5% compared to 18.5% (Glover 2013, 2), rural volunteers are often eclipsed

by urban volunteers within the statistics.

Whilst the time devoted to voluntary work is not statistically different between

urban and rural residents, and many of the activities and roles are similar, individuals

residing in rural locations often encounter many more barriers to their engagement in

contrast to their urban counterparts (Torgerson and Edwards 2012, 385). Whilst

transportation issues are often noted as being a key barrier for many adults wishing to

volunteer, the inward migration of "affluent, middle class incomers" into rural communities

often dominate resources, thus making it challenging for young people to engage (Schucksmith 2004, 46).

Crang's (1995) research into Bristol and the surrounding areas identified that "newcomers" into communities often tend to participate in activities, clubs and societies outside of their home county, and that those who were actively involved in local events, community councils and so forth tended to be relatively new to the area, and their participation serves as a way in which to develop a sense of belonging (Crang 1995).

Community life research as a result of increased industrialisation and suburbanisation in the mid 1950's and 60's, has grown as an area of academic interest (Crow 2002, 16). Previous research has focused upon the decline of both rural and urban communities resulting from increased migration, with an emphasis on community residents and "outsiders" (Strathern 1981). Rex and Moore (1967) examined racial variations in relation to community identity. The research suggested that, in this particular context, a sense of community can mean patently differing understandings to different people, and that simply residing within the same locality, does not automatically create a community. Variations amongst locals and "new comers" has been examined in depth by Savage et al. (200, 47) in their study of four suburban areas in Manchester. It was identified that "new comers" into the regions were substantially more inclined to develop a sense of belonging and identification to the area, in contrast to those born and raised in the area. Rex and Moore (1967) examined racial variations in relation to community identity. The research suggested that, in this particular context, a sense of community can mean many contrasting things to different people, and that simply residing within the same locality, does not automatically create a community. Variations amongst locals and "new comers" has been

examined in depth by Savage et al. (2005, 47) in their study of four suburban areas in Manchester. It was identified that "new comers" into the regions were substantially more inclined to develop a sense of belonging and identification to the area, in contrast to those born and raised in the area. Savage et al. (2005, 80) further highlights that while feelings of belonging vary substantially, they centre on a shared "familiarity". However, as Savage et al. (2005, 80-82) notes, a sense of belonging was linked to a commitment to a particular location, in contrast to having been raised there and possessing "historical roots".

The research examined Simmel's (1971) phrase of 'come today, stay tomorrow', which refers to the role of the stranger within society, and how today, in an increasingly mobile and globalised world, the concept of 'elective belonging' has developed. Durkheim (1976) suggested that identity with "place" consists of a collaborative procedure of social labelling and identification. Individuals categorise themselves and others as belonging to different countries, counties, cities, towns and villages. Initial interaction between strangers is often a process of cognitive mapping, giving, and receiving clues that enable participants to gather information which helps them categorise the stranger and make them less 'strange'. Signs are looked for and interpreted (skin colour, accent, expression), questions are asked, to gather as much information as possible. Place is viewed as a substantial social indicator, which suggests degrees of culture, class, nationality, urbanity and so forth. Additionally, place is often correlated to a sense of belonging, linked to sentiments of being at home and comfortable with others, that are similar, and with whom they have shared understandings.

Social identity is a theme frequently referred to within volunteering literature and refers to the understanding of one's self and others (Jenkins 1996, 5), Identities are fluid,

continually change, and transform depending on the situation and environment (Jenkins 1996). Aside from blood and birth, social identity can be created and developed over time, as a result of a number of factors including length of residency, their commitment and contribution to the area (Kiely et al. 2005). Despite birth being the primary factor in creating belonging and identity, it is far more complex, as there must be an element of commitment present in order to be 'recognised' as a member of the community (Cohen 1982, 12). Belonging to a particular location is created through participating within the community, and the extent to which they are considered 'local' ultimately is determined by their attachment and involvement within activities such as organising summer events on the local committee (Cohen 1982).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the literature concerning leisure and volunteering. The notion of serious leisure has been considered and the view that volunteering might be considered as a part of the framework of work has been explored. This thesis works on the theory that heritage railway volunteering is a form of serious leisure, and that the reasons why people engage are diverse and often change over time. The extent to which volunteering is gendered and affected by age is discussed, and the research reveals that although there is a perception that volunteering is something carried out by older and more mature women, this is not necessarily the case; the influence of these perceptions, however, are that volunteering in other contexts are not necessarily defined as volunteering by those who undertake it.

Intergenerational influences upon volunteering in the form of habitus and social learning or socialisation has been discussed, and it seems likely, although not necessary, for a propensity towards volunteering to be formed at an early age. The different contexts in

which volunteering might take place, such as the community influence and the role of rural volunteering, has also been examined, demonstrating that these can have a significant influence with encouraging volunteering.

One issue with much of the current literature focusing on volunteering, is that it is typically based on a quantitative methodology, which often lacks the in-depth analysis and understanding which can be gained by using a qualitative methodology. Additionally, for those literature examples which have adopted a qualitative approach, the vast majority are based outside of the United Kingdom. As heritage railways are a relatively unique sector within the overall volunteering industry, as it is predominantly dominated by men, those of 'working class' backgrounds and typically retired. This research was carried out in order to address the gap which was present in current research.

**CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

Introduction

This chapter is an account of the methods and methodology of the research undertaken as part of this thesis, and will discuss the research design, sampling strategies, participant recruitment, ethical issues, and data analysis. The approach used is an instrumental collective case study analysis of volunteering within the three railway societies, whereby multiple methods of data collection were used in order to provide an in-depth view into volunteering within these particular organisations.

The literature review showed that in-depth insights from the volunteers themselves appeared to be absent in the majority of the current literature, and therefore by adopting an interpretive approach, this research aimed to fill a gap, by providing a first hand account of how the railway volunteers themselves viewed and understood their participation. When comparing the suitability of qualitative and quantitative approaches for this research, a mixed approach was chosen in order to be able to capture the in-depth personal narratives of volunteering which were required in order to answer the research questions of the study, along with capturing the quantitate data, for example in terms of income and ages.

There are two main forms of case studies, these are "intrinsic" and "instrumental" (Stake 1995, 4). The first form refers to the choice to study a case as there is a desire to learn more about the chosen "population". The second form "instrumental" is defined as being a way in which to "understand something in detail", and to gain an "insight into the questions by examining a particular case" (Stake 1995, 3). Within an instrumental case study approach, to become "collective", a number of instrumental cases are used in order to draw conclusions in relation to particular issues or questions (Stake 1995, 6). Case studies are

often conducted on "special" and "unique" cases (Zainal 2007, 1) and, as these railways

societies possess a "uniqueness" in terms of volunteering in comparison to the way it takes

place, generally the instrumental collective case study approach, enables these "unusual"

elements to be examined. As discussed in chapter two, railway societies are in several

aspects, unusual as a case in which to explore volunteering due to their volunteer

demographics, and the intense and serious nature of the participation.

The local authority area of Gwynedd, in rural North Wales, was chosen as the

research setting due to the number of preserved railways in the region (Heritage Railway

Maps 2017). Figure 5 shows the location of all heritage railways which are registered with

the Heritage Railway Association. The heat map clearly illustrates that the greatest density is

within North Wales, shown by the dark orange/red colour of the circle above the region. In

addition to the density of the railways, the choice to focus specifically upon Gwynedd was

further influenced by its many characteristics, including it being in a predominantly Welsh

speaking rural county, consisting of many small villages and towns, with a history of de-

industrialisation following the decline of industries such as slate quarrying, textiles and

mining (National Assembly for Wales 2017, 5).
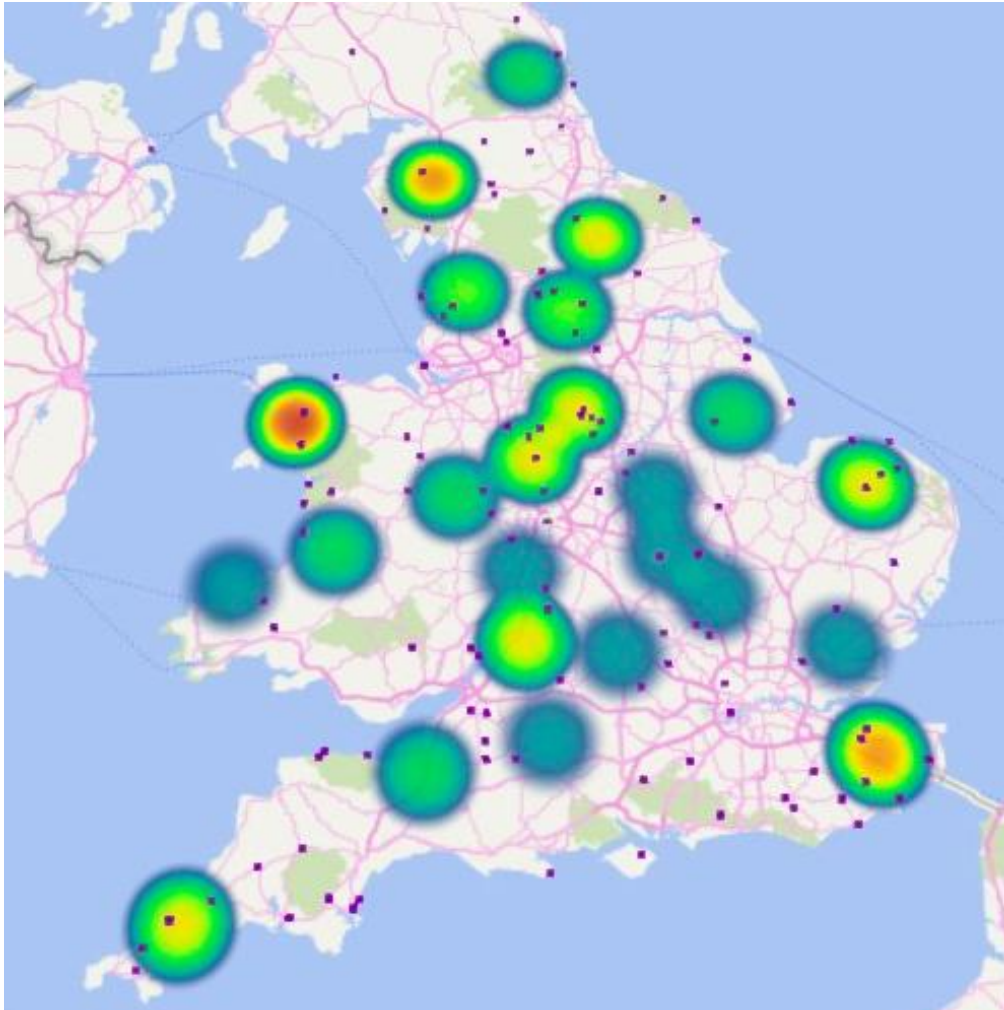
Figure 5. Heat map of heritage railways in the UK (Heritage Railway Maps 2017).

The three organisations comprising the Ffestiniog, Welsh Highland and the Talyllyn

Railways were selected as case studies due to their similarities, although subtle differences

are evident in terms of their origins, history, structure, size and geography (each are located

on the West Coast of North Wales). I decided to choose three case studies for the research

as this was the most manageable, and represented variations in terms of structure,

recruitment, and participant profiles.

During the initial exploratory stage, I made contact with volunteer co-ordinators at

each of the organisations, and upon being granted access to conduct the research across the

railways, meetings were scheduled to discuss the way in which participants would be

gained, and any necessary publicity material, created and displayed. The data collection was carried out between May 2016 and February 2017 with volunteers at each of the three societies. In total, 74 interviews were conducted which ranged from between 30-45 minutes, and 14.5 hours of observations were carried out focusing upon interactions between volunteers at the: Ffestiniog (1hr 20mins at evening events and 5hr 30mins at Spooners café), Talyllyn (1hr 10mins at a gala, 2hrs 50mins at the station café) and with the Welsh Highland (3hr 40mins in the café).

The data analysis stage began in February 2017 and was completed in May 2017, however during this period, data collection and analysis overlapped as the initial findings informed subsequent stages as themes began to develop.

Research design: A collective case study approach

In order to explore the contemporary phenomenon of railway volunteering, this study employs a collective case study approach. Merriam (1998, 19) indicates that a case study design is "employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in the process rather than the outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, and in discovery rather than confirmation". Whilst case studies and ethnography have similarities and overlap in terms of their aim to generate an in-depth understanding, they differ in terms of their overall focus.

Both approaches also have similarities as far as the methods of data collection are concerned, for example, both use observations and interviews. Ethnography studies the culture of a group of people with an in-depth analysis, whilst case studies focus upon individuals, events or phenomena, which are selected for their particularity and are bounded by physical, temporal, social/cultural and conceptual features (Cohen 2003, 284).

Case studies are defined as being "a method of investigation" and an "in-depth exploration of a bounded system, for example an activity, event, process, or individuals" (Creswell 2002, 485). It is this "bounded system" (Creswell 2002, 485) which distinguishes case studies from other research approaches, and the "bounded nature" of these cases reflects how the data was collected, in being bounded by both time and activity. For example, in this research, it was necessary to interview volunteers whilst on their work breaks and at the end of their shifts. This thesis adopts an instrumental case study as the three cases (FFR, WHR and TR) served as an instrument for studying volunteering in relation to preserved railway societies.

Case study research is an "investigation and analysis of a single or collective case" which is employed to "capture the complexity of the object(s) of study" (Stake 1995, 14). This particular approach is used in order to develop a detailed understanding of the phenomenon studied, and the meanings which are connected to it by those involved (Stake 1995, 19). A case study is defined by its focus on individual cases rather than its methods of inquiry (Stake 1995, 13). The choice of methods used is influenced by both the researcher and the case organisations, and utilises "naturally occurring sources of knowledge", such as "observations of interactions" which transpire in the physical domain (Stake 1995, 16). Case study approaches combine "multiple sources of evidence" (Yin 2009, 101), which essentially establishes it as an all-inclusive approach. Yin (2014, 50) categorises the case study approach into four distinct groups, these being a "holistic single-case design with a single-unit of analysis", "a single-case design with multiple units of analysis", "a holistic multiple-case design", and a "multiple case design". Based upon this approach, this study falls into Yin's (2014) fourth category of a "multiple case design".

Within the instrumental approach, each case is treated as an example of the type of "behaviour" being studied, in order to aid in the understanding of the "wider picture" (Stake 2004, 12). More than one instrumental case study can be examined simultaneously, and Stake (2004, 18) defines this approach as a collective case study.

This particular methodology was employed in this study due to a number of factors, these being that the participants in this research are a "specialised group" of individuals, where no ready made sample was available, and many unknown factors were present in terms of both the societies and those involved. In order to gain a deeper understanding of railway volunteering, I decided to incorporate observations as a further method of data collection in addition to conducting interviews.

The original intent of this research was to utilise a comparative case study approach, in order to examine variations and similarities between the three organisations. According to Mills et al. (2010) a comparative case study approach is the analysis and integration of the similarities, differences and patterns across multiple cases which share common characteristics. The purpose of comparative case study approaches is to emphasise comparisons within and across cases (Goodrick 2014, 1), and generally use qualitative methods. As within Ahn's (2017, 14-32) comparative study of volunteer recruitment for the Pyeong Chang 2018 Olympic Winter Games, the focus is placed upon generating a detailed understanding of the cases and its context, and the methods employed within such studies which typically consist of participant observations, interviews, and document analysis. Within this study the comparative case study approach was adopted in order to examine potential variations in terms of the participants experiences, history and their self-understanding/identity.

Using multiple sources of evidence (Yin 2014), including observations and interviews, the comparative case study approach was utilised for the first eight interviews, however as the research into each railway developed, the decision was made to combine this approach with a collective case study methodology, as it would enable a richer vein of data to be collected through combining the organisations for data collection and analysis. Whilst each society brought their own unique dimension to the study of volunteering within the preserved railway industry, there were far more similarities between them in contrast to their differences, and therefore a comparative case study approach alone, would not have generated the detailed analysis required. Three cases (railways) were chosen in order to maximise the understanding of the sample population (railway volunteers).

In determining the number of cases to study, Yin (2009) indicates that when a single case is selected, various issues may be present in terms of generalisability and representativeness. An alternative to this approach is to include multiple cases for analysis, this therefore is often more "robust" and "compelling" (Stake 2006). Following this suggestion, Creswell's (2007, 128) typology of collective case studies, and Stake's (2006, 22) suggestion that a multiple case approach would be limited if fewer than three, or more than ten cases were chosen. I decided to examine the three railway societies indicated above, as this number would "provide ample opportunity to identify themes of the cases as well as conducting a cross-case theme analysis" (Stake 2006, 22).

In addition to the WHR, FFR, and TR railways I had also initially sought access to a further preserved railway in the area however contact was not reciprocated.

An overview of the three cases

Before turning to the data collection, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the cases themselves and the roles which volunteers play within them. An in-depth discussion of the origins of the railways and their management structures are provided in chapter three.

The Talyllyn Railway

With almost 500 volunteers, accurate as of September 2017 (McLlwrick 2017), the Talyllyn Railway is set in spectacular scenery on more than seven miles of tracks, which takes approximately 1 hour to travel from Tywyn to Abergynolwyn. Younger volunteers form part of the societies "tracksiders" gang, which enable young people to participate alongside a supervising adult. The scheme caters for up to 30 youngsters, is open to all junior members of the railway, and activities range from painting, clearing undergrowth, to building footpaths (Talyllyn Railway 2017). The key focus of the "tracksiders" programme is to encourage family participation, to have fun, learn new skills, make new friends, and to encourage the next generation of volunteers. Formed in 1992, the young members group specifically caters for individuals aged between 14 and 25. The group regularly organises social events both on and remote from the railway, and for new recruits, the "trainers" are often young people like themselves. The Talyllyn railway has the highest rate of "younger" volunteers through their development of these programmes.

The Talyllyn Railway Preservation Society is a group of almost 3,700 members, there is no requirement or expectation to volunteer, and many people join the society in order to

support the railway. For those that do participate, the society provides volunteers with an opportunity to actively engage, whilst also arranging activities for the local area groups which are spread across the UK in cities including Birmingham and London.

As with all heritage railways, the Talyllyn Railway has relied heavily on volunteers since its development in 1951, and due to the dedication of the volunteers, the railway is now one of the most successful tourist attractions in the area (Talyllyn Railway 2017). Approximately 20 volunteers are required each day in order to operate successfully, and whilst some key roles are paid positions such as administrative roles, volunteers are essential for the successful and continued running of the railway. Participation is flexible, individuals are free to engage as and when it is most suitable for them, however, the peak volunteering season is between the months of May to September, and as such, volunteering rates fluctuate throughout the year.

The Welsh Highland Railway

The Welsh Highland Railway is the most recent and longest heritage railway in Wales and its origins date back to the 1800's, however following its closure in 1933, it has now been integrated alongside the Ffestiniog Railway. Passing through prominent attractions such as Beddgelert and the Aberglaslyn pass, the railway creates 350 jobs locally, and is a major source of tourism to the local economy.

Formed by a group of enthusiasts in 1961, today the railway is run almost entirely by volunteers, with approximately 450 regular volunteers actively engaged. For young people, the "Young Highlanders" group provides opportunities for young enthusiasts to engage, develop new skills and to pursue hobbies, often alongside their parents or grandparents. Whilst volunteering is an essential part of the railway, paid staff are often employed during

the peak time, although the vast majority of the work continues to be conducted by volunteers. Involvement ranges from driving, ticket inspecting, guarding and administration, however for every one of these there are numerous other society members who assist the railway in different ways, such as running social media pages, arranging events for their local area groups, or fundraising, many of these roles are often conducted remote to the railway.

The Ffestiniog Railway

The Ffestiniog Railway is recognised as being the oldest operational railway company in the world; being founded by Parliament in 1832. The railway has become a leader in preservation and is now one of the UK's top, and one of North Wales's premier tourist attractions (Britain's Finest 2019). The FFR welcomes volunteers from all backgrounds and walks of life, and many participate for days, weeks or months at a time. Some individuals also volunteer across both the Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland Railway. The Ffestiniog railway has the highest number of volunteers across all the heritage railways in North Wales, with a total of 684 (numbers accurate as of September 2017), and whilst the majority of those who engage within the FFR do so out of a desire to participate in lifelong hobbies, in recent years companies and organisations have begun to send their employees to the railway to conduct volunteer work as a form of team building.

Research process

At the beginning of 2016, each of the societies were contacted to begin the data collection. The access provided was two-fold, consisting of informal and formal access, the initial being predominantly gained through informal approaches developed through rapport with contacts made with "senior" volunteers through social media. Through these informal connections, I was granted formal access by each of the organisations volunteer co-

ordinators and supervisors who were paid members of staff and responsible for recruitment, management and training of the volunteers. Upon their agreement for research to be conducted, and for contact to be made, volunteer sampling began, whereby the "target population" of volunteers who met the criteria of being currently active within one of the three organisations could be selected based upon their accessibility, availability, proximity, and willingness to participate (Etikan et al. 2015, 1). The sample gained through this method encompassed a wide demographic, with many of the individuals emanating from distinctly contrasting backgrounds in terms of employment status, age, and life experiences, as it was essential to capture individuals from demographics which were underrepresented. Bryman (2016) highlights that "a large sample is needed in order to reflect the varied population", however it was impossible to interview all the volunteers across the three organisations as the total overall number is in excess of 1,498 (McLlwrick 2017).

The decision to utilise a dual strategy of convenience and purposive sampling was influenced by a desire to interview individuals who were relevant to the research area. These forms of sampling are "non-randomly selected, based on a particular characteristic, and are selected to answer necessary questions about a certain matter or product" (Frey at al. 2000, 14). Other techniques such as random sampling were considered, however as a full list of volunteers was not readily available at each organisation, predominantly due to the fact that some of the volunteers participate as a one off activity, their contact details are not kept on file, and therefore the sampling could be not randomised. Additionally, due to data protection regulations at each railway, the contact details of the volunteers could not be released, as their individual profiles contained personal information.

Purposive sampling is a deliberate selection of research participants due to the qualities which they possess (Etikan et al. 2015, 3). As with convenience sampling, purposive sampling is a non-random method, based upon what needs to be known or examined, individuals are identified who are sufficiently well informed with regard to the phenomenon in question, and are able and willing to provide the information (Etikan et al. 2015, 4). Compared to random strategies which select participants across a wide range of demographics and factors, purposive sampling focuses upon individuals who possess certain characteristics and thus, will be more effective in the research project. In addition to purposive sampling, the convenience method was employed in conjunction due to the number of volunteers who independently offered to participate and were available to take part. This method proved to be particularly successful, as once a few interviews had been conducted, participants recommended that their fellow volunteers should also take part.

Posters were displayed in the "canteen" and other social rooms across the three organisations, however despite the positive feedback gained from the display of the posters, (for example many individuals indicated that the research "sounded interesting", and that they would "like to take part"), only three individuals followed the contact details and requested to take part, therefore as a result, I decided to use the platform of social media to increase interest. The "posts" were placed on the relevant Facebook pages of each railway, similar contact was also initiated with dedicated railway volunteer groups, twice weekly (mainly on Saturdays and Wednesdays) for a period of four weeks, as agreed by each of the organisations. Each "post" contained a brief overview of the research, a request for participants, and contact details for additional information (Figure 6). Upon initial contact, bi-lingual information sheets were sent out, if they then expressed an interest in taking part, consent forms were posted out with a stamp addressed envelope to return once signed.

Figure 6. Example of the Facebook study recruitment posts shared.

The post was posted on seven Facebook groups with high levels of "likes" and "followers" in order to increase the number of individuals who would see the posts, these are shown in Table 7. Twitter was also used to as a means of gaining participants.

Table 4. Number of followers and likes on Facebook pages used to promote the study. Numbers correct as of August 2016.

Facebook page name	Followers	Likes
The Welsh Highland Railway Volunteers	487	483
Welsh Highland Railway Fan Page	124	90
Friends of the Ffestiniog and Welsh Highland Railways	983	883
Ffestiniog Society Insider	4,000	800
Ffestiniog Society	2,358	2,300
Talyllyn Railway	30,000	31,680
Talyllyn Railway Young Members Group	271	272

Social media, specifically Facebook and Twitter (Figure 7) are frequently used by the three organisations (the Welsh Highland and Ffestiniog Railway share social media accounts), and generally serve as an outlet to share photographs, to "retweet" and share posts from other organisations, and subsequently to promote their events and activities. Each railway presents icon links on their webpages for Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook, and through connecting the platforms together the organisations have a strong online marketing and promotional presence which aids the volunteer recruitment process.

Figure 7. Twitter pages for the FFR & WHR (top) and TR (bottom).

In addition to accessing a range of volunteers from various roles, the attempt was also made to recruit individuals across a wide spectrum of ages, genders, and ethnicities in order to capture underrepresented demographics. While the participants are broadly representative of railway volunteers, in terms of these factors (white, middle aged, retired, male), this meant that none of the individuals were from an ethnic minority background, only five were women and relatively few people were between the ages of 20-40. The excerpt below formed part of the management interview stage, and provides an official perspective on the main demographics of railway volunteers:

"Well it's a difficult question really, because everyone is different, but I would say that it is still seen as a male hobby, rather than a gender neutral hobby, I don't think that this will ever change dramatically, and I think this is one of the main barriers. Generally, to be honest, most of the volunteers are male and retired. We are seeing increasing numbers of younger people getting involved. I think that this is down to our children and young people days, these are very popular and help us to engage with youngsters. I would also say that social media has helped a lot too, but as I said earlier it is something that is more appealing to older people really, and that's why you will find more older volunteers than young ones. (….) Since I have been here, I don't think we have ever had any volunteers who were "non-white". It could have something to do with the population of the local area, but I'm not sure. (Pausing) perhaps it doesn't fit into their culture. I suppose, in a way, it's a "Britishy" thing to do, maybe that has an impact on how other people see it.

Volunteering is something that we as British people are brought up with and see

regularly, so it isn't seen as odd, working for free".

Participant socio-demographic information was collected by briefly asking the following

questions (age, nationality, employment status, income, and previous/current occupation)

prior to the interviews beginning. Overall, 69 males, and 5 females took part in the main

data collection phase of the research. Ages within this study ranged from 20 to 75, with

most (n=29) being in the 65+ category. In terms of nationality, 63 individuals defined

themselves as being English, 10 as Welsh and 1 as Scottish, however, 5 participants who

were born in Wales, but raised in England, did not define themselves as being Welsh, as

they did not speak the language. An additional ten follow up interviews were conducted

(Table 8) which focused upon the principal themes identified within the main data collection

phase, plus 6 interviews with members of the management teams were also conducted

across the three organisations. The participants represent many different voluntary

positions across the whole spectrum of the three railways.

Table 5. Number of interviews conducted at each railway.

Railway	Volunteer interviews	Management interviews
Talyllyn	31 (+ 4 follow up)	2
Welsh Highland	14 (+ 2 follow up)	2
Ffestiniog	29 (+4 follow up)	2

As indicated above, 74 interviews were conducted (Table 8) with volunteers across

the three organisations. The decision to terminate the interviews was made due to reaching

saturation point, this stage was identified as the data was analysed as it was collected. Glaser and Strauss (1967, 61) identify saturation point within research as being the point at which the data being collected adds nothing new to the understanding of the research topic, a high rate of repetition occurs, and no additional themes are emerging. The interviews numbered 63-74 did not generate any new themes, and due to this, the interview stage of the data collection process was curtailed.

Data collection

Research design process

Initially, with regard to the data collection phase, semi-structured interviews appeared to be the most appropriate, as there is a degree of flexibility with how questions and wording could be modified, explanations could be given, and as argued by Teijlingen (2014, 14) this method is well suited for "exploring attitudes, values, beliefs, and motives". Whilst this was the initial plan, the choice of data collection methods was influenced by the volunteers themselves, due to their personal schedules, their work demands, and the need for them to be "on call" whilst on their breaks. Two interviews were conducted using a semi-structured approach, however during both interviews, participants had to leave suddenly due to being called back to work.

As the initial approach of the interviews was to develop a conversational style where topics would naturally develop and would potentially take up more time, subsequently, the decision was made to conduct the interviews with a more structured format. Work patterns varied considerably across the three organisations; however they were on average 6-12

147

hours each day (with an hour lunch break and two, 15 minutes coffee breaks). Despite the length of shifts, volunteers often did not take lunch or coffee breaks, and typically left immediately after finishing their shift, as many individuals lived a considerable distance from the railways, so it was necessary to conduct the interviews whilst they were on site, and therefore the structured approach was the most effective, as key questions could be asked, important topics could be covered over a relatively short period of time, enabling a large sample to be gained.

The captive audience nature of this research project meant that there was significant interest in participation, consequently, in order to gain a representative and diverse sample at each organisation, the decision was made to aim for a large size. As a result of this, and due to the nature of volunteerism within these organisations, participants often did not have a great degree of free time, which could be set aside in committing to interviews, therefore, in situ interviewing became the most appropriate method.

Respondent population: Characteristics of the achieved sample

In total 74 interviews, with a sub sample of 10 were conducted. Table 9 illustrates the sample in terms of the participants' age distribution, gender, nationalities, and socio-economic status. Volunteers were generally over the age of 35, with the mean age being 54. Participants were predominantly English (85%), followed by Welsh (14%) and Scottish (1%). The sample in general, can be described as being predominantly male with a ratio of 14:1 (men to women). Approximately half of the participants volunteer with a friend, and in terms of socio-economic classifications, 83% could be identified as being "working class" and "blue collar workers" (Decius et al 2019, 495-535) due to their current/previous occupations.

The research design process flow chart:
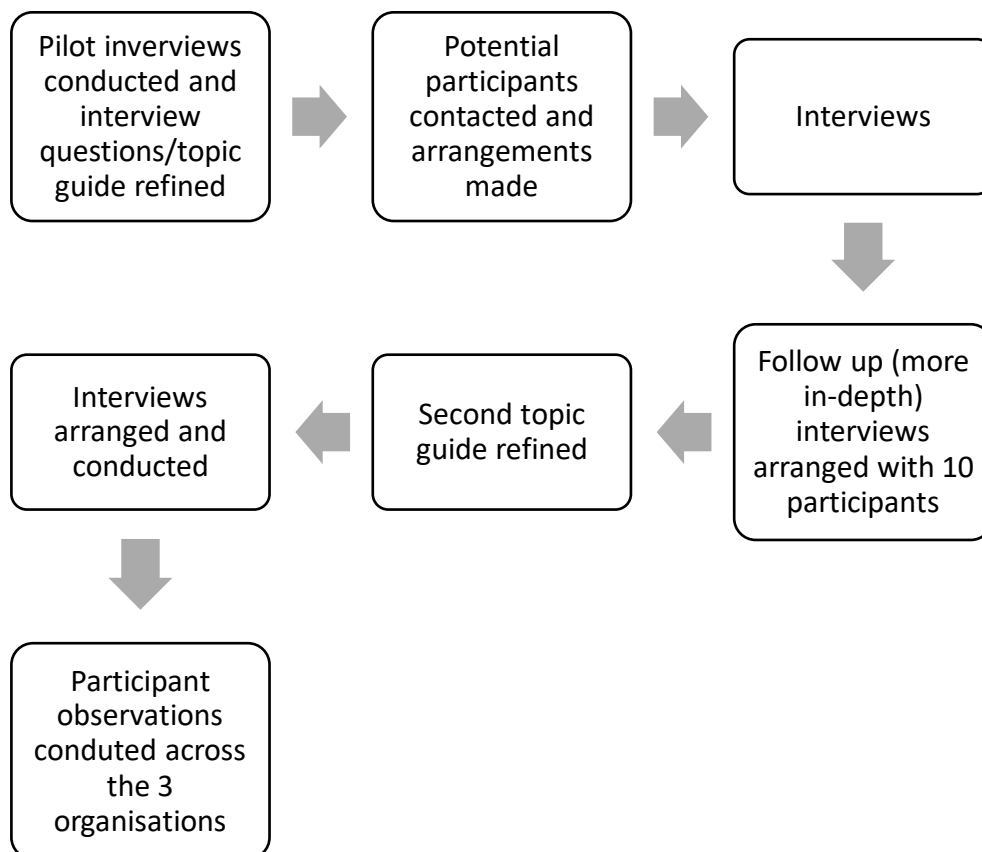
Figure 8. The research design process flow chart illustrating the procedure followed from the early phases, to the final stages of the data collection.

Table 6. Characteristics of study participants.

Characteristic	Response	Percentage of interviewees	Number of interviewees
Gender	Male	93.2	69
	Female	6.8	5
Age	Under 25	10.8	8
	26-35	9.5	7
	36-45	2.7	2
	46-55	13.5	10
	56-65	24.3	18
	65+	39.2	29
Nationality	English	85.1	63
	Welsh	13.5	10
	Scottish	1.4	1
Length of service on the railway	Under 10 years	37.8	28
	11-20 years	9.5	7
	21-30 years	8.1	6
	31-40 years	12.2	9
	41-50 years	21.6	16
	51-60 years	9.5	7
	60+ years	1.4	1
Employment status	Full time	24.3	18
	Part time	2.7	2

Self employed	12.2	9
Student	4.1	3
Retired	52.7	39
Carer	1.4	1
Other	1.4	1
Unemployed	1.4	1

The average monthly time commitment for participants within each age group is illustrated above. The younger categories, particularly those under 25, generally began volunteering after leaving mainstream education (school, college or university), and see their involvement as a way to enhance their CV and employment prospects, therefore their service commitment is likely to last until they secure adequate employment. These individuals often worked part time in addition to their volunteering. The categories of 26-35 and 36-45 whilst generally in full time employment, indicated that due to family obligations, their engagement was often limited, and for many individuals they ceased participation totally for a period of time. Individuals who fell into the 46-55 group, highlighted that their involvement increased in their mid 40's due to the pressures of work as they saw their participation as a way in which to relax and detach themselves from their day to day obligations. Finally, the 56-64 and 65+ age groups participate at the highest levels due to retirement or their imminent departure from employment. For these individuals, volunteering was a way to "bridge the gap" between employment and retirement, to keep active and to reduce social isolation.

Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity

Participant confidentiality was maintained throughout. All personal names were removed and replaced with pseudonyms as chosen by each participant as part of the agreement to participate. Explicit consent was gained from management at each of the railways for observations to be conducted, however, as per the agreement, observations were restricted to the café environments so as to not disturb the railways visitors, or the volunteers on duty. Personal/parental consent was gained for photos to be taken and to be included in this thesis. Further consent was gained by everyone in order to use their 'real' names in the observation documentation. This was encouraged by the volunteers themselves to convey the most accurate representation of 'railway life' by including those who actively engage.

It was explained to each participant that the transcripts would be kept strictly confidential, while it was also made clear that extracts from the interviews would be used in this thesis, and may be used in associated articles, presentations, and/or reports. It was highlighted to the participants that at no stage would any of the organisations or their staff have access to the recordings or full transcripts. Moreover, it was ensured that both schedules adhered to the British Sociological Associations (2002) statement of ethical practice, in terms of confidentiality and the right to withdraw, therefore minimising the risk of the following, "in many of its forms, social research intrudes into the lives of those studied. While some participants may find the experience a positive and welcome one, for others, the experience may be disturbing, particularly so, if they perceive apparent intrusions into their private and personal worlds" (British Sociological Associations 2002).

The interviews

Prior to beginning the interviews, a topic guide document was created with the central themes, e. g belonging, identity, and family history. Remler and Van Ryzin (2011, 64) indicates that this method can be defined as a "set of open-ended questions, sometimes accompanied by probes, that help guide or structure the discussion". They argue that creating an interview guide, enables the interviewer to keep a focus on the questions they wish to ask during the interview but allows them to have a degree of flexibility as participants will often answer the questions in a slightly different way. The interview/topic guide is an important component for interview-based research methods (Seidman 2015) and is often developed from the existing literature. The guide used within this research had two overarching questions "tell me the story of what led you to becoming a volunteer", and "what do you gain from your involvement" and was based upon the four W's of Bussel and Forbes' (2002) approach of "Who", "What", "Why", and "Where".

The interview guide was tested using two strategies. Firstly, four pilot tests were conducted with two PhD colleagues. This allowed for the questions, the flow, and the interview style to be critiqued. There were no significant changes made to the guide but, instead, suggestions were given about making the interview approach stronger. Secondly, three pilot interviews were conducted with volunteers (one in each organisation). These interviews highlighted topics which had not previously been considered, such as the role of volunteering for individuals who have experienced bereavement.

As the pilot interviews were conducted based on the initial method of using a semi-structured approach, the pilot lasted longer than the actual interviews, which were administered using a structured approach, as the nature of the research settings forced the

adaption of the approach. Based upon the suggestions made, the guide was amended to be more inclusive. These interviews highlighted interesting topics and issues which had not previously been considered and were therefore included in the final version. In terms of the individual questions, these were initially guided as indicated above, however they were refined and informed as the research progressed.

The decision for conducting interviews rather than focus groups was made as it would allow individuals to express their views more freely. Gilbert (2001, 165) suggests that a focus group may have been possible amongst some of the volunteers, but there are weaknesses in the use of this method, including the fact that some less vocal individuals may feel overwhelmed or intimidated, which may thus lead them to refrain from actively taking part.

As Thomas (2013, 61) indicates, participant behaviour can also change when placed in group settings, which could possibly lead to some individuals taking on a more dominant lead, while others may step back from participating. A clear example of this can be seen when two volunteers, husband, and wife, expressed an interest in taking part in this research. When organising the interviews, the intention was to interview individuals in small groups. Whilst it could have resulted in an interesting discussion, it was determined that it would be more beneficial to interview separately as it would allow for individuals to express their personal narratives of volunteering without distraction.

Experiences in the field

As previously mentioned, observations were conducted alongside the use of interviews, and were conducted in each of the on-site cafés, at an ale festival and a Victorian evening. Initially, the approach to the observations was to attend various training

154

events and meetings, however due to health and safety requirements, insurance obligations, and the "safety critical" nature of the organisations this was not possible, and therefore the mutual agreement was made to observe volunteers within their work settings as this was the least intrusive to their daily work.

While conducting the observations within the cafés, a copy of the information sheet was placed on each of the tables, at the counter, and on the entrance door, therefore, any individuals or volunteers who had not been provided with a full explanation by the management team were made aware of the research and observations. Consent was provided by each of the organisations and the volunteers who agreed to take part, each signed a consent form stating that they were entirely happy to be observed, and for field notes to be taken. These were distributed during their weekly meetings. The observations included different actors, approximately 95% were volunteers and management, whilst the other 5% was made up of visitors to the railways.

Whilst in the "field", short notes were made to quickly record events, behaviour/body language and sections of conversations. Upon completing the day's fieldwork session, these were expanded upon, the initial notes within the journal providing more detail and reflection, while additionally including an overall summary. Notes were written up as soon as possible focusing upon the four key elements: a description of the activity (what happened during the day?, what was observed?), reflections, emerging questions, and future activity. As Gibson (2013) suggests, field notes are constructed, and can be influenced by a variety of factors, therefore it is important to note that the observations are a snapshot, a glimpse in time, from a particular perspective.

As the research was coming to an end and given the frequency and nature of the engagement with the participants, I had come to know some of the volunteers well.

Although everyone acknowledged the research timelines, many expressed a desire for me to remain, and for the research to continue.

Ending rituals in the form of thank you cards, and a final group gathering were organised, which signalled the end of the data collection, and my time at each of the railways. I have also continued to keep in touch with many of the volunteers who took part in this research following the end of the project.

Data analysis approach

In order to accurately record the interviews, the decision was made to use an encrypted MP3 recording device, and all data was stored in a password protected folder on the University M-Drive. During each interview the recording device was placed in close proximity to both myself and the volunteer being interviewed. The rationale behind this decision to record the interviews was that it enabled the conversation to flow without the distraction of note taking. Wellington (1996, 18) states that through recording interviews, it is necessary to transcribe the conversations, which in comparison to note taking during the interviews themselves, takes considerably more time. Despite this point, transcribing the interviews by hand enabled me to gain a better understanding of the data which was collected. In the case of this research, each of the seventy-four interviews were transcribed by hand. Having previously used transcription software, I was aware that such programmes often struggle with strong accents, and therefore whilst transcribing each interview by hand took considerably more time, it ensured that the transcriptions were accurate.

Transcription was facilitated through the use of Microsoft Word, and were then uploaded onto NVIVO, as this software enabled the transcriptions to be organised, searches to be conducted, and sections of the text could be assigned to particular nodes/codes.

There are two "broad methods of reasoning" towards data coding according to Trochim (2006, 1), these being deductive and inductive perspectives. Both approaches were employed within this study at distinct and separate points. The deductive approach which is defined by Trochim (2006, 1) as being the "general to the specific" or a "top down approach", was employed at the initial stage of data coding, as previous literature and theories had been read, and the themes identified within these were examined against the data collected.

As the coding progressed, the transition was made to modify the approach from being deductive to inductive, this amendment was made as the previous method was removed to a degree from the participants own stories. Following the move to an inductive approach which Trochim (2006, 2) defines as being the move "from the specific to the general", the data was initially analysed for main and core themes which emerged from the interviews. Following this, a second review of the interviews was conducted, and specific subthemes were identified. 32 parent nodes (main themes), and 67 child nodes (sub themes) were developed overall. Coding was inductive, by using a "bottom up approach", moving from specific observations to broader generalisations and theories (Burney 2008, 3). The data was broken down into first level concepts, for example, each time a participant mentioned volunteering at other organisations, it would be highlighted in one colour, therefore becoming an overall concept which was then viewed using the coding stripes facility. Other aspects such as places/locations and lengths of time became concepts, highlighted in the different colours. After completing open coding, focused methods followed, in order to concentrate on specific aspects identified within the initial process. Through conducting the data analysis and coding on Nvivo, coding "trees" were developed in order to arrange the emerging themes, this was a continual process, and as the data was

examined further and subsequent themes arose, the coding "tree" was expanded upon.

Once the initial coding stage was completed, the second round began, which consisted of

re-coding each interview based upon the fully developed coding list. After coding was

completed, relationships between the codes were analysed by grouping them into core and

sub themes, for example "belonging" was included as a core theme with nodes such as

"making friends", "developing new connections", "fitting in", and "feeling a part of

something" being its sub themes (Table 10). In addition to the above, The Harvard Analytical

Gender Framework (HAGF) was adopted to examinine gender within the railways. By

utilising the HAGF matrix, micro level data was collected which enabled the roles of women

within the TR, FFR, and WHR to be explored.

Table 7. Core and sub themes identified from interviews.

Core themes	Sub themes
Gendered discourse	- Women in male dominated hobbies - Attitudes towards gender - Stereotypes - Influence of male family members - Masculinity - Social change
Gender difference	- Maternal/paternal - Children and grandchildren - Grandparents
Work and education	Enhancing CV

	• Broadening job prospects
	• Networking
	• Learning new skills
	• Working towards qualifications
Describe themselves	• Volunteer
	• Worker
	• Linked to job title
Describe their participation	• Work like
	• Form of leisure
	• Substitute for paid work
Rewards/what they gain	• CV enhancement
	• Reduction of social isolation
	• New friends
	• Enhanced social network
	• Sense of community
	• Work experience
Geographic distance/proximity	• Outside of North Wales
	• Cost of transport to participate
Multiple participation	• Music/choirs
	• Religious affiliations
	• Wildlife, animals and environmental organisations
	• Charities
	• National Trust

	• Other railways
	• Museums
Age	• Middle age
	• Young people
Retirement	• Active post retirement
Health and well being	• Reducing isolation
	• Improving mental health
Substitute family	• Kinship
	• Fellow volunteers as family
	• Comradeship
Belonging	• Shared identity
	• Strong friendships
	• Support networks
	• Shared interests
	• Community
Classed discourse	• Working class hobby
	• White, male, working class demographic
Language	• Learning Welsh
	• Acceptance in the community
	• Negative reactions
	• Promoting bilingualism
	• Engaging with "locals"
	• "Englishness"

Periods of non-participation	• Family growing up
	• Caring for family
	• Bereavement
Significant others	• Friends
	• Parents
	• Grandparents

Additionally, the code hierarchy function was also employed to identify the themes which were the most prominent across all the interviews, in addition to the number of sources coded and the references per node. Analytic memos were also used throughout to highlight findings within the data by noting down the process, principal findings, ideas, and thoughts. Within the NVIVO software, "wordcloud" queries were also used which enabled a search to be conducted of the most widely used terms or phrases across all of the interviews, and from this it was clear that the terms family, strong friendships, belonging, and community were particularly prevalent.

Significantly, references to families were a strong theme across the majority of the interviews, with many participants indicating that it was through these relationships that their initial volunteering began. Family holidays and day trips to the railways, along with fellow family members having connections to the railways either through being volunteers themselves, or by being avid railway enthusiasts were frequently cited.

Age, retirement, and periods of non-participation were closely related themes, with many of the volunteers indicating that whilst they did volunteer previously, due to various personal life stage changes, such as becoming a parent, getting married, caring for relatives and bereavement, it was only after reaching middle age and ultimately post retirement

161

when their engagement began on a more 'serious' basis. Retirement also provided these individuals with additional time to dedicate towards their volunteering.

Health and wellbeing, along with developing a sense of belonging and creating a substitute family were strongly interrelated, and for many, connected with changes post retirement. Reducing isolation, creating new relationships with individuals who share similar interests, and improving mental health were key positive themes identified when discussing the reasons behind the participants' engagement. As a number of the volunteers indicated that they suffered from mental health challenges, often exacerbated by the loss of networks following the end of employment or after a bereavement. Engagement in other organisations was a prominent theme, with many of the younger volunteers indicating that they participated elsewhere in addition to the railways, mainly as a way in which to improve their CV and work experience. The range of organisations included charities (within charity shops), The National Trust, The RSPB, at other railways, within museums/galleries, and across a range of religious institutions.

In terms of language and geographic distance, the vast majority of the participants did not live near the railways or within the wider area of Gwynedd, North Wales. Many lived within larger towns and cities including Manchester, Liverpool, Stoke-On-Trent, Birmingham, and London. As a result of this, language was often referred to, along with connections and relationships with the wider communities surrounding the railways. Within these themes there was often a negative association with the residents of the local communities, with many participants indicating that they were seen as merely "English people playing with Trains", despite this, many of the volunteers indicated a desire to integrate more into their communities through learning Welsh and providing more opportunities for the residents to engage in events.

In contrast to many other forms of volunteering which is largely dominated by individuals from higher socio-economic statuses, the interview data indicated that a strong theme was apparent, suggesting that heritage railway volunteering is a largely 'working class' hobby, which is strongly associated with masculinity. This is also shown within the demographic break down of the research sample within this thesis.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the study's methods and methodology, in addition to the practical and ethical approaches pertaining to the research design. To summarise, this thesis has adopted an instrumental collective case study strategy, based upon face to face interviews and participant observation. 74 interviews, in addition to the subset of 10 were conducted with volunteers within the three preserved railways of the Ffestiniog, Welsh Highland and Talyllyn.

The study's methodological stance directs the data collection as it is firmly based within the interpretive camp, as the aim was to interpret the volunteers' actions in the light of the meanings, they attribute to what they do.
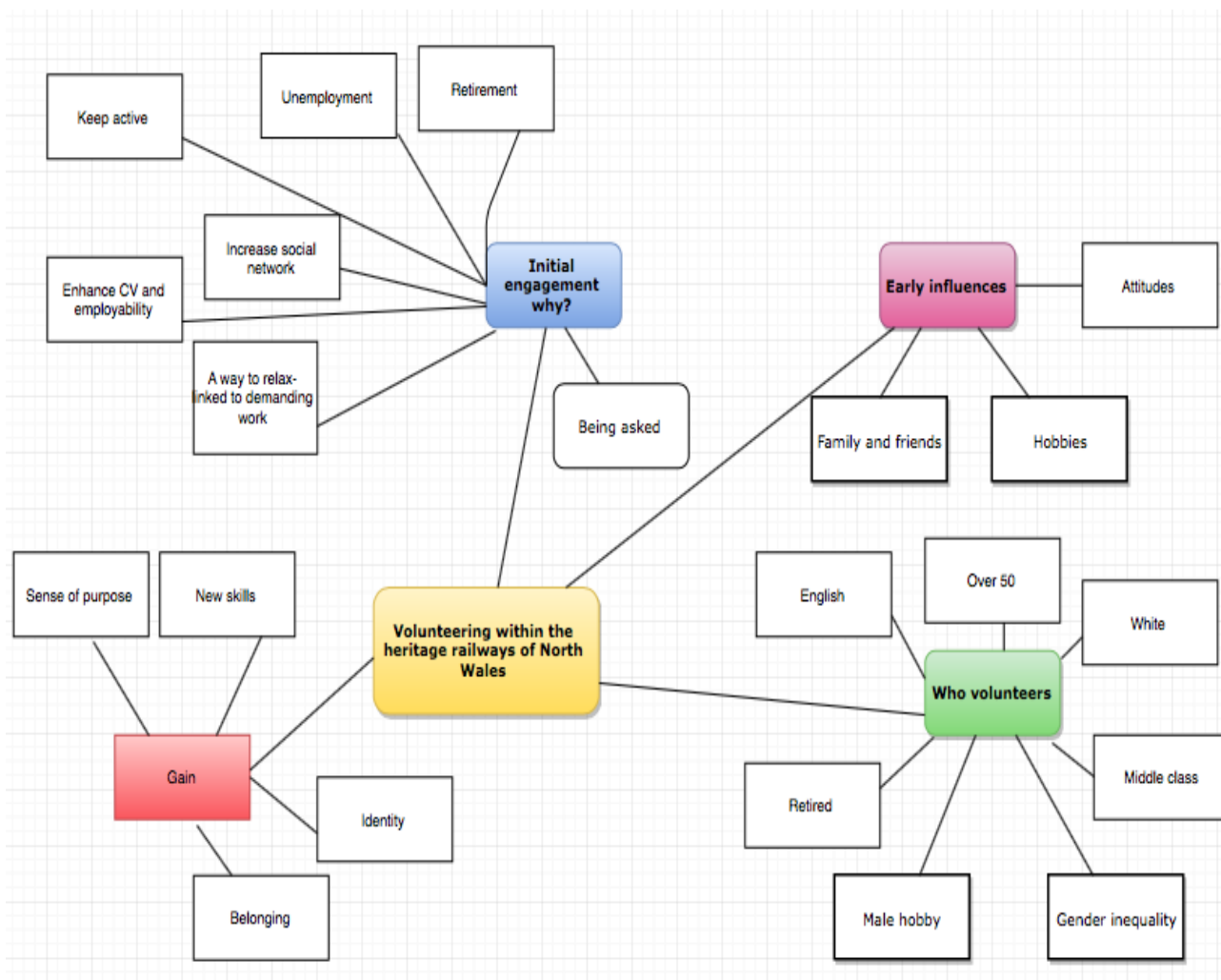
Figure 9. Developed coding tree for the study.

The remaining research questions listed at the beginning of this chapter will be answered using the data presented within the following findings chapters. The relational characteristics of participation within this unique sector, to the wider social contexts will be focused on throughout these chapters, as the participants accounts are frequently informed by comparisons to the 'real world'. A great deal of boundary work occurs throughout the data, as the volunteers strive to distinguish themselves from other types of volunteers, and how their involvement differs from other forms of unpaid engagement.

Case material: participant observations and images taken at the FFR, WHR and TR.

Images from the Welsh Highland Railways

The permanent way gang at the WHR in August 2017.

Volunteers clearing the lines in September 2017 following a period of unsettled weather and a land slip.

Volunteers and visitors at the WHR in July 2018.

Participant observations at the Welsh Highland Railway

On my visit to the railway I made myself known to the general manager, he was smartly dressed in a shirt, tie and logo embellished fleece jacket. He made me feel very welcome even though he appeared to be very busy writing the rotas for the volunteering staff, engineering and repair gang. In comparison to both the Ffestiniog and Talyllyn railways, its much smaller here, but the café is clean and spacious. A young lady approached me, and I explained who I was. She told me that she would let everyone know that I was here, and no sooner had she left, Tom and Matt arrived wearing grey overalls and high visibility jackets. They asked the waitress to fill their flasks and sat down in the corner whilst waiting. Both men seemed familiar to me from my previous visit, and I recall that one of them was a driver whilst the other was a stoker. After approximately 5 minutes, the waitress returned with some sandwiches and their flasks, and at which point they left the café and boarded the train.

I left the café and walked onto the platform to see the station master make his rounds. He asked one of the men on the train to fetch a ramp for a disabled passenger who required wheelchair access.

(Image depicting the loco and volunteers during this initial observation)

Steve, a volunteer who is approximately 25 years old and wearing dark blue overalls with a logo on the chest pocket, and Tony around 40 years old and wearing dark jeans and blue fleece, are talking to each other by the shop entrance. Both men appeared to know each other well and spoke about their families and Steve's recent holiday. A group of six American tourists approached them and asked questions to which Tony answered with a brief history of the railway, detailing how the trains were originally used to transport slate from the quarries at Blaenau Ffestiniog to Porthmadog for worldwide export.

Safety is of the upmost importance here, and a number of volunteers were seen checking over the various parts of the train and ticking a document on their clipboards. The platform at this point is quiet and I proceeded to enter the café and sit down. Sally (one of the waitresses) came over and provided me with the WIFI password which Matt told her I may need. Two volunteers, followed by a further three come in and place orders for sandwiches at lunchtime. They all sit together whilst drinking hot drinks in the corner of the

café, one of the men appeared to be quite unhappy about something, one of his fellow volunteers asked him what was wrong and he told them that he had been scheduled to work on a day which did not suit him as he was also working on the Ffestiniog railway that day and "can't be in two places at once".

A lot of the work that I have seen so far appears to be quite repetitive, the general duties are to talk to and help customers, as and when they are approached. Whilst everyone appeared to be very busy, it was clear that the volunteers often worked in groups/teams, this was explained to me later as being a health and safety requirement, and this seemed to encourage communication between them.

Andrea (paid staff), who was introduced to me during my previous visit, works behind the scenes as a volunteer co-ordinator, she is a paid member of staff rather than a volunteer, and also runs some of their social media accounts including Twitter, and arranges many of the events held at the railway. She is working on a laptop in the corner of the café when two male volunteers sit with her and discuss an event which is being held shortly. Whilst Andrea discusses the tasks which need to be completed, there does not appear to be any element of tension between them despite the difference in status, paid opposed to unpaid.

A noticeable difference here is that there appears to be a higher number of "older" volunteers in contrast to the volunteers present during my observations at both the Ffestiniog and Talyllyn Railways. Two male volunteers, both approximately 65 years old, enter and sit near the front of the café, I can't hear what they are talking about, but they are laughing and appear to be having a good time. Around 10 minutes later, a further three men, all of the same approximate age, enter and sit with them. By this time their conversation had increased in volume and the topic moved onto their proposed social

activity in the hostel that evening (darts). There was a strong sense of friendship between

this groups of volunteers, and they were later seen working together in the maintenance

sheds.

The café appears to have a steady flow of customers throughout the day, with people

ordering food and drinks whilst waiting for their trains. As it is a busy time of the year, extra

vintage carriages have been put onto the train, however these do not have connecting

corridors, and therefore its necessary for food and drink to be purchased in the shop/café

beforehand. For a short while after, the station became quieter, but I could hear chatting

amongst the volunteers who were on the platform cleaning and polishing the brass work

and windows.

(Image depicting the visitors interacting with volunteers and queuing to have their tickets

inspected before boarding the train).

The volunteers even though they are busy at work, always talk to and encourage

each other. There was a young trainee who appeared to be quite new and was being

mentored by an older volunteer in how to operate various items of machinery safely. Each

volunteer has their own work and activities to complete, but the level of teamwork and

camaraderie is particularly strong, with everyone chatting, laughing, and helping one

another.

(Image depicting a group of volunteers at the end of their shift).

Images from the Ffestiniog Railway

A group of volunteers at the FFR,

working on repairing a section of track

which was damaged in the summer of

2017.

Volunteers gathering on the platform for the last departure of 2017, following a day of loco maintenance and restoration.

A group of volunteers engaging in trackwork. These volunteers were training a group of younger recruits on the importance of safety when maintaining the lines.

Participant observations at the Ffestiniog Railway

I arrived at the railway at approximately 10:30am. This was not my first visit to the railway itself, however it was the first instance of observation.

As I entered the gift shop and asked to speak to Dave (who agreed for me to observe for the afternoon), I introduced myself and reminded him of my research, and that I would be taking notes about what I observe. I was shown into the café and as it was still early, I did not expect many people to be there. The waitress was making coffee as I arrived; she offered me a drink while I got myself settled and ready to begin the observations. Dave mentioned to the volunteers and café staff on the station, that I was a PhD researcher from

Bangor University, conducting a study on volunteers involved within heritage railways, and that I would be writing notes on my observations throughout the afternoon.

Spending my first half an hour exploring the railway itself, on returning to the café, I noticed three volunteers had arrived, along with two visitors who were discussing their plans for the day. I introduced myself to the volunteers and explained my role, we engaged in conversation for around 10 minutes, they expressed an interest in my research and told me about themselves. Sam (aged around 40 and wearing dark blue overalls) mentioned being from near London, while Frank (aged around 65, wearing a black coat, jeans and a hat) talked about his long journey from Oxford. Both men have been volunteers for a number of years (Sam- 12 years and Frank 26 years) and mentioned that they also volunteer for other heritage railways in the UK, including the WHR. Frank highlighted that he first heard about the volunteering opportunities here, through a friend who also participated. While talking to Frank and Sam I noticed a picture of the original volunteers on the wall; along with various other more recent photos of volunteers.

During the next hour and a half, four other individuals arrive in the café, and sit two tables away; they share coffee, tea and biscuits. There is a friendly and cheerful atmosphere in the café, one man maybe a supervisor/manager (wearing a dark coloured fleece with the railway logo), it appears there is a discussion of weekly rotas and they seem to be catching up on the events of the day before. The volunteer co-ordinator (Tony) arrives in the café with an older man (Harry) who is considering volunteering. He talks about his previous career as a civil engineer, and that he has recently retired to the local area from Manchester with his wife (he has a strong Lancashire accent), which was something that they had always wanted to do. Tony asks Harry what first attracted him to North Wales, he replies saying that he used to visit the area as a child with his family, and then when he had his own

172

family, he took them along for the same holidays. Harry mentions that his wife has a disability, and the fresh air and relaxed way of life benefits her greatly. Tony lists the types of roles and activities available, from trainee fireman to cleaner, Harry nods and says that it all sounds very interesting, but he would like to become a driver. Tony proceeds to discuss the training for this role, and after around 15 minutes, Harry mentions that he would like to begin as soon as possible, once he has settled into his new house. Tony leaves the café and returns with some leaflets and other documents, he gives these to Harry who reads them, asks if he can take them home with him to show his wife, Tony says that's fine, and offers to show him around the station, the two men then leave the café.

(Station master and ambassador Geoff, who has been a volunteer for over 40 years. On a daily basis, he is the face of the railway, and is the main point of contact for all visitors)

While sitting in the café, the "waitress" (Carol), a paid employee, approached me and asked me to tell her a bit more about my research, she mentioned that her daughter was considering applying to Bangor University in 2018 to study health and social care. I told her

all about my work and what I was hoping to gain by conducting the observations; this was received with great enthusiasm. She remembered me from my interview stage during the summer of 2016 and mentioned that if I needed any more participants for my research, she would be more than happy to help out, we exchanged email addresses and a customer had, by that point, approached the counter.

Carol after serving the customer, came back and sat down at my table, and called over another female who works in the shop. Carol mentioned to Alison (another paid employee) that I was the student researcher that Dave had mentioned the day before. I explained that on first impressions, the railway seems to attract a wide range of people from all backgrounds, I asked whether they agreed with this, and they responded with yes. Alison said that as one of the first railways to be run by volunteers it seems to other people to be the best railway to volunteer at, due to its history.

(Greg, working in the catering car during the visit. The role typically involves serving customers in the dining cabs and preparing meals and beverages).

Carol and Alison then talked about how, despite the railway being very popular in terms of numbers, they wished that there was more diversity in terms of demographics (Carol wanted more local people, while Alison said that more female volunteers would be

an advantage). Carol said that she sometimes felt that local people living in the area, didn't

always see the railway and its volunteers in a positive light, mainly because they typically do

not speak Welsh, and the view that the railway is taking the tourists and their money away

from the shops. Carol saw this as untrue and said that it is the railway that brings in a lot of

tourism to the area, and without it she thought the local economy would suffer.

I explained to Carol and Alison that I was also interested in discovering about where

the workforce travel from and/or live, as I had noted that many of them come from outside

of the local area and, often travel great distances. Both Carol and Alison agreed that most

volunteers do not live close by, and Carol added that, like her, many come from Stoke,

Manchester, Liverpool and London, but do not see traveling long distances as a problem, as

they are doing something that they enjoy.

(Image showing two volunteers, a driver and a TTI, who both live and travel from

Manchester to volunteer)

From talking to Carol and Alison, I got the impression that there is a really strong

sense of attachment and pride with working on this railway as a volunteer. They appeared

proud when talking about the railway and were pleased that I had chosen this railway as one of my case studies.

Having talked to Carol and Alison for around 15 minutes, their break was over, and they returned to work. The café was quiet for the next half an hour, aside from three visitors (asking for directions and how to buy tickets). A group of three volunteers (each of them around 50 years old, two are dressed in navy overalls, and the other in a navy blue fleece jacket with the National Trust logo) walk in and sit over in the opposite corner of the café, I struggle to hear them to begin with, but as they hand around paperwork, they began talking louder (however I struggled to keep track of the conversation as they were sitting quite far away). Reference was made to one individual being a regular volunteer at one of the National Trust properties where he had been that morning with another individual who was not present at this point. This then got me thinking about how many other volunteers participate elsewhere (multiple volunteering), and in what form of activities do they engage in e.g. choir, community council, etc. The conversation between the three men changed from a focus on the morning's participation at the National Trust, to a discussion of what to include on this week's Facebook posts, one man (approximately 50 years old, grey hair and glasses) suggested providing an interview with a current worker as a way of generating volunteer interest (lots of nodding and agreeing that it was a good idea), the second man wrote down the suggestion. The third man (perhaps late 50's, grey hair, and moustache) said that publicising the children's activities e.g. Thomas The Tank days would be a good idea as it is coming up to half term, this was also noted down by the second man. Lunch arrived for the three men, who ate in relative silence, while reading a number of documents, upon finishing, they left the café.

Over the next hour, the café and station remained quiet, and as it was approaching 4pm,

this first observation came to a close.

(Image depicting the station at the end of the observation day).

Subsequent observation at the Ffestiniog Railway

This observation was conducted at the Ffestiniog Railway during their Victorian

weekend. The majority of the volunteers today were all dressed up in traditional costumes.

Jimmy who I had met before was wearing a flat cap, grey trousers with braces, and a grey

shirt, whilst the stationmaster was wearing a navy jacket and trousers, with a black hat and

a pocket watch. Two of the volunteers which I had met previously came over to say hello,

and it was clear that it is often the same individuals who volunteer on a regular basis. Whilst

walking around the station there was a lot of humour, fun and joking between them in

terms of who would wear which costume.

The engineering staff although not in costume were showing the visitors the vintage carriages and stock. The volunteers were all enthusiastic and showed a great interest in immersing them into the history of the railway and brought it alive.

During the next 30 minutes, the station begins to fill up, and within the café, one of the supervisors was arranging for a birthday party upgrade to first class, which a child at the table next to them hears, and also requested that his parents arranged his birthday party to be held on the train.

(Two volunteers on the foot plate preparing for their journey. Both have worked on the railway for over 5 years each and have moved homes to be closer to the railway).

Whilst on the platform, Danny and Neil (both from the south of England) were busy preparing the engine for the next journey, through checking over the mechanics and dials. Whilst doing this, they were both laughing and joking, and appeared to enjoy each other's company, this was an aspect which I saw between the vast majority of the volunteers. I entered the café and found a large group of volunteers who appeared to be on a break, sitting around a large table near the window. Sitting opposite them I could hear that they all had similar accents, which sounded as though they could be from Manchester or the

surrounding areas. They were all dressed in Victorian clothing and drinking large mugs of hot drinks from the silver tea urns near the counter. One of the men sitting around the table showed pictures on his camera, and the others looked on and asked various questions. A professional looking man, wearing a shirt and tie approached them and sat down (he was unfamiliar to me and perhaps he was a member of management). He handed around a number of glossy magazines/brochures and it appeared as though they were arranging a trip (perhaps through the Ffestiniog Railway travel company).

As the final train arrived back in the station, the majority of the volunteers who were inside the café and on the platform proceeded to leave, whilst the remaining people could be seen cleaning the carriages, polishing the brass work and tidying up ready for the following day.

Images from the Talyllyn Railway

An image of the young members group clearing a section of line – parental permission was given for these images to be taken.

Three volunteers on work experience from the local secondary school, helping to repair a broken fence which was damaged.

Volunteers from the young members group, at the railway for a weekend from Staffordshire, in August 2017.

Participant observations at the Talyllyn Railway

As I arrived at the station at 12:30pm, it was a beautiful, warm and sunny, and was met by Tony who recommended that I should arrive early as there was to be a staff meeting at 1pm. After pinning up the posters and distributing the leaflets, I ordered a coffee from Liz and sat in the corner of the café.

Wearing a navy blue railway fleece, Tony called the volunteers to the meeting and they sat in the opposite corner of the room. Tony explained who I was, why I was there, and handed out a leaflet to each person which gave an overview of the study. As arranged, I gave a brief presentation on my work which illustrated the focus of the research. The presentation went well, and a number of individuals asked questions, such as why I had decided to study the railways in contrast to other organisations.

Quickly counting 26 individuals (all volunteers), Tony explained the tasks and requirements for the day, and Owen who came in later carrying a newspaper under his arm jokingly said "now if you don't mind, I've got to get on with station duties, sorry to trouble you all on a coffee break", this was met with laughter and heckling, but Tony brought the meeting back to focus by saying "I want to thank you all for coming to help out today on such a beautiful day, when you could have all been down on the beach, so I really appreciate it, so let's do this".

The café became quiet for a time with Liz breaking the silence by singing and chatting to another lady who I could not see but could hear in the back moving crockery. I hadn't been there very long when an elderly gentleman called in, as soon as Liz saw him she shouted to the lady in the back, "Hugh's here for his usual", noticing me in the corner, he said "I'm here every day for the lunchtime special, but first I have a mid-morning coffee and a fresh chocolate éclair which Hettie makes from scratch every day, they are to die for". Hugh sat on the table to my right, took off his waistcoat and placed it on the back of his chair. I was surprised to see that Hugh who was approximately 70 years old, stood up and proceeded to clean the windows on both the inside and outside of the café, and deheaded the flowers in the window boxes. Noticing me watching him, Liz came over and told me that Hugh had been a volunteer here for 40 years, and whilst he would still like to work on the trains carrying out maintenance, he is no longer able to do the strenuous work, and instead, now works in all departments doing little jobs which are needed in exchange for coffee and cake.

A couple with two young children entered the café followed by, I presume, one set of grandparents. Wearing a grey t-shirt and shorts, the "grandfather" approached me and asked whether the café had WIFI, upon me saying yes, he asked about my research after

seeing the documents, posters and leaflets on my table. I explained the purpose and focus of my research and he appeared interested and asked many questions. He noted that he had never previously realised how much interest there was in volunteering at the railway. He said that he could understand that it was the ideal place to work after retiring to keep active but had never considered that it was also a stepping stone for CV enhancement, and a potential way up the employment ladder especially for young people. Hettie brought out snacks and soft drinks for the family, and Liz came over an introduced me to Hettie, she sat down and talked to me for around 10 minutes all about her life and why she became a volunteer, she indicated that after her husband passed away, she became lonely and felt increasingly isolated at home, and as her husband had been a volunteer here himself, she decided that she too could help out. Hettie now works 9.15am until 3pm each week, Monday to Thursday. As she only lives a short distance away, Hettie indicated that she enjoys the work most when there is a party or a wedding reception, and she often gets invited as she makes the "nibbles".

By now it was approaching lunchtime, the volunteers were slowly making their way into the café for snacks and drinks. Chatting amongst themselves, it was clear that everyone was equal and gave a high level of commitment as they reflected on the work and activities which they had completed this morning. Talking about the maintenance work which needed to be completed this week, Tony asked a fellow volunteer sitting at a table "how's the new job going", the man replied saying "it's going well, I like to get out here as much as I can at this time of year", he looked at me and said "I'm having fun in the real world", around five minutes later as their conversation died down, he approached me and said "they made a railway monster when they saved this place. I don't mean the trains but me, and some of the lads only live from one working day to the next you know. We spend a lot of time here,

it's our home away from home". He asked whether this was something I had, come across within my research, and upon saying yes, he mentioned that lots of the people that work here use the railway as a replacement for family or work. The conversation moved on and he indicated how he often feels like an inspiration to people who also want to volunteer, and that his involvement is a legacy for the future.

It's approaching 2.45pm when the station platform is getting busier, and one by one the volunteers begin to leave the café. Frank smooths down his overalls and says to me "first impressions count". Hugh helped Liz and Hettie to tidy and clean the tables and then retrieved a Tupperware box from behind the counter. He shouted to Liz and said thank you and then left.

The café over the last few hours has been busy with both volunteers and customers having drinks, lunch and snacks. Some of the volunteers have breaks which coincide with the departure of the trains. I left at approximately 3:20pm, just as a family arrive to arrange a 60th birthday party for a relative.

Participant observations at the Talyllyn Railway

Arriving at the Wharf Station, the scene was of smoke billowing from the trains, and white tents were being set up. Everyone appeared to be in a hurry but still stopped and talked to each other and the customers.

Tony came to meet me once again and was wearing his blue railway fleece with the logo on display. Even through there appears to be many volunteers here, I struggle to find anyone. The male volunteers that I saw were busily polishing the brass on the trains and organising the schedule for the day and the trains departure. Whilst talking to Tony, one of the

supervisors approached us and talked over some of the health and safety points which needed to be assessed today, Tony thanked him, and we proceeded to enter the café. Tony left at this point and I ordered a coffee whilst watching Hettie and Liz fill in some paperwork and decorate the café. In contrast to my previous visit, the railway had been adorned with banners and flags, along with many posters and leaflets highlighting the beer/ale festival which was being held today and tomorrow.

(The TR platform adored with bunting and flags ahead of their 'special' train event)

Throughout the morning the number of visitors increased steadily, and by now the café was full of volunteers and visitors who were socialising with each other, with the visitors asking various questions about their work and the trains. Tony mentioned that these events are ideal opportunities to promote volunteering, and therefore a stand has been created in one of the tents with information booklets for prospective volunteers. I asked Tony whether these events generate many new recruits, and he replied saying yes and no. Social media is their main recruitment strategy for younger people, but the events are an important way in which to engage with older people.

Despite the rain everyone appeared to be having a good time, the railway was full and after returning to the café, Rob and Colin (both in their 60's and wearing blue/grey

overalls) came to sit at the table in front of me and proceeded to talk about their scheduled duties for the afternoon whilst having a coffee.

John mentioned that he had spoken to a few people that morning and was surprised by how far they had travelled to visit the gala. Whilst listening to John listing off his duties, Frank didn't appear to be interested in the tasks he had been assigned, and just wanted to "get on with it, and get everything done". Tony entered the café and stated, "cider is £1 a pint in the main tent", and Hettie replied with "you're taking away my customers". A couple of the "older" volunteers are using the café as a retreat from the "chaos" and rain outside. One of them is reading a newspaper, whilst the other looked through the window observing the passing crowds whilst smiling. As the café becomes quiet, I decide to leave the café and take a walk around. Hugh appeared and smiled, I asked him whether his day had been good, and he noted that he had only just started, and was going to get a coffee and a slice of cake before washing the windows and doing some gardening.

(Two volunteers filming and taking photos of the loco for updated publicity material)

The trains pull into the station and I could see the volunteers (wearing the logo's on their jackets) helping older individuals' off the train safely. Before the train departs, The station master ensures that the train is clean and tidy before allowing any new passengers on. Three volunteers walk onto the train with bin bags and a box a cleaning products. I could hear Tony talking to Liz and Hettie behind me, and when I walked over to them, Tony stated to me "I've had seven new recruits today, we will have to get some more trains at this rate. I'm going to put out some more leaflets and see if we can generate even more interest today".

(The volunteers from the Staffordshire Area Group who were visiting the railway for the weekend).

The customers are interacting with the volunteers who are showing them around the station. A Japanese family arrive who appeared to be unsure of what was going on and where they needed to be, they asked the ticket inspector who directed them to Liz who was outside the café. She called for Stan on the tannoy who proceeded to take them on a tour of the railway and the activities on offer. By 3:45pm the railway is becoming quieter, many of the families have left and the last train of the day pulled into the station. Hugh approached a man sitting at a table to my left and talked about their day and how much fun they had.

Tony came in and sat alongside them and handed out some documents, which they all read. Numerous people walked past and waved goodbye to the various members of staff and volunteers on the platform.

Towards the end of the day, Tony and another man were organising the tasks for the following day and discussing sharing a ride back to their accommodation. They came over to me and asked how my day was, and whether I had collected sufficient data, upon my reply, they shouted goodbye to the other people in the café and left. After saying my own goodbyes, I promised to visit again, maybe for the Santa Special.

CHAPTER FIVE: BECOMING INVOLVED: ROUTES IN TO VOLUNTEERING AT THE TALYLLYN, WELSH HIGHLAND AND FFESTINIOG RAILWAYS

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the avenues chosen by the participants when becoming involved as volunteers at the FFR, TR, and WHR. The structure is as follows: firstly, the routes into volunteering will be discussed in relation to the influence of family, the role of legacies and its connection to engagement, along with the challenges and benefits of volunteering at the railways.

This chapter will discuss and aim to answer the following research questions of, 'what underlies the enthusiasm and interest of railway volunteers?' and 'What is volunteering within the TR, FFR, and WHR like on a day-to-day basis?'.

The factors that underlie the interest and enthusiasm of railway volunteers differ according to their level of engagement and role that they play. For some, it is the realisation

of a lifelong interest in railways. This contributed directly to some participants' passions, in that their role in the railway directly reflects their interest in trains. For others, it complemented their interest, in that it drew on their existing eagerness. Few developed an interest for volunteering at the railways without an existing interest in the railways.

Overall, the factors that contributed to the enthusiasm of the volunteers came from a variety of sources. The evidence that is presented here indicated that the most substantial influences came from the family background of volunteers. This might be expected, given that with a range of opportunities and competing options for volunteering, there would need to be a distinguishing factor for the railways to demand attention.

The second factor is that given that the participants travelled a considerable distance to take part in the process and engage in a leisure career, meant that their interest initiated from a desire to seek something they might be involved in that included an element of the railways, rather than a desire for volunteering per se, without a concern for the activity that took place. Therefore, for those wishing to volunteer solely for social benefits, there would be a number of opportunities available closer to home.

What is volunteering within the TR, FFR, and WHR like on a day-to-day basis?

The results of the research were able to identify the day-to-day experience of the volunteers. For many of the volunteers, participation in the heritage railways is often seen as akin to paid work. The tasks in some instances are identical, irrespective of whether the workers are paid or volunteering. Many of the salaried staff discovered the railway as volunteers and then made the transition to paid workers. Volunteers are trained, with no fixed time period for effective training; it depends upon the job that is undertaken. On-the-

job training is usually provided. At the FFR, after initial volunteering takes place, an expression of interest may be made to take things further. The formal trainee position takes over two months. Volunteers perform most of the activities with the Talyllyn Railway, and will often work across more than one department. Although the retail and finance positions in the TR are paid, twenty volunteers are needed for the railway to function effectively each day.

The day-to-day experience of volunteers on the railway varies according to the role they undertake. The working hours are usually regular, with the exception of those working in the café who need to match the requirements of the railway. This can sometimes lead to very long days for some, where there is the expectancy of staying until the job is completed. The rota for work is arranged approximately three or four weeks in advance and distributed through different networks. Volunteers are expected to indicate their availability before the timetable is distributed, and changes to the rota are only permitted after discussion with the team leader. A hierarchy of work is present in all three railways, where the distribution of activities are the responsibility of the volunteer departmental team leaders. There are informal team meetings that are held daily between the team leaders, this is an important opportunity for any enquiries or amendments to be discussed, and the work roster if necessary, adjusted accordingly.

The daily routine for volunteering begins for all three railways between 7.15am and 8.30am. The morning session of work typically continues until 12.30pm, although it might overrun in busy periods. Work stops for an hour for lunch, and then will continue until approximately 3.30-4.30pm. The working day will conclude with necessary cleaning duties taking place and paperwork completed at each of the stations. For volunteers, the days'

activities will commence with a communal breakfast and conclude with an inclusive activity in the evening, an example being a quiz night.

The typical day's work for the railway volunteers will thus vary considerably from the daily working life of others. The volunteers do not follow a rigid schedule, in the sense of providing a specific number of hours over a set period of time and so allows the volunteers to participate at a rate that suits them. Typically, the number of hours that the volunteers contribute increases with their age, as the older group typically has the greatest quantity of free time. In common with other forms of volunteering, training is provided informally between the more experienced and those with less experience. Informal training thus offers the opportunity to contribute to the sense of how life at the railway continues: as well as involving instructions on how the machinery operates, it also offers the opportunity for observing the ways in which the railway works. As such, it can provide cultural continuity between different volunteer members of the railway, ensuring that the organisational culture is transmitted. However, the ways in which this takes place was not given close attention by participants in the railway, although there was a note made of the differences, in how the railway functions in the present day, by the older participants, in comparison to their initial involvement. A more concerted examination of how the organisational culture of the railways varies over time might provide an interesting insight into the role of organisational factors such as path dependency, and changes in the way that the railways are organised over several years.

It is important to note that whilst some participants volunteered at more than one of these railways, the vast majority were volunteers at one only of the three. It is apparent that the routes taken by individuals into volunteering are quite diverse. The practical ways in which potential volunteers actively sought out involvement with the railways were relatively

wide ranging, and based on data derived from the interviews which formed part of this

thesis, along with information provided by management at the railways, younger

individuals were far more likely to have engaged initially on-line and through social media

pages. This was in comparison to many of the older volunteers who initially sought

information through more traditional formats such as word of mouth and paper based

advertisement.

The majority of the participants' (92%) routes into volunteering began with them

having a keen interest in the railways. For many, this involved visiting either the TR, FFR, and

WHR and through this, were then typically recruited through talking to an overseer or

official, or by being asked by a friend or family member who were already volunteering.

Some developed their interest from observing others, and then having the railways

recommended to them, while others attended recruitment days where the work is

explained and demonstrated. An interesting feature of this was, not simply the routes that

they undertook in becoming volunteers initially, but the influences that meant they

continued in the roles, sometimes for decades. These factors included the loss of a spouse

or close family member (9%), children leaving home (7%), mental health challenges (11%), a

desire to 'climb up the ranks' at the railway (36%) continuing to feel 'useful' in their

retirement (37%).

Based on the interview data, typically, for those individuals who cited the loss of a

spouse or close family member as an influencing factor behind their continued involvement,

their roles followed retail, catering and customer service-based roles. For those who

indicated 'children leaving home', their role generally followed maintenance pathways as

this is one of the most time consuming of departments to work in, thus providing them with

a new sense of purpose. For participants who noted 'mental health challenges', their roles

were generally based within customer service including being a TTI. When asked why they had chosen to undertake such roles, the answers varied from seeking relatively stress free tasks, to wanting to be around other people. Finally, the volunteers who stated 'a desire to climb up the ranks' and 'to feel useful in retirement' indicated similar role trajectories. These individuals stated that they engaged in work within safety, driving, and engineering departments as they were considered the most 'in demand', 'useful', and 'important' across the railways, which provided them with the most gratification and satisfaction.

For some enthusiasts, volunteering was an interest that was initially experienced at an early age but was then placed on hold due to family commitments, and then re-engaged after their children had left home. Others may volunteer sporadically throughout adulthood and then increased their participation after retirement. This was a key theme identified by nine out of ten of the participants and was based on the view that they now had increased free time which enabled them to dedicate it towards an interest which they have always held. The factors that affected the initial decision to offer one's services may not explain the broad engagement that participants had with their railways. Therefore, as is the case for qualitative research, the patterns that are identified here are not necessarily representative but can illustrate a number of different approaches to volunteering and how the participants interpret their involvement.

Pathways in to volunteering: The influence of family

Being a railway enthusiast was often cited as a reason the volunteers initially became involved, this was noted by nine out of ten of the participants. For example. Dave stated that this was his primary motivation for joining the railway:

"As a railway enthusiast, I knew about the railway before I started at University. I had the idea of volunteering early in the first term, so I looked at the railway's website, which at that point had a detailed volunteers' section. After realising that my preferred options meant being based at the opposite end of the line, I decided to work on the closest station. I contacted the railway's Facebook page, who directed me to the Station Superintendent. We arranged an induction on the final weekend of the 2009 season, which meant that I couldn't start properly until January 2010. I have always been a train geek, and as soon as I got the chance I started. Now I come down here now about three times a month, and I run my local area group too. I started just doing basic jobs like cleaning and issuing tickets, but then over the past few years I have climbed up a bit and now I am an acting supervisor when the regular supervisor is off. This is what I've always aimed for".

There are several features displayed in the excerpt above by Dave. Firstly, there was an initial enthusiasm for the railway, therefore, the interest came from a desire to be involved, rather than a more general interest in volunteering. For many, including Dave, the initial interest in the railways stemmed from a previous family interest in the railways before later engaging within the railways as a volunteer. This could be interpreted in terms of Stebbins (2011, 11) theory of serious leisure, in that he is considering involvement in terms of a career – noting that he has 'preferred options' but then deciding to weigh the pragmatics of what was available at his closest station.

Stebbins (2011, 1) suggests that the serious leisure perspective is one where there is a 'systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobby or volunteer core activity that people find

substantial, interesting and fulfilling…….'. This framework fits the explanation of the volunteer above, in that his involvement was part of a long-term strategy, in the sense of beginning at the closest station, and thereafter being able to move up the hierarchy, and so ultimately achieve his aim.

According to Nesbit (2012, 16), the family can offer an important direction upon the decision to undertake volunteering. This can materialise according to a number of conditions. Primary socialisation might involve a child being influenced into believing volunteering is a social norm, and then responding accordingly (Brown and Ferris 2007, 87). Social learning theory might provide a further indication of how family can influence volunteering, in that the child observes the benefits that accrue to the adult as a result of volunteering, and this reinforces his or her own desire or expectation to volunteer (Klein et al. 1994, 128). Bourdieu's (1990, 59) concept of habitus can provide a perspective of how volunteering becomes tied with expectations of a social class. However, it should be noted that for some, volunteering does not occur as a result of family influence (Brown and Ferris 2007, 87).

Participants were asked what initially motivated them to volunteer on the railways. It is interesting to consider their responses within the framework of the broader explanations of participation, particularly in the sense of the significance of the family. This can be understood initially in terms of the importance of the family on volunteering as an activity itself. One such example is the emulation of a family member. Alternatively, it can be understood in terms of the impact of the family upon the leisure activity which was then pursued through an interest in volunteering. For example, Aled stated:

"I guess it was my Dad who got me into trains – he wasn't really into them that much, but he would always stop when they went past, and we had posters of the old steam trains on the walls at home, we would to go to the museums, and used to go on the steam railway. So, after a while I got interested in doing something. It never really struck me though until I came here on holiday once and met some people, talked to them about it, and that's what really got me started. My grandad was very big into his trains too".

The influence of family upon the decision to volunteer can be seen as a significant theme across a number of the participants' experiences. In some cases, this came about because the participants volunteered alongside their parents and grandparents during childhood, and this ensured they were introduced to the benefits of volunteering early on. The influence of immediate family members was also clear, with one participant suggesting that observing the activities of her husband meant that she was persuaded to also become involved. This could confirm the results of Rochester et al's (2010, 15) research which suggests that couples were more likely to volunteer together, rather than separately. This was not representative of many participants, given that there remained a significant differential between the number of male and female participants that were interviewed.

Nesbit's (2012, 2) research indicated that families are key to the successful socialisation of individuals and can facilitate volunteering through providing the individuals with the skills and resources which are required in order to support their volunteer work. This aspect is particularly clear within the discussion with Tony, who explained how his desire to volunteer had been passed down to him from his mother. Tony indicated that; "I think a lot of it

comes down to my family, volunteering has always been a big thing for us, both of my parents did it, and we were encouraged to get involved from childhood. It's very much something that has always been a part of us, it's in my blood and always has been".

In contrast to the majority of the other participants, Jake, a 27 year old volunteer who when asked about whether he felt that his volunteering could be connected to his upbringing and family, explained that he was in foster care for the majority of his childhood, and therefore lacked the motivation to volunteer. Whilst he did not have the typical family background which most of his fellow volunteers expressed, Jake noted that he was fortunate enough to be placed in long term foster care at the age of 14, where his foster family regularly engaged in volunteering across multiple sectors. Jake stated that it was his placement with his foster family which initially prompted him to volunteer at the railway, as both his foster father and brother volunteered for the mountain rescue and the Ffestiniog Railway, and this prompted him to join in.

Jake understood that often some younger people who visited the railway came as groups through social services, which was seen as a way to provide them with new experiences. As Jake discussed, his background enabled him to communicate with young people in ways many of his fellow volunteers struggled with.

Youssim et al. (2015, 4) considers the relationship of volunteering with the intergenerational inheritance of attitudes and argues that family social background plays an important role. This would seem to be the case here. Bourdieu (1990, 59) stated that volunteering represents a specific cultural background which might be applied in the sense that the habitus, or particular social background of an individual may be applied to the volunteering experience. The habitus is one of the defining factors which affects the manner in which an individuals' behaviour reflects their "natural social milieu" (Bourdieu 1990, 59).

When applied to the context of Bob's view, the notion is that the interest in trains is something that was initially given importance by his father, and then followed up by piquing his interest in later years.

There are elements in which this model does not apply to this understanding of volunteering: Bourdieu's (1990, 59) perception of habitus is more sophisticated than simply following a father's interest in an activity. Bourdieu's (1990, 59) argument was directed at the sense in which taste, or distinction, are habits learned through socialisation within a class context. The habitus explains why aspects such as an interest in opera is perpetuated between classes. Whereas volunteering might reflect a form of social capital in a general sense, as the practice of behaving altruistically often holds some social value, this is not necessarily the case here. Indeed, other volunteers note that their interest in railroads and trains did not form what Bourdieu (1990) called social capital at all, and they were often forced to hide their enthusiasm from others, outside of the 'field' (Bourdieu 1990). Some volunteers reported being assessed by others as being a little strange in their enthusiasm, thus subsequently being considered to reflect a stereotype of trainspotting, or as being a "train geek'. This might suggest that for such volunteers, the social capital that the railway volunteering experience produced, was not something that was a significant benefit in their life away from the railway.

The extent to which family can contribute towards a persons' interest in volunteering, was vividly demonstrated in the fact that assumed social capital gained through volunteering was not always supported by the experience of most participants. This was due partly because they did not tend to relate their experiences of working on the railways with what they viewed as volunteering, and so this reflected a definitional issue rather than one that reflected the social culture of participants. A number of individuals did report that their

parents and siblings engaged in volunteering and charity work but did not connect this to their interest in volunteering. This indicates that the traditional intergenerational influences upon the decision to volunteer on the railways was largely derived from inherited interests in trains. Nevertheless, there were some exceptions, for example with Andy who stated:

"I remember my Mum used to volunteer, although I don't think she really saw it as that. She used to just like being involved in things, like baking cakes for the WI (Women's Institute), helping out at the shows, manning the stalls and all that sort of thing. It wasn't paid, but she just saw it as a way to spend time with people rather than seeing it as something that involved being charitable or anything like that".

This indicated that although there was some connection between the activities carried out by his mother and her involvement in charitable organisations, the focus was upon the personal benefits from the volunteering. Significantly, he did not seem to suggest that this was an influence upon his own decision to volunteer saying "I didn't really think about that when I got involved here", but it may have formed a model for framing his experiences. This might be understood most appropriately using Bandura's social learning theory (1977) in the sense that children observe the benefits that are brought by the process of volunteering and subsequently seek to emulate the behaviour in order to achieve the same benefits.

The impact of accepted tradition upon the likelihood of volunteering may also be compared with the employment history of the participants. There was a high association between some professions and the likelihood of volunteering. For example, one individual suggested that there were a large number of participants with careers in engineering. This might

contrast with studies that have argued that volunteering represents a desire from participants to 'give back' and an extension or replacement of caring activities (Burr et al 2011, 247). Instead, this reflects the perception of volunteering in terms of leisure, where the background of the individual influences the likelihood of taking part because of past experience.

A further route into volunteering may be seen by Tony who suggests that the proximate influence of others is more substantial to his involvement, and no note is made of any background factors:

"A friend mentioned volunteering as a possible extra-curricular activity, so I decided to have a look on the railway website. As a railway enthusiast with a particular interest in steam, I had thought about volunteering before, but never had the courage to actually volunteer. I was in uni when I started and thought it could also be a good way to upskill myself".

The use of the term 'extra-curricular activity' identifies that he is considering the concept of the volunteering involvement in a specific context, as an avenue towards gaining work experience, hence complementing his studies at university. The focus in this case is about combining the notion of a leisure interest, in the sense of being a railway enthusiast, with the aim of gaining skills that might then translate into work capital. This might offer another way in which the concept of capital can be applied to the notion of volunteering, in the sense of it being a source for skills that can be expended elsewhere, in much the same way that training or other work-related skills can be developed. Therefore, rather than this

experience of volunteering being conceptualised entirely in terms of a hobby, the awareness of increasing personal capital through volunteering also played an important role.

Volunteering as a form of legacy and tradition

The possibility of an altruistic motivation for volunteering was noted by some of the participants. This is significant because much of the inclination for volunteering tended to relate to the participants' own benefits and enthusiasm for the railways. In these cases, their initial interests in participation would be dictated by their personal interests in trains, the countryside, and for the heritage railways in particular. However, this then moved the notion, that the activity of volunteering was significant for the maintenance of the railway. This was shown in the statement by Malcom, a volunteer on both the FR and WHR.

"I mean when you look at it, what they achieved here was completely amazing. They rebuilt part of the Ffestiniog railway when they put a reservoir in, then when they built the Welsh Highland Railway, it came from people just turning up and helping, I mean it was organised, but it came from all those people helping, and that's why they're here today. And it's great, in a way, to be part of that".

This view was echoed by John who also volunteered on the same railways, stating:

"The thing is that the way in which these railways came about, if it wasn't for the efforts of all those people building the tracks in the 1960's, and even earlier for the Talyllyn, then there wouldn't be any now, and all these people who grew up after the steam trains stopped would never have had a chance to experience what it is like, all these trains would have gone to scrap. One thing that's great about what

they've done here is that it's part of this longer vision. You would have thought that

nowadays there was enough entertainment and distractions that no one would

have been interested in narrow gauge steam trains anymore, but they keep

coming, and you see people every day just falling in love with this railway, so I think

it'll be like that in the future".

The notion of keeping a legacy alive for the future was the closest that the interviewees

came to identify an altruistic notion of their involvement in the railway. The perception here

was that the individuals were grateful for the fact that the enthusiasm of previous

generations had resulted in the railway's current existence, and their contributions help to

maintain the railways for the use of their own future generations. This was reflected in

terms of the participants own distinct narrative, rather than in more general terms, in the

sense that they believed they had benefitted personally from the existence of the railway,

essentially, they would continue to contribute, giving generations to come the same

opportunities and pleasure of being involved with the railways as they themselves had

gained.

This view was expressed specifically by the older volunteers, and this might lend

support for the presumption that volunteering becomes more popular after retirement

because it is considered to be a natural part of the life course (Erlinghagen 2010, 607). For

example, Haas (2013, 137) suggests that the behaviour of some groups represents their

perceived social role. However, it is also important not to draw too much from these

perspectives: the attitude that was expressed was not outlined as a primary motivation for

volunteering. It appeared perhaps more as though the participants wished to find a stronger

justification for their activity. This can reflect the influence of the interview context, where

the participants may have felt as though they were being 'put on the spot' and thus attempting to perceive their role in more altruistic, and less selfish terms.

However, it is also important not to discount the importance of these perspectives in indicating that the enthusiasm for the railways was not simply a personal interest, in that the volunteers would simply participate because of the individual benefits they accrued from fulfilling a lifelong dream. Instead, this passion for the institution of the railways translated itself into an enthusiasm and inspiration to them.

For other participants, particularly with the younger individuals, the interest was more substantially affected by their personal agenda in developing a skill set, in that they tended to perceive their involvement as an extra-curricular activity. When asked to describe their roles, this was done with a focus upon the day-to-day activities, rather than taking on a consideration of the broader social roles which they practiced. Many of these individuals did not identify their roles as being a form of volunteering, nor did they seem to perceive the railways as being charities. When asked how they would define their participation, the majority saw it as being a form of 'work' despite acknowledging that they were not compensated with payment. It is further clear from the data that heritage railway volunteering is a form of serious leisure with strong connotations to work as it "involves the provision of a service to others" (Taylor 2004, 38), and therefore whilst it is viewed differently by age groups; with younger individuals interpreting the work aspects as a way in which upskill, and the older individuals viewing their volunteering in terms of work roles, this aspects of work which is strongly interwoven with serious leisure is clearly prevalent across the participants.

Connections between family and religion, and its influence on volunteering

Throughout the research several themes became apparent with respect to why people volunteer at the railways. Family and religion, along with the connection between them is a significant theme for those who are deeply committed to the railways. Rochester et al. (2010, 34) argue that "religion makes a difference to volunteering" and this statement was true amongst the majority of volunteers in this research. Whilst examining the interview data, religion emerged as a key theme, and more specifically, how religious beliefs influenced their motives for engagement and their choice of organisation. Religion was cited as an influencing factor by 48% of the participants. 88% of which were Christian, 7% Jewish, and 5% belonged to 'other' religious denominations.

The findings of this research mirror the work of Park and Smith (2000, 54) who indicated that for some individuals who are actively religious, "socialisation, identity and social networks" can be used as an explanation for influences towards volunteering. While religion and engagement were not directly measured in this research, during the interviews, many of the participants made reference to their personal church and chapel attendance. For the majority of these individuals, it was the social side of attending religious gatherings which often appealed the most, rather than their strength of belief.

Rob, a 67 year old retired gentleman and avid railway volunteer, was one of nine individuals who's interview data supported the findings of Park and Smith (2000) and Rochester et al. (2010) which suggested that religious engagement does have an impact on voluntary engagement. Rob stated;

"I became a volunteer because of a mate of mine who used to also do some odd

jobs at the church. I used to go to church every Sunday with my wife, but since she

passed, I'm more of a now and then sort of person. My faith hasn't changed, but I

just can't seem to do the things I used to enjoy doing with my wife anymore. I do

go to all the events though. I saw Stan putting up a poster in the display board for

the railway asking for volunteers and that's basically how I got here. Religion

teaches us to help people in need and when I spoke to Stan about it and he said

that without them getting new volunteers, they would probably have to close.

That's all the encouragement I needed, I was always taught both at church but also

at home to help those in need, and that's exactly what I did".

Rob's motives for volunteering and his personal pathway into volunteering at the

Talyllyn Railway were based upon his religious beliefs and his desire to help others.

Additionally, Rob discussed that whilst he acknowledged that his volunteering helped to

keep the railway 'alive', he often questioned why he continued to engage. He indicated that

although there were many positive aspects gained from volunteering including;

"Feeling useful and knowing that I am able to give something back", and "making

amazing friends with both the other volunteers and the visitors. It is such a friendly

atmosphere".

There was also one significant challenge to his volunteering. This being that despite him only

dedicating eight hours on average per week to the railway, to him it felt a lot more. When

asked to discuss how his commitment towards the railway affects him, Rob indicated that;

> "I feel like they always need me, even when I'm not supposed to be there, I'll get a call and they'll beg me to come in because there is a problem or because the other person hasn't turned up".

Rob stated this was the only aspect of his volunteer work which he disliked and that it is this 'constant' sense of having to be on call which makes it difficult for them to detach himself and take a break.

Mick 49, a dedicated Christian and volunteer at the Ffestiniog Railway also drew a connection between his path into volunteering and religion. Mick felt as though his Christian beliefs had been growing since his teens and served as the foundation for his volunteer work. This connection between religion and volunteering supports Rochester et al.'s (2010 ,11) research which suggests that the desire and likelihood to volunteer is strongly influenced by religion. Mick discussed how the positive impact of the church on his early life fostered his voluntary work ethic into adulthood. When Mick was asked about his history of volunteering, he stated that:

> "It probably started about thirty years ago, when I was nineteen and really committed to going to church. I had always been with my parents, but it was at this point that I made the decision to go off my own back. I know it sounds corny, but I was going through some things in my life and something pretty bad happened. Things were touch and go for a while and that was my turning point. From that point on, the church has been a huge part of my life and has made me the person I am today. Attending church and being in a religious community gets you involved

in a wide range of volunteering opportunities, I've done the odd bit of work with

the local food bank, a homeless shelter, the Scouts, and I have also run a

befriending group for older people in the community. I guess you could say that

this is how it all started, and over the years that followed, I have built on this work

and now I'm here at the railway".

Mick's history of voluntary engagement has shown how his involvement with the church

during his early life has continued to have a positive influence on his life in adulthood,

including the work he now engages upon with the railway. Mick was particularly vocal about

his religious beliefs and was one of twenty seven participants who made a direct religious

reference during this research. Musick and Wilson (2007, 77) state that the "church

preaches the virtue of compassion" and this was reflected by Mick in his interview when he

stated how the state of society, in terms of its lack of appreciation towards its culture and

history was influential in his decision to volunteer at the railway. He indicated that;

"It was very important to me to be able to protect the history of the local area. This

is something that I think is often forgotten about and over looked. The railway is

one of the biggest draws to the area and without it, the town would probably

decline. I know the funding from the council isn't as high as it used to be and it now

relies heavily on donations and the National Lottery Funding, this isn't going to be

around forever, and I want to do what I can to help it for the future".

Other 'religious' volunteers indicated that their motives for engaging in volunteering

were not directly based upon a sense of duty to help others but were instead a result of

religious communities and social networks, which is defined by Park and Smith (2000, 273) as being "the degree of access to other religious adherents". Andy, a volunteer at the Talyllyn Railway who previously volunteered at a local homeless charity in Bangor, explained how he heard about the opportunities available at the TR;

"It was through a poster that someone put up at the church, it was the same summer that I lost my wife, so I thought it was a bit of a sign. I went to a meeting which was organised for those who wanted to know more about the railway and the types of work that needed doing and I basically never left".

Husband and wife volunteers Mary and Hugh illustrated how family can encourage volunteering activity, which is an aspect referred to by Rotolo and Wilson (2006, 306) in their research into complement theory which suggests that if one spouse volunteers, the other will often follow suit, as they are able to see the positive elements of the work on a daily basis. Mary and Hugh's work with the Ffestiniog Railway began initially as they thought the railway was being let down due to a lack of new volunteers.

Mary and Hugh are both active participants in their local chapel, with Mary running the Sunday school and organising the flower arrangements, and Hugh assisting with routine maintenance work. Despite this religious engagement, their motives for volunteering at the railway were not a result of their religion, however, previously all of Hugh's voluntary work had been connected to the "chapel". Whilst in previous years his voluntary work was a result of his engagement with religion, Hugh indicated that both his and Mary's motives for volunteering at the railway were not a result of a "religious sense of duty".

> "Yes, we are deeply religious and always have been, but no, I wouldn't say it has been impacted by that. It did many years ago when I was younger, but we volunteer here first and foremost because we enjoy it, no other reason".

The enjoyment gained by Hugh from his work at the railway is a reflection of the positive outcomes which can be derived from the community and social side of the railway. Hugh and Mary both joined the railway over ten years ago;

> "The railway was in a difficult place mainly because the numbers of volunteers had dwindled so that's when we decided to chip in and help out".

Therefore, it is clear from that for Hugh and Mary, their engagement was primarily an outcome of the needs of the railway and not their religion.

A further volunteer who took part in this research was Owen a 62 year old volunteer for both the Welsh Highland and Ffestiniog Railway. Owen had been a volunteer for around fifteen years, however he only joined the Welsh Highland Railway in 2012 after he heard that they were recruiting new volunteers from a friend (also a volunteer) at his Kingdom Hall. Similarly, to Andy, Rob, Hugh and Mary, Owen indicated that he initially joined the WHR as they were struggling to recruit new volunteers, as the majority of potential recruits "go to the famous Ffestiniog" and not the Welsh Highland Railway, and it was that which prompted him to volunteer. Despite being one of the older volunteers at the railway, Owen noted that as a result of his vast experience working at both of the railways, he often took on most of the weekend responsibilities.

When asked about whether he felt as though his religious beliefs had inspired him to volunteer, Owen stated;

"I think it has to a degree, but probably not much. I think that working in Local Government and seeing all the cuts to important places like this was more of an motivation to be honest. Seeing places like this struggle, it's part of our history, I had to do something, so when Stewart told me that they needed people, that was the prod I needed to get started".

For Owen, although his religion itself did not have a significant impact on his desire to become a volunteer, it was through his networks at his Kingdom Hall that he initially volunteered at the WHR. Owen's account can be connected to the notion of the 'Big Society' which was developed by the coalition governments of the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats in 2010, with the aim of "encouraging people to take an active role in their communities" and "encouraging volunteering and involvement in social action" (Cabinet Office 2010, 3).

The benefits of being a volunteer.

Volunteering spans all ages, and whilst there are many common aspects between these individuals, differences were often present regarding the benefits gained.

45 year old mature student Sam, had been volunteering for the Talyllyn Railway for around ten years and primarily worked alongside the younger volunteers on the tracksiders programme, with the aim of encouraging them to develop new skills. It was clear from

speaking to Sam, that his background was a strong feature in his initial decision to volunteer. He stated that;

"I didn't have the best up-bringing, I grew up in Liverpool and it was at a time when the city didn't have enough housing, so they shipped us out to surrounding areas where they had built extra homes, it was a quite a rough area, there was a lot of violence and alcohol misuse use, but it was all I knew. Even though things weren't always easy, it was always important to me to be able to give something back to the community, if not there, here. I've always been of the view that everyone should try and do their bit, and this is mine".

Sam further linked his ethnicity to his volunteer work, indicating how he started volunteering as a way to help people less fortunate, and during the refugee crisis/European Migrant Crisis of 2015, travelled to Calais to provide aid for those living in the 'camps', and he states that;

"I've not been here long, about three months so I'm still pretty new, and only work now and again when I get time, I got the volunteering bug after going to Calais with my wife to volunteer with the refugees back in '15. I'm the only one here who looks like me though, coloured. My mother was Spanish, and my father was from Jordan, but I was born and raised here. I used to visit now and again when I was younger, but when my wife and I decided to move down here I thought it would be something different to do on the weekends. I think the visitors like seeing someone who is more like them, but it is still very tough going".

Sam was particularly passionate in his account of volunteering. He indicated that he volunteered at the railway on average once or twice a month, for in excess of ten hours each time. In addition to this, he also volunteered at a local food bank twice a month and is a school governor. Sam highlighted that on occasion he sometimes felt as though:

"I want to do more, but I just can't. I would give hours and hours if I could, they need me but with working full time too, it's tough going"

This excerpt highlights the significant devotion which Sam has for volunteering, both at the railway and beyond. He further indicated that;

"I sometimes think that I should have got involved in volunteering when I was younger, although looking back, I doubt I would have had the time with having a young family. I also probably wouldn't have known how to go about volunteering either, I wasn't as outgoing or as chatty back then, volunteering has really brought me out of my shell in many ways".

This statement shows the impact which volunteering has had on Sam's life, and the passion which he exudes in his narratives of volunteering was clear. Unlike some of his fellow volunteers, Sam did not identify there were any challenges or negative aspects of being a volunteer, and therefore viewed his volunteering in a entirely positive light. Mac, a 32 year old volunteer from Manchester discussed the reasons for his volunteering. He stated that he first heard of the railway through his grandfather who was a 'train spotter' and later a volunteer at the Ffestiniog railway. Mac highlights that as a result of a disability

following a near fatal accident, he is unable to engage in 'traditional' work, but still likes to "keep busy and out of mischief". He discussed that through being a volunteer he is able to get the same sense of fulfilment that other people his age gets through work, just in a different way. Mac further noted that working at the railway has helped him to grow as a person through improving his mental health which "took a hit after the accident". It was indicated that prior to him volunteering at the railway, he felt as though he was different, lacked focus in life, and often suffered from bouts of depression as a result of isolation. Whilst Mac's disability does restrict him to a degree in terms of what work he is able to undertake; his fellow volunteers have "supported me every step of the way through my recovery".

For some participants, there was a perception that volunteering was a way in which to improve wellbeing in retirement. This was discussed by Stewart, who although he had begun volunteering as a hobby before his retirement, stated that his decision to now increase his engagement came from an interest in increasing the social benefits that came from participation:

"I'd been coming here for a number of years now, and so I'd learnt the ropes, got over the first part of being worried about whether I would fit in, and I began to love it. So, when I stopped working, it seemed like a reasonable idea in moving down here and to increase the time I spent on the railway".

An alternative perspective was suggested by Mike who indicated that in his case, volunteering was an attempt to find a new social activity after the loss of his wife. He stated:

"After I lost my wife ten years ago, it coincided with me winding work down a bit, and I was looking for something else to do. We'd come on holiday here a few times each year, so I knew the railway, and thought that I'd give it a go, you know, try to be an engine driver or a fireman. I found that being a guard was the best thing for me, getting to see the people every day, keeps you occupied, always something to do".

Many of the individuals illustrated the importance of the hospitable atmosphere which contributed to their decision to participate as railway volunteers, and when discussing their involvement with the railways it was noted that this was all part of the volunteering experience, to ensure that they provided a welcoming atmosphere for all. This indicates a sense of the capital that can be provided by the experience of volunteering. Acknowledging the degree of social wellbeing that volunteering provided, may mean that there was a recognition of this as a form of capital that would then be used to ensure that the enjoyment of the railroad staff was maintained in lieu of economic compensation.
As clear within more traditional forms of volunteering, caring for others was a positive aspect derived from the engagement, however, caring in this context differed compared to other forms of volunteering, as the term was viewed as the 'care provided by railway management and 'care' provided in terms of promoting wellbeing and improved mental health.

The caregiving element of volunteering was supported to a degree and demonstrated that the choice of roles available provides added attractiveness for volunteers. This flexibility is not necessarily available in the workplace and offers 'an added

bonus' for the participants. It also means that although there is a considerable demand for volunteers, the wide range of willing team mates relates to the fact that they can find different roles that suit them.

The question of wellbeing and mental health benefits that came from volunteering was mentioned by the majority of participants. Rod, noted that part of the benefit of taking part in these activities related to the 'structure' it gave to his daily life and when asked to expand upon this, commented:

"I mean when you work, you've something to do, to get up for, I was worried that if

I didn't find something else I'd just start getting up late, you know, sit around, not

do anything important, and run out of steam".

This indicates that there are some benefits to mental wellbeing that derive from the structure that the railway offers, which is appreciated by the participants. This is comparable to the research of Meier and Stuzer (2008, 4), who suggest that there are intrinsic and extrinsic rewards associated with freely giving time. Meier and Stuzer (2008, 19), suggests that there is strong evidence to indicate that volunteering exponentially increases an individual's sense of well-being, and those that volunteer regularly are more likely to report a higher degree of contentment and personal satisfaction than those who do not.

This indicates that one of the contributing factors towards wellbeing was associated with a propensity for engaging with and meeting new people. This could be interpreted as a contradiction, given the earlier perspective that indicated the presence of routine was an attractive feature of the railways, but the structured nature of socialisation is often

214

beneficial in reducing a sense of isolation. These social benefits are noted by Chinman and Wandersman (1999, 47), who indicate that volunteering allows for individuals to be introduced to new people, this increase in social interaction can be particularly advantageous for older adults, particularly if a case of social isolation is apparent. Again, one feature of the railway volunteering is that it offers diversity in terms of the benefits it can provide: some individuals might find repeated socialising as beneficial, but those with more introverted personality traits might find themselves more suited to work away from the public such as in engine maintenance.

For some, the benefits derived came from the performative elements of volunteering, which involved adopting a role to improve visitor experience (Gergen and Gergen 2018). To some extent, it could be argued that the performative element was appreciated in many ways by a number of participants, as a way of playing a role in being a part of the railway. For example, as Barry stated:

"It's hard work, but it's also fun, you know we dress up a bit and make it as official looking as possible, so that people who come here have the best time, we try to think of everything, from the flowers on the station to polishing the brass on the engines, and we play the roles that you would expect from years ago like stationmaster, porters, guards, it's a little bit of nostalgia".

This illustrated the delight that Barry felt in participating in an element of he regarded as make-believe, where the visitor expectations of the railway were acknowledged and met; it was presupposed that these expectations did not extend simply to travelling on a working railway, but on one where the experience was imbued with a sense of nostalgia. To an

extent, this represented a key part of the structure of the three railways, in that although their main aim was to ensure that they provided a working railway, this effectively provided the capacity to maintain the positions and functioning structures that existed at the time the railway ceased operating. This was further reflected in the employment practices of the volunteer network, which adopted a number of operating methods from traditional railway operators: for example, in learning through observation, and in the hierarchy of employment that began with basic menial tasks and culminated in the final position of being an engine driver.

The health benefits accrued from the more physical processes of railroad routine were recognised by Owen, he stated:

"When I started, I thought it would be mostly working on the trains, but I found some aspects of track-work to be quite demanding, walking the lines (to check safety and remove any vegetation that might be posing a threat) can be a great way to spend the day, although when you get to the end of it you feel completely knackered. It's good though, better than a gym".

This might indicate that the health benefits of volunteering were recognised in context of the physical demands that it might place upon workers. Track-work could be seen as dull menial work, but the quotation above suggests that this perception reframed it in terms of the positive benefits to health through the exercise that it offered. This positive approach to a number of the tasks, in terms of the personal health benefits that might come from it, was present in a number of interviews. For most of the participants, the desire was often framed in terms of being able to work on the railway, and therefore contributing to the organisation

was a way of satisfying their enthusiasm as a whole. Secondly, the appeal of otherwise menial tasks is clear in other outdoor pursuits, such as hill-walking or running.

The challenges of being a volunteer

Offering one's service may be seen in terms of a balance between expenditure and benefits, and therefore attention should be paid to the value of participation. Wilson and Musick (1997, 697) suggest that volunteering should be understood in terms of the economic capital or resources required to produce the tasks themselves. This was reflected by a number of individuals such as Richard who stated:

"Well it all adds up, the travel, the accommodation, the food, you need to treat it as a holiday in itself, not something which you can just do when you feel like it".

The background of the individuals contributed significantly to their propensity to volunteer, for example, it often requires some degree of encouragement from their families and friends to begin the engagement. This is supported by Handy et al's (2000, 47) research, which suggests that volunteering in many instances, is strongly associated with retirement in so far as they are often in a better position to make a voluntary contribution, due to the removal of the economic imperative for employment.

One feature which was prominent in some participants' accounts was the significant social expenditure that volunteering on the railways involves. For example, Mick stated:

"Well at first, my wife would kind of roll her eyes a bit, and I felt a bit guilty because I thought that it would be nice to do something together. But then she understands it makes me happy, I guess, and we do other things together, but I think it's partly

that she hasn't got a similar obsession like me, so she has had to grin and bear it as

I head off here every summer for a couple of weeks".

The financial outlays of volunteering were also prominent, and it was indicated by many that these costs served to deter others from engaging. Due to the rural location of these railways, it is essential for volunteers to have access to personal transport, as although the cost of public transport is reasonable, reimbursement is not provided, and the distance and rural nature of the locations often dictates that those without private modes of transport are excluded. Therefore, in locations such as North Wales, possessing economic capital in the form of being able to live or travel to, or within the area of the railways, is considered necessary for the majority of voluntary opportunities. Tom discusses this aspect below, and highlights the cost of volunteering, by taking into account financial expenditures including accommodation.

"Like I said volunteering isn't for everyone, it takes a lot of effort, time and costs quite a bit. If you don't stay at one of the hostels, local B&B's are quite expensive especially during the summer, and can cost around sixty pounds, and if you are staying for a week that can really mount up. So, I think to be a volunteer, you have to be able to afford it, that's the reality of it, luckily, I can afford to, but I wouldn't have been able to when I was younger".

The Talyllyn Railway is located approximately 300 yards from Tywyn mainline railway station, which provides services from Birmingham, Shrewsbury and Aberystwyth, whereas the distance from Bangor mainline station is 71.3 miles and takes on average 1.52 hours by

car or 3.4 hours by bus. The Ffestiniog Railway is located a short distance from Porthmadog mainline station which serves Pwllheli, Harlech, Barmouth, Machynlleth, Shrewsbury and Birmingham, the railway is 28.1 miles from Bangor station which takes 46 minutes by car and 1.30 hours by bus. The Welsh Highland Railway is easily accessed by car; however, the nearest mainline station is 9.1 miles away in Bangor and would require a bus into the centre of the town and a taxi to the railway itself. In addition to transport costs, accommodation is also necessary. At the FFR, volunteers have the option to camp at the Minffordd site, this provides basic facilities in terms of showers, toilets and a drying room, and is located next to the yard, costing £2.50 per tent, per day, un-serviced. The other railways offer hostel based accommodation, with an average daily cost of £4 per day. Additionally, volunteers can reside in private accommodation, however as many individuals noted, this was not an option for some due to financial considerations.

Whilst the participants in this research volunteered for widely different amounts of time per week/month, when asked about the main challenges to their engagement, the overall consensus was that commitment is the primary challenge which they face. Owen, one of the longest serving volunteers at the Welsh Highland Railway described this aspect in his interview;

"Yes, I love it, but it does sometimes take over your life. It isn't so much of a problem anymore as I'm retired, but when I was working it was hard going. I used to feel guilty if I missed special events at home because the railway had some maintenance issue, which only I could fix, and it was essential that it was done. I missed a lot of things, everything from weddings to dinner parties, and taking my

grandchildren to the zoo. It's not just the work itself though, I often ended up doing

a lot of other bits for the railway at home, like having to attend AGM's, society

gatherings and such like, I was never able to switch off".

This opinion was also corrobrated by Richard, a fellow long standing volunteer, who stated

that;

"I love how committed everyone is, I think it's great, but sometimes it does get a

bit much. You're expected to do so much all the time, and it just isn't realistic for

everyone. We don't want a penny back for anything that we do, and it's not that I

expect anything because that's not why I'm here, but I do a lot of travelling to

meetings and I can't claim anything back for like petrol and things. I sometimes feel

that they take me a bit for granted too, as though I have nothing better to do.

When I started, I was also working full time and I would end up having to use my 28

day work holiday just to try and catch up on everything they wanted me to do".

Whilst Richard expressed his enjoyment towards volunteering, he also indicated he

sometimes feels "irritated" by the amount of reliance which the railways place on a core

group of long standing volunteers. He discussed that he always has to make sure that his

mobile phone is with him in case of any emergency, and that when his first granddaughter

was born, he ended up being called away as there had been an engine issue, of which he

was the only person within 100 miles who could repair it.

It is clear that many of the volunteers who took part in this research face challenges, although despite these, continue to volunteer, as their personal desires to keep the railways alive often overshadows the external issues which they face.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that there are a number of different routes into volunteering, together with several different approaches in which it brings benefits to those who engage. In particular, there were contrasting ways in which participation was conceptualised, and this might reflect some distinctive differences in the sense of serious leisure or volunteering-as-work. The influence of parentage and background varied between participants: in some cases, the family influence resulted in an interest in railways, and in other cases it resulted in an encouragement to volunteer. The background of participants in terms of an interest in engineering also played a role with some volunteers. Although the notion of habitus might offer an explanation of some forms of behaviour, social learning theory might indicate the process by which the benefits are observed by the participants, leading towards an increased tendency to volunteer. In other instances, the relationship between the enthusiast and family influences came from practical experiences of volunteering.

The social and physical benefits that volunteering brought to the participants were significant and varied, indicating that there were many ways in which they offered a reinforcing pathway for those who engage. The social benefits may be identified in terms of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. It can be argued that part of the success of volunteering for the railways stems from the fact that both forms of these were present. The social benefits offered a sense of family and social interaction, which some enthusiasts particularly

welcomed after retirement. Finally, many of the other interests such as the skills learnt, and the physical labour volunteering offered, were seen as positive effects of participation.

The high financial outlay required by some participants does act as a deterrent, fuel and accommodation costs in some circumstances could be viewed as a disincentive. Although specific details were not given, it was apparent that many participants invested substantially in their activity. It was also clear that the over representation in the volunteer demographic may also deter some people, although this was only discussed in relation to a fear of not fitting in. This indicates that although the railways all appeared to be successful at providing benefits for their volunteers thus ensuring that they continue to engage, there were some limiting factors which may also need to be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER SIX: IMAGES VERSUS REALITY: SELF-UNDERSTANDINGS AMONGST RAILWAY VOLUNTEERS.

Introduction:

"Volunteering has something of an image problem, many young people seem to be convinced that it is "not for people like us". This is probably due to the annoyingly persistent myth that volunteering is an activity largely carried out by middle-aged, middle-class women with too much time on their hands" (Niyazi 1996, 103).

Looking at the dominant images of volunteering, this chapter will examine how the attitudes of the volunteers themselves embody aspects of masculinity and tradition. Focusing on those who embody and reproduce the dominant imaginings, how these individuals understand themselves and others, and those who challenge and/or disrupt this traditional image, providing a detailed discussion of how, despite changes over time, masculinity remains a dominant culture within the railway societies. This chapter will answer the following research question "What self-understandings exist amongst volunteers and are there any conflicts between stereotypical images and reality".

The railway and their volunteers appear in contrast to many of the more female based imaginings of volunteering, as being the preserve of middle class women. Whilst volunteering is most associated with roles such as, working in a charity shop, the majority of which are typically undertaken by women, railway volunteering is almost exclusively male dominated, which creates a distinction between railway volunteering and other voluntary

based roles which as Niyazi (1996, 98) indicates are "largely carried out by middle-aged, middle-class women with too much time on their hands".

Embodying and reproducing the dominant imaginings

Volunteering is often viewed and portrayed as being exclusively, the pasttime of middle class individuals who have the necessary resources to be able to work without remuneration. Class is an important determinant of voluntary participation, with individuals from a "middle class" background being considerably more likely to be members of voluntary groups or civic associations (Hall 1999, 12). As Guild et al. (2014) suggest, there is a class dimension within voluntary activities, and generally, those from more affluent backgrounds are often more likely to engage.

Previous research has suggested a link between formal volunteering and social class, and how volunteering is often considered to be an element of a middle-class habitus (Dean 2011, 19). Volunteering and class is strongly linked to Bourdieu's (1986) theories of capital (social, economic, and cultural capital). Social capital is comprised of associations, relationships and social networks which can be transformed into economic capital (Bourdieu 1986, 47). "Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or, in other words membership of a group" (Bourdieu 1986, 51). In addition to social capital, economic capital is financial and includes various assets for example, property and possessions, which can be directly turned into money (Bourdieu 1986, 47). Having access to a disposable income, as indicated by Hamish is key to this ability to volunteer:

> "Volunteering is an expensive hobby, you need to pay for travel, accommodation, and your food, it all mounts up. I'm lucky in that at the end of the month I have a bit of money left over which I can put towards coming here".

Cultural capital, in comparison, is present in three primary forms, these are embodied (inner characteristics), objectified (cultural objects such as paintings) and institutionalised (academic qualifications which may be converted into economic capital in the labour market) (Bourdieu 1986). Cultural consumption is often associated with individuals of higher status as their experiences typically span various cultural boundaries.

Many opinion polls indicate that, whilst there is a rising tide of affluence and a perception that 'we are all middle-class now' (Roberts 2001, 11) a high proportion of respondents report themselves as belonging to the working class, despite them often having careers which many would consider as being middle class occupations.

Social class is defined as being a set of subjectively defined concepts centered on models of social stratification in which individuals are grouped into a set of hierarchical social categories, the most common being the upper, middle and lower classes (Maleske 2017, 4).

Despite this, there is no consensus on a definition of "class" and the term has a wide range of meanings (Maleske 2017, 4). The term "social class" is typically synonymous with "socio-economic class", which is defined as "individuals possessing the same social, economic, cultural, political or educational status" (Maleske 2017, 4). Max Weber developed a three-component theory of stratification which determined that social class emerges from an interplay between class (economic position in society), status (prestige or popularity in society), and power (an ability to get their way despite resistance) (Maleske 2017, 4).

Social classes are found within all societies; they are determined by individual social attributes (nationality, education, income and ethnicity), social properties (structures including housing), and socio-education (vocational and academic qualifications) (Maleske 2017, 4). The most common classifications of social classes in the United Kingdom are upper-class, middle-class, working-class and lower-class (Wright 1985). Upper-class individuals are often perceived as the group in society with the highest degree of intangible characteristics and greatest economic resources. Due to this perception, as well as their accessibility, and ability to utilize different types of resources, the upper-class is sometimes referred to as the dominant class. Concurrently, the lower-class is perceived as disadvantageous, with little attainment of intangible characteristics and little or no access to economic resources.

Many of the individuals in this research had their own distinct experiences and ideas surrounding class, the class structure, and their place within it. Many of these railway volunteers fell into the higher end of Erikson and Goldthorpe's (1992) working class grouping (VI), due to their income (typically below £25,000, moderate qualifications, and typically employed within manually skilled or supervisory roles). To measure class, the Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero (1992) class schema was utilised, also known as the EGP. This schema arguably remains the most prominent conceptualisation of social class in European Sociology which aims to differentiate positions in terms of the employment relations that they entail (Erikson et al.1992, 37). There are many versions of class schemas, some are influenced by Karl Marx, whilst others by the work of Max Weber, however despite such differences they all possess strong theoretical foundations. (Erikson, Goldthorpe and Portocarero, 1979 or simply *EGP*). The EGP schema has become more strongly associated with employment relations. The primary distinction made by EGP is that between employers, those who are self employed and employees.

The vast majority of the volunteers fell into the manual workers category, as illustrated below, within which 31 individuals could be defined as being from class V (lower grade technicians, supervisors of manual workers), and 43 being from class VI (skilled workers), see the diagram below. This was determined based on asking the volunteers themselves, about their previous/current occupation, income (in bands/brackets), and how they would also self-define their class.
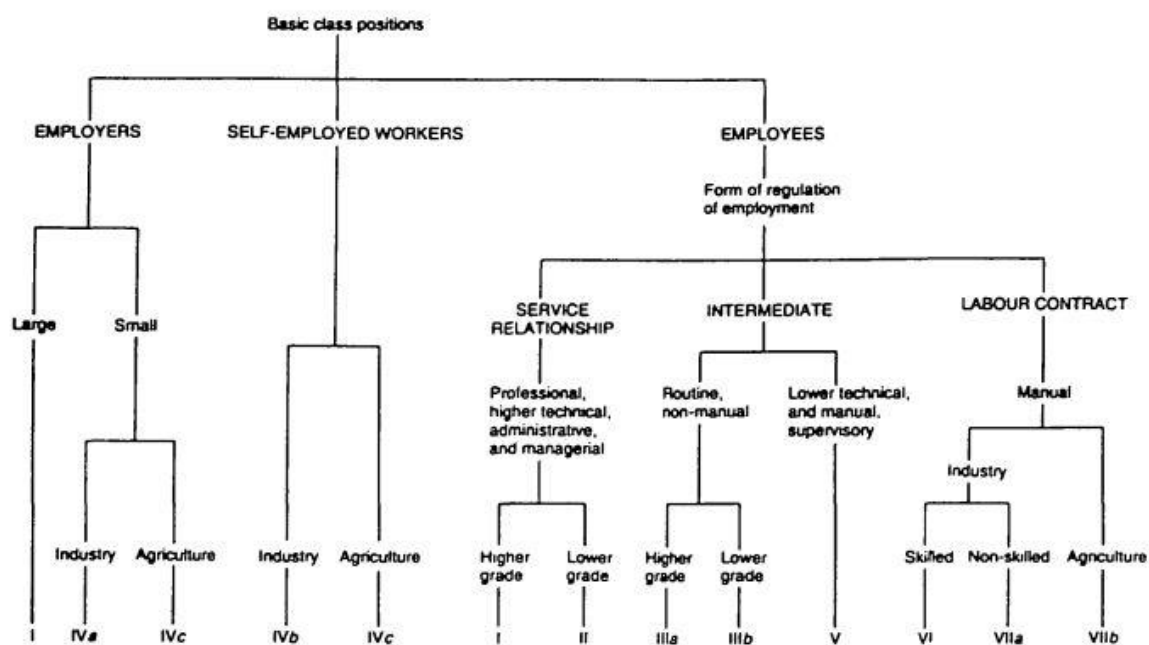
(Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992, 37).

The term 'labour aristocracy' is defined by Moorhouse (1978, 61) as being "individuals within the top 10-15% of manual wage earners, who are characterised by higher and more regular earnings, membership of a trade union and with a respectable lifestyle" (Moorhouse 1978, 61). This group can be understood as being 'bourgeois workers', who are

often highly skilled, and form an upper level of the manual working class (Moorhouse 2008, 61).

The notion of the labour aristocracy is one of the oldest Marxian theories of working class conservatism and reformism, which formed the basis of many Marxist explanations of working class activity during the Victorian and Edwardian era, up until the first world war (Moorhouse 1978, 61). Politically, the labour aristocracy in the United Kingdom have typically been conservative. This group represented the highly skilled and strongly unionised stratum of the working class, which was economically, socially, and politically allied to the middle class of the time (Waterman 1975, 57).

The data collected in this study indicates that whilst some of the participants fit into a 'middle class' socio-demographic profile, the vast majority can be described as being from an upper working class stratum (Moorhouse 2008, 61), and therefore can be defined as being from the labour aristocracy.

Many of the participants in this study referred to their family during the interviews, specifically their parents and grandparents. A common theme identified across the data collected was how they were often only one or two generations removed from the lower end of the working class category, this is identified within the excerpt below by Archie:

"Both my dad and grandad worked down the pits, so I doubt volunteering ever crossed their minds, but both my mum and grandmother volunteered for the local Women's Institute. Life was different back then, it was much harder than it is these days. I remember my dad setting off for work at 6am, and he wouldn't get in until I was in bed. I'm lucky in that I never had to go down the pits, and even though I

complain about my job sometimes, I'm an accountant, it's nothing like the job my

dad and grandad had to do".

Research examining links between an individual's capital and volunteering have

generally used income as a measure of capital, and it is suggested that economic capital can

enable volunteering activity (Rochester et al., 2009). Generally, it is understood that

individuals identified as being 'middle class' earned far more than their 'working class'

counterparts, however as Neil notes, this is not always the case.

"I've done loads of jobs. I spent ten years in the army, three years as a fireman and

then I was approached by a friend of mine to help drive a truck down to London. I

enjoyed it so much. After a year or so I was laid off at work, and I decided to look

into getting a HGV licence. I started off small, driving a milk tanker from North to

South most days, but then I got offered a job driving flammable and explosive

products across most areas of the UK. Yes, it was dangerous, and my wife wasn't

too happy about me doing it, but I earned a great salary, when I left, I was on fifty

four thousand a year, which is a lot I think for a truck driver".

Whilst income and social class do often go hand in hand, as shown above in the

interview excerpt by Neil, this is not always accurate. According to the Husdon salary guide

(2016), on average a GP (general practitioner) 5-9 years after qualifying earns approximately

£67,000 per annum with a lifetime earning of £2,680,000, and lawyers within 10 years of

qualifying earn approximately £57,000 per year, with a lifetime earing of £2,280,000

(average yearly salary x 40 years of employment). These jobs or vocations as they are

frequently referred to, are examples of occupations deemed 'middle class', however the income variations between Neil's truck driving and the average salary of a GP or lawyer, show that not much variation is present in terms of yearly and lifetime income, and therefore this factor is not always effective in judging 'class'. It is however important to note that whilst the income between these occupations are similar, the pension payments attained differ substantially (Department of Health and Social Care 2012).

Economic capital can to a degree enable volunteering activity (Rochester et al., 2009). The availability of affordable transport and childcare provisions can be substantial barriers to participation (Institute for Volunteering Research 2004). Aspects of economic capital were often referred to by the volunteers, and the overall view suggests that due to the economic capital required, only volunteers with elevated levels of disposable incomes have access and means to participate. This is displayed within the following excerpt by Harris.

"People think volunteering is this free activity, I guess it is in a way, but when you take everything into consideration, it actually costs us quite a lot to come here. You need to pay for your own petrol, accommodation and food, none of this is given back to us. It all comes out of our own pockets. It's not cheap so I think that it puts off a lot of people, as not everyone can afford it".

Nichols and Ralston's (2012) research into the London 2012 Olympic Games report similar findings to the above, and highlights that during this event, volunteers were expected to pay for their own travel and accommodation, both pre-event, during their training, and throughout the Olympic Games themselves, without any form of

remuneration. Their research suggests that due to this economic barrier, volunteering was generally limited to individuals of higher status and income (Nichols and Ralston 2012, 82).

In terms of correlations between social origin, educational attainment and cultural practices, three particular "zones" exist with regard to cultural tastes, which coincide with education levels and social class, these zones are: legitimate, middle-brow and popular (Bourdieu 1986, 6-9). While it is disputed that there is no inherent "sense of taste", the suggestion is made that they are disseminated via an individual's family and upbringing, through the habitus (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu's (1986) 'legitimate zone' refers to the cultural distance applied to an item. The way in which objects and items are rareified by aestheticsising it, so that it has greater value over its function (Hayward 1998, 67). The 'middle brow zone' refers to culture which is easily accessible for example photography, which is the product of commercial culture and the large scale productions (Haywood 1998, 67).

Finally, the 'popular zone' reverses the perception held by legitimate culture, in that it believes that the principle of access and participation, and views technology as a positive aspect which enables items to be multiplied (Hayward 1998, 68).

In contrast to Bourdieu's (1986) theory of there being a clear divide between high and popular culture, Bennett et al. (2009) identified a sharp and clear division amongst those who are culturally active and participatory, and those who are comparatively disengaged but substantially engaged socially on an informal level within the home, family and community. There is often a higher degree of cultural consumption within individuals of higher status as often their experiences span various cultural boundaries (Bennett et al. 2009):

"Class remains a central factor in the structuring of contemporary cultural practice in Britain, class matters. Whatever social advantage might arise from heavy engagement in cultural activities will accrue to those who are highly educated, who occupy higher occupational class positions, and who have backgrounds within higher social classes" (Bennett et al. 2009, 52).

Research into connections between an individual's capital and volunteering have generally used income as a measure of capital, and through examining literature broadly, it is suggested that economic capital can to a degree enable volunteering activity (Rochester et al., 2009). Focusing on potential barriers to volunteering, it is evident that a lack of economic capital, availability of affordable transport, and childcare provisions can be substantial barriers to participation (Institute for Volunteering Research 2004). Critically examining the London 2012 Olympic Games, Nichols and Ralston (2012) identified that generally during this event, volunteers were expected to pay for all their own travel and accommodation, both pre-event during their training, and throughout the Olympic Games themselves, without any form of remuneration, therefore indicating the high cost incurred by many individuals who participated, and the large barrier confronting the many people who would liked to have taken part.

Wilson and Musick (1998, 113-116) indicate that social capital influences the participation of individuals possessing "higher status". "Volunteering can be one way to demonstrate a dominant status in society, or that organisations seek out the most prestigious volunteers" (Wilson and Musick 1998, 114). Participation within cultural activities is often a substantial predictor of volunteering (Bennett and Parameshwaran 2013). This link between cultural activity and volunteering can be explained by the way in

which individuals often use volunteering to distinguish themselves from their peers (Jeannotte 2003).

Volunteering patterns can be examined further by integrating Bourdieu's (1984) theory of the habitus and field. The formula proposed by Bourdieu (1984, 94-95) "((habitus)(capital))+field=practice", indicated that in order for the act of volunteering to be understood, it is essential to examine the "habitus" of the individual, which as discussed by Morth (2016) is the "physical embodimens of cultural capital, the deeply ingrained habits, skills and dispositions possessed as a result of life experiences". In addition to the habitus, the field is the way in which the "social world is divided up into a number of particular areas, each with their own specific rules, knowledge, and forms of capital". The habitus can be understood as an individuals' thoughts, tastes, beliefs, interests, and their understanding of the world around them (Bourdieu 1984).

Research shows that inclinations, tendencies, and attitudes towards unpaid work are firmly rooted within the habitus and are influenced to a high degree by social class and family attitudes towards volunteering (Brodie et al., 2011). Whilst the habitus is not directly referred to, an analysis of participation patterns in the United Kingdom discovered that parents and the wider family sphere are influential and are important elements in establishing a culture of participation (Brodie et al., 2011).

Bourdieu's (1984) fields are "social arenas", inside which, conflicts or struggles occur over particular sources of capital and associated access to them. A field in this context can be defined as, for example, railway preservation (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 97-103). "Capital is a social relation, for example an energy which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced. The specific logic of the field determines those which are valid in this market, which are pertinent and active in the game

in question, and which, in the relationship with this field, function as specific capital and, consequently, as a factor explaining practices" (Bourdieu 1984, 107).

The ultimate value of any capital is determined based upon the precise field in which it is found, while in addition, certain types of capital are considerably more valuable and beneficial in particular fields, for example, economic capital is far more valuable within business, while in contrast, cultural capital is more valuable in the arts and heritage sectors. Bourdieu (1984, 87) states that "the same practices may receive opposite meanings and values in different fields", therefore it is clear that cultural capital is substantially appreciated within the railway preservation industry, which results in the attraction and retention of individuals with increased levels of cultural capital. Through identifying that capital differs substantially depending upon the field, it can aid in the understanding of why particular volunteer demographic patterns such as class, ethnicity, age and gender vary between organisations and "fields".

Railway volunteering, gender and stereotypes

During the 1950's and 1960's, the anorak/mackintosh provided a sensible waterproof jacket with plenty of pockets for notebooks, sandwiches and binoculars. At this time, specialised and specific outdoor wear was generally unavailable to the ordinary man on the street, and therefore most people's outdoor wear was required to serve more than one purpose, work and leisure. Due to the limited amount of chemical dyes available at that time, various shades of beige were the only readily available option.

Binoculars feature within the 'traditional' view of trainspotters due to the fact that often, viewing galleries were unavailable, and therefore spotters had to view the trains from afar.

234

Notebooks were used to record any details including the name, number and class of the engines seen that day, and would then be checked against their reference books kept at home, this book would contain the names and numbers of every locomotive in the United Kingdom, and then these would then be underlined or highlighted as and when they were spotted.

Discussing the attitudes of others, volunteers indicated that they have often been depicted as wearing a beige trench coat, glasses, carrying sandwiches, thermos flasks, and binoculars with a notebook in their pocket. This image is often portrayed by the media in relation to trainspotting. Tony commented that although this is an image which may apply to some people, it does not accurately reflect the true image of railway volunteers. Tony suggests that this view which is often presented in the media and literature (Smith, 2014) may act as a barrier which deters others from engaging. Whilst it is frowned upon to judge others, the longer this depiction which conveys the image that all railway volunteers are the same goes un-challenged, the more acceptable the label becomes.

Whilst this representation of the typical railway volunteer/train spotter is strongly understood as being the dominant image portrayed in the media, it is important to highlight that whilst this image may represent some individuals, it does not encompass all individuals who engage or have an interest in the railways.

Whilst the findings of this research indicate that participants associated stigma and labelling with aspects of the representations discussed, however, it was not always evident who comprised Goffman's (1963, 41) "normals" or "stigmatised" in this respect. Volunteers appeared to be employed in forming and to a degree stigmatising one another's identities. As indicated by Schouten (1991), individual's identities are often corroborated by those with whom the volunteers associate.

The majority of the younger participants were relatively new to volunteering, and when asked to describe a typical railway volunteer, they generally depicted an individual who was relatively similar to themselves. When asked how they thought other, non-volunteering individuals viewed them, their descriptions highlighted that they could often be seen as:

"un-cool and boring. People just assume all volunteers are old"

Gerry's interview where he was asked to discuss how other people perceived him as a volunteer, indicated that:

"People sometimes see volunteering as something that just people who are retired do. They have nothing to do, so they volunteer. Just the word volunteering gives people this picture in their mind of an old lady in a charity shop, that put me off"

This reflects similar findings to those identified by Thomas and Finch (1990) in terms of the general public's views of volunteering and those who engage. Their data showed that the term 'volunteering' created a particular image in the minds of the general public (Kamat 2001), these images typically implied a view that volunteers were often older, religious, with a significant disposable income, spinsters, often wearing "crimplene and pearls" (Thomas and Finch 1990, 54). Whilst this image may reflect some volunteers, it does not encompass the diversity of those who volunteer, and may prevent individuals from engaging, through a belief that they would not fit in.

Bell (1999) argues that this representation developed during the Victorian era alongside the image of 'Lady Bountiful' who helped the 'poor and needy' (Davis Smith 1995). During

this time, voluntary activities engaged upon by working class communities were largely ignored (Davis Smith 1995), and as a result the image of volunteering being the preserve of middle-class individuals prevailed. Whilst research into volunteering is becoming more balanced in terms of its inclusion of formal, informal and community engagement, along with the understanding that volunteering is carried out by individuals across all social classes, groups including BAME individuals, and those with disabilities who are often largely ignored. This aspect links back to the findings of this research, whereby within the three railways analysed, BAME and disabled individuals were significantly underrepresented.

Voluntary work can be viewed as a type of symbolic consumption (Ho and O'Donohe 2014, 855), which may impact the development of an individual's social, cultural and personal identities (Arnould and Thompson 2005). Goffman's (1959) theory of the self, identified a connection between an individual's everyday interactions and dramaturgical performances. Goffman's (1959) theories of stigma in relation to "covering" and "passing" were also identified within the interviews. Covering refers to the toning down of a disfavoured identity to fit into the mainstream (Goffman 1959, 42), and with regard to the participants in this research, they indicated clear differences in how they had to adapt and change to their volunteering environment. Owen, for example, is a volunteer on the railway and at his local church. He noted that due to the significant differences between the two organisations, both the railway and church require significantly different acts. A continual mindful effort is regularly made to adjust his behaviour and look to the location in which he is volunteering. Owen indicated that when helping out at the church he was required to present himself as "agreeable, pleasant, compassionate and sympathetic", whereas when he volunteers at the railway, he is able to be more natural in his demeanour.

As within Goffman's (1963) theory of "passing" which refers to the way in which individuals play down their identities to convey themselves in a different way. Participants often 'hid' their volunteering activities from others. This was mentioned by Frank who described himself as "being in the closet" when it came to his volunteering as he had been previously laughed at and ridiculed by his friends and co-workers. As a result of the attitudes of others, he mentioned that over time he had learned not to discuss his involvement with non-volunteers. The railway was evidently a central element in his personal identity, but as this form of volunteering was not understood by others, he had learned over time to separate his two lives. Owen's discussion illustrated the way in which he engages in role segregation within his two locations of voluntary activity. Whilst working at the church he did not contest the image but rather aimed to be viewed in line of this image. Whilst at the railway, Owen noted that he felt considerably more comfortable being himself. He further aimed to portray positive elements of the traditional railway volunteer image among his peers, by conveying his desired outward self-image of quirkiness, kindness and acceptance. Acting out multiple identities (Schouten 1991), Owen was able to change his exterior in order to fit in with his older church volunteers and fellow railway volunteers, however he noted that he would purposely circumvent particular aspects which connected him to the stereotypical view of both volunteer activities (Berger and Heath, 2008).

Those who challenge and disrupt tradition

When reference was made to female volunteers by the male participants, women were commonly portrayed as working within the shop and café. This depiction reflects the wider view that females typically volunteer in roles associated with hospitality, catering, care, and retail (Einolf and Chambre 2011), and that it is their own personal choice to engage in such

roles. When discussing their own experiences of gender based representations, the female volunteers reflected on how they often faced barriers to their training progression, this was most strongly featured within Carol's interview:

"It's like 2016 out here, and 1950 inside there. I think it has a lot to do with how they were brought up, it's different these days isn't it, women can do everything that men do, but here, there is this, I don't want to say it really, but it's a bit like keeping the jobs for the boys in a way. It is very closed, and I think they see us women as being too much of a change to how they feel things should be. We all get good training, and I'm not complaining about that, it's just I really wanted for a long time to train as a driver, but whenever I enquired, I was told that X would contact me, but he never did. X asked about training, and he was signed up immediately".

Carol's statement above highlights that there is an important intersection between age and gender, and whilst the above may be applicable to the older generation, signs of change are clearly evident amongst the younger generation of men who are striving towards ensuring the railways becoming more inclusive. This is shown in the recent appointment of a number of female board members and volunteers, including Ms Jane Garvey as Chairwoman of the Talyllyn Railway, and the acknowledgement that change is needed to reflect society today.

Female volunteers were often depicted in relation to gender norms, with their male counterparts highlighting that very few opportunities were available to women, as they were not deemed as strong physically as men, that they would be against adverse to getting dirty, and would not want to wear overalls. Many of the male participants, predominantly those over the age of 55, reflected a somewhat old fashioned view that women would prefer to engage in "girly" activities such as within the café or shop. As a result of barriers to progression, and the stereotypical view that female volunteers only want to work within the shop or café as these are deemed "appropriate" working areas for women, Violet indicated that unless changes were made, she would cease her volunteering activities within the railway all together. This form of exit as described by Violet, was present within the discussions undertaken with two other female volunteers. Alison and Karen both highlighted that whilst changes were being made in terms of their acceptance within the railways, unless considerable change was made in terms of training being accessible to all, they would both have to consider their future involvement.

Heritage railways have traditionally been a male dominated hobby, with men occupying the vast majority of 'technical' and 'manual' roles.

Figure 10. Female volunteers at the Ffestiniog Railway.

Whilst levels of volunteering generally, are equal between men and women (Communities and Local Government 2011), within this study, out of the 74 participants, 69 were male and 5 were female. This unequal distribution between the genders in this study reflects wider railway volunteering demographics.

Across the three railways substantial gender variations are present, the most predominant being that for the women who do engage, their roles typically involve working in the shops, cafés/buffet cars, or as TTI's (travelling ticket inspectors), while men generally perform the majority of engineering, driving, track laying, signalling, guarding, and 'outdoor' work. These patterns reflect commonly held genderisation of roles in the mainstream rail industry (Padavic and Reskin 2002, 78) with females allocated work relating to 'customer services and the home', whilst males are often encouraged to perform activities connected with more physical, manual, and outdoor roles.

Across the preserved railway industry, the recruitment of females is increasing (Network Rail 2016) in order to become more inclusive, and whilst this appears to be the case within the FFR, TR and WHR, women still remain underrepresented. Tommy and Mick both illustrate this change and note that whilst the process is rather slow, it is a positive move. Tommy states:

"It is still male dominated, it's starting to change, but very slowly. Over the past few

years more women have got involved, I wouldn't say that lots have, but you know,

we have had quite a few, it's a positive thing and I hope it keeps moving forwards"

While Mick stated:

"Yeah you know, more girls are getting involved but it's more of a gradual thing you know, rather than them just all turning up in one go. I guess it's like one now and again. Some do one shift and don't come back, they realise it's not their sort of work, but some stay, we have a couple at the moment"

Roles within the preserved railway industry and the wider industrial heritage sectors are typically male dominated (Alvesson and Billing 1999, 24). Working on the railways at the TR, FFR, and FFR was generally associated with masculinity, and from the participants interviews a distinct connection between being a railway volunteer and being a man, became apparent. This aspect was expressed by Josh when asked about why he felt female volunteers where in a minority within the railway preservation industry. He stated that:

"I think that there is this feeling that anything to do with trains, machinery or engineering things generally are manly things to do. I think trains are seen as being a big boy's toy, the same I guess as cars"

It was further highlighted by the female participants that one of the most challenging aspects of their engagement, is the way in which their abilities are often questioned by their male counterparts. For example, Violet:

> "It's different for women…I think it's like, they just don't trust us to do the job properly. It's very one sided cause' we don't question them. Just because we're women they think we need to be babysat"

Females in male dominated hobbies are often seen as deviant from the norm (Wahl et al. 2011), and therefore male volunteers are typically valued to a higher degree than females. Discrimination was often referred to, with a number of female volunteers highlighting that they were not given the same opportunities to advance and were often discouraged from pursuing roles in the driving and maintenance departments. Whilst the management interviews indicated that women were encouraged and able to perform the same roles as men, the female participants themselves indicated that on the ground, this policy was often not followed through. This finding concurs with both Löfström (2004) and Wahl's et al. (2011) studies into gender segregation and barriers for females in male dominated employment.

This is an aspect which is referred to by Jessie, who indicates that the idea of railway volunteering is connected with masculine connotations which may deter some females from participating:

> "Women are able to carry out the same roles as men, it is increasing however, very few do. I've been here for five years, and during that time I think we've had two female volunteers. They don't last long, it's like they try it out and then think, it's not for me. The men here have their groups of friends, and it's difficult for us. I'm not saying that we don't all get along because we do, but sometimes you just want

to talk to another woman you know. There is a limit to how long you can talk about

engines for instance. Although I think that it always has been male dominated, it's

starting to change, but not fast enough in my opinion. We need female role models

for those who want to volunteer, and the representation needs to move away from

the typical volunteer being an old bloke".

"Gendered occupational segregation" (Miller et al. 2004) refers to the social

phenomena whereby particular occupations are perceived as being "male", and typically

undertaken by men, whilst other occupations are viewed as being female and therefore

generally engaged upon or pursued by women (Prescott and Bogg 2014). The findings

derived from the data collection suggests that railway volunteering can be viewed in terms

of "glass walls" (Wasserman and Frankel 2015) and "glass ceilings" (Purcell et al. 2010),

whereby female volunteers are disadvantaged due to a preconceived stereotypical image of

engineering skills and interests being perceived as a masculine trait, the presence of women

whilst increasing is often limited to specific activities or levels (glass walls) and therefore

there is a distinct lack of females in higher roles (glass ceilings). Charlie discussed this aspect

in relation to how working on the locomotive's is viewed as a 'very masculine job':

"working in the café and shop, but some become TTI's, these are the only girly jobs

we have. We don't have many feminine roles here, this is a manly environment, I

don't mean it in a bad way, you understand, it's just how it is"

From a female perspective, Carol reflected on her personal experiences of receiving

negative responses as a result of her gender, she discussed her aim of becoming a fireman

and highlights that a desire to break down traditionally held images is one of the main aspects which drives her continual involvement:

"As a woman I have occasionally had the odd comment like, what is a woman doing working here, but I don't let it bother me to be honest. I think it has a lot to do with stereotypes, you expect the driver to be a man with grey hair, and not a young woman. I would like to have a go at being a fireman, but I don't know how others would feel about it. I feel as though I have been accepted here, but there is still a bit of hostility you know… particularly by the older generation, it's not really seen as a womanly thing to do. To tell you the truth, that's probably why I do it, I don't want to have to fit in a particular box, I want to do things that challenge me, surprise people, and do the unexpected"

As highlighted above, women are significantly underrepresented within the FFR, WHR, and TR railway organisations. Females appear to encounter stereotypical barriers which deter and also prevent them from engaging, and therefore women are not represented at higher levels. The underrepresentation of women is an area of concerns for the three organisations, and since the beginning of 2014/2015, volunteer recruitment has actively been targeting females. This new strategy has increased the number of female volunteers, however as indicated in the interview quotations above, women are still in a minority, often reluctant to participate due to preconceived images, and for those who do engage, roles offered appear to differ between genders, with females encouraged to pursue roles in the cafés, shops or in customer service. From their initial development, the three railways examined have historically always employed far more males than females, and top level

management has been almost exclusively male dominated and thus reflects the railway's founders who were all men.

The TR, WHR, and the FFR as indicated previously are volunteer led organisations, and volunteers represent 94% of the total workforce across all three organisations combined (McLlwrick 2017), however currently, despite a move to increase diversity and therefore to become more representative of the UK population, individuals from BAME (black, Asian, minority, ethic) backgrounds remain significantly underrepresented. Whilst many organisations have become more diverse in terms of their recruitment, which may be linked to changing populations, North Wales remains predominantly white, with less than 1.2% of the population belonging to a BAME profile (Atenstaedt et al. 2009, 10). According to the 2001 census, 8% of the UK population identify as being an ethnic minority, approximately 4.6 million, with the largest groups being Indian 22.7%, Pakistani 16.1%, and black Caribbean 12.2% (IVR 2003, 5). Despite this diversity in population, the volunteering sector overall is lacking in terms of the diversity of its volunteers.

The Citizenship Survey of 2009-2010 highlights that 26% of white, 20% of black, 16% of Asian, and 13% of other groups regularly volunteer (Communities and Local Government 2011), however the type of organisations volunteered for vary substantially upon ethnicity. The Helping Out Survey shows that BAME individuals are more likely to volunteer for religious organisations and overseas disaster relief, whilst white individuals are often more inclined to participate in sports, hobbies, recreational and social clubs (Low et al. 2017). Studies including the 1997 National Survey of Volunteering highlight that whilst levels of participation do vary considerably between ethnicities, the data is not always accurate in that informal volunteering often goes unrecorded, and those who engage typically do not see themselves as volunteers (IVR 2003).

Between 2012 and 2016, rates of formal regular volunteering per month have remained relatively stable with 14.2 million people engaging (NCVO 2015), however despite this, approximately 51.44 million do not volunteer. Research has shown that whilst volunteering has traditionally been seen as open to all, certain groups such as ethnic minorities and individuals with refugee status often face significant barriers (Sundeen et al. 2007, 280).

A key barrier to BAME individuals volunteering in the heritage industry is the perception that the industry is dominated by white, middle class, older individuals, and therefore it is not seen as inclusive. This is an aspect referred to by Chris who suggested that volunteering is often viewed as a British/English pastime, and as a result may discourage engagement. Alan expanded upon this point and reflected on the lack of diversity within the railways. It was indicated that a potential fear of not fitting in could serve as a significant barrier. This concurs with the findings of Little's (2002) study into stereotypes, which identified that the image and perception of volunteering can 'alienate' certain people and groups.

Within BAME groups, volunteering is typically conducted informally, and not engaged upon within the mainstream organisations such as the railways in this study, but rather between individuals within communities. Research has shown that BAME individuals do not always describe what they do as "volunteering", and as indicated by Little (2002), the term 'volunteering' does not have translations in many languages. For this group, they are simply doing what comes naturally to them. As one participant, Mike, indicated:

"I don't think that it is volunteering itself which is the issue, I think it comes down to how it is pictured, it alienates people".

The concept of volunteering is frequently associated with formal organisations, and the "middle-class, middle-aged, white" image features strongly. Sheard (1995, 120) notes that the typically held view of a volunteer is that of a "retired, white male or female". Bradford and Nowland-Foreman (1999, 11) concur with this statement and note that whilst it is understood that individuals of all ethnicities engage in volunteering, the image of a traditional white volunteer remain the dominant image which can serve as a significant barrier for participation. This aspect was referred to by Jock.

"Yeah I guess you can say that we are typically all the same. As a local you know how it is (pauses…). Yeah, from my own personal experiences, I can't talk about how things were a few years back, but certainly in the last two or three years, I've not seen anyone who wasn't white here. We have some visitors who are, but no, no volunteers. It's very much all white people, don't ask me why, it's just how it is, but maybe it puts them off you know, maybe they feel like they wouldn't fit in"

The barriers to volunteering may also be a result of distance and culture. Whilst there are heritage railways throughout the United Kingdom, those close to large conurbations are typically miniature or standard gauge, rather than the narrow-gauge railways dominant in North Wales. Miniature gauge railways often require far fewer volunteers for its operation, and standard gauge, whilst needing higher levels of involvement, are often seen as inauthentic in comparison to narrow gauge, and therefore volunteer levels are often low across the country. In the south of the UK, for example in London, despite its increased population in comparison to other cities within the UK, and its diverse range of cultures, ethnicities and nationalities, railway volunteering amongst BAME Individuals remain low.

Figure 11. Volunteers on the Welsh Highland Railway (Ffestiniog Railway 2010, 4).

As discussed in the literature review chapter, the term 'volunteering' is particularly challenging to define. Sheard (1995) and Handy et al. (2000) suggests that it lacks accuracy, as there is no single all-encompassing definition. Despite issues in definitions, the prevailing image of volunteering is that of a white, middle-class, middle-aged female (Lyons et al. 1998). Whilst this image has been challenged, it still persists and is regularly disseminated via the media. These images can mean that many people feel as though volunteering is an activity which they cannot identify with, and as Little (2002) suggests and this study confirms, the widely held perception of volunteering can prove to be a barrier to participation amongst certain groups, particularly BAME and disabled individuals. A number of participants indicated that these representations of volunteering were to a degree the result of a failure to encourage voluntary engagement among particular groups of individuals. Huw (Volunteer Co-ordinator) states on this:

"I know this sounds a bit bad, but but I think ethnic groups sometimes just get overlooked. I've always thought that it could be daunting for them you know. Volunteering is seen as a very white thing to do, and that's the same with the stereotypes, I guess. When you turn on Sky News or open the newspaper, anything

to do with volunteering, it's always a lady with white hair, working with children or in a shop, and she's nearly always white. It's very much the same here, although we don't have many women, we are all white, how can I sell that to someone from a minority. How can they feel as though they would fit in, it deters so many, and that's the challenge".

The above comment by Huw illustrates how volunteering is often thought of and understood as being the preserve of older women, working with children or in the charity/third sector. He discusses the challenge of 'selling' volunteering to BAME individuals and how the stereotype held by many, may deter those who do not necessarily reflect that profile. Huw expressed a fear that unless the railways become more inclusive towards minorities, then a demographic time bomb will develop. As society becomes more diverse, heritage railways must respond, and as with many volunteer led organisations and charities, there is evidence of a "white civic core", and the volunteer 'workhorses' previously relied upon are are beginning to cease volunteering, often to look after relatives, or due to ill health. "In future the older population will be more ethnically diverse, and more people will live for longer with long-term conditions. These are precisely the groups who currently face the greatest barriers to getting involved in volunteering" (Jones 2018).

How they understand themselves and others

Not all volunteers are alike in terms of how they define themselves. Some view their involvement as being of the upmost importance in their lives, and ultimately defines who they are (Teske 1997, 121), whilst for others, volunteering plays little or no role in their

identity. Whilst individuals may occupy the same role, the perceptions of their volunteering and roles may differ substantially.

Roles are an important aspect within an individual's self-identity, and on a daily basis, multiple roles are often adopted, including being an employee, parent, husband, wife, sibling, son or daughter (Stets and Burke 2005, 82). This aspect was reflected strongly in the interviews. Individuals regularly described themselves and their volunteer work/activities in relation to their job role. The use of the term 'work' was routinely used in place of 'volunteering', and self-descriptions were strongly connected to the work which they engage in, such as Jimmy:

"I'm not a volunteer and this isn't a holiday"

The way participants separated themselves from traditional volunteers, plays a significant role in the development of their personal identities. One of the most frequently cited reasons for this view was that they typically associated the term 'volunteer' with images of either middle aged females working for organisations such as the National Trust, or students taking a gap year and volunteering abroad on conservation projects. During each interview, individuals were asked how they would define themselves, and whilst some (14%) did relate to the term 'volunteer', the vast majority of participants (86%) highlighted that due to the work which they engage in, the term does not encompass or reflect the true nature of their work. For these participants, their personal definitions centred around their individual work roles. Self-definition in terms of job roles was an aspect which was clear across the vast majority of interviews. Participants regularly referred to themselves based upon their work roles, such as being 'a driver', 'guard', 'ticket

inspector', 'outdoor worker', or as general 'workers', 'helpers', or 'staff members'. Whilst

being aware that they were volunteers, they did not refer to themselves as such, Nathan

referred to this aspect within his interview:

"I feel that I have a profession only a few are allowed to do. Throughout my time

here, I've gone through three different roles, cleaner, trainee fireman, and

qualified fireman. I have been in this final role for a year now, I get the opportunity

to impart my knowledge onto trainee firemen, my role sometimes changes from

fireman, to firing tutor, this isn't an official role on the railway, but it is one that we

take when we have trainees. Yeah, I am a volunteer, I feel like the work we do goes

beyond what people normally think of as volunteering, so yes, I know I am one, but

I don't think of myself as one if you know what I mean"

The railway communities acted as a centre of meaning for the participants (Cohen

1985) and aided in the understanding of dynamics such as the 'thickness' of the

volunteering (the depth of commitment). One of the most striking findings of this research

is the unusual combination of a sense of belonging, kinship and community. Within the

interviews, participants regularly referred to feeling 'a part of something', 'a team' and a

'family'. These were aspects which were indicated to by the majority of volunteers,

particularly in terms of those who participated regularly, and for many individuals,

developing a sense of belonging and identity were key factors in their initial decision to

participate. A theme frequently referred to by the male volunteers in particular was, the

indication that they possessed a strong sense of kinship towards their fellow volunteers,

along with the developing perception of belonging and community spirt, thus enabling them

to meet new people, widen their social network and create lasting friendships with people who share similar interests. The sense of identity and belonging generated, in these organisations in particular, acted as an incentive for future participation, and for many, played a key role in their overall enjoyment level.

Each railway provides accommodation for the volunteer workforce, and through residing together, for often extended periods of time, subsequently socialising outside of their daily activities, seemed a natural progression which reinforced the apparent shared values, this appears to generate significant and genuine levels of 'solidarity' amongst the volunteers interviewed. Participation within these organisations undoubtedly unite individuals together, with the expressed purpose of preserving the railway for future generations. Whilst developing a sense of belonging, identity or community did not feature when participants were asked about the aspects which influenced their decision to engage, the development of these aspects were noted as being significant to their overall enjoyment.

The TR, FFR, and WHR regularly employ numerous members of the same family, an interesting aspect of these railways is the prevalence of kin like relationships. Even though the participants in this study were not related to each other by blood, a strong sense of relatedness and closeness was present, and portrayed a view that the volunteers represent an idealised form of 'family' (Brown 2006, 19). This was most regularly identified within the accounts of retried volunteers, such as Sammy:

"I work with these people every day, and we probably spend more time together than we do with our own families. The work we do can be dangerous, so we have

to trust and rely on each other. Over time they become your other family, we have

a loyalty to each other"

It was noted that this family type atmosphere is present across the whole of the railways

staff, Tommy

"Once you're a volunteer here, that's it, you get this almost instant feeling of

friendship, yeah it's a family, our family"

Many participants mentioned having developed strong and lasting relationships with their

fellow railway volunteers from all over the United Kingdom and further afield which also

appeared to elevate their commitment.

 "Volunteering grows out of an identity, and an identity grows out of volunteering" (O'Toole

2013, 85)

The data shows that the volunteers who took part in this research felt as though they

shared a collective identity, typically developed as a result of the strong commitment and

camaraderie involved (Weaver and Agle 2002, 87). This is an aspect referred to within

Tommy's (volunteer co-ordinator) interview:

"There really is a team atmosphere here. I think it ultimately comes down to the

work we do. It's dangerous so there is a lot of reliance on one another, the

relationships developed between them are strong, very strong in fact, and for

many of them, work spans up to seven or eight hours a day, the same as if they

were working in the traditional way. For lots of people, working here is their first

and foremost interest"

Volunteering within the TR, FFR, and WHR is deeply rooted within a community based

setting, whilst also being a personal and highly individualised activity. Those who engaged in

'thick' volunteering strongly felt a sense of ownership over the trains, the many roles which

they occupy, and to a degree, the organisations themselves, such as Owen:

"This is far more than just a hobby for us, and the word volunteer doesn't really cut

it because the work we do is much more than what people normally associate with

volunteering. The trains are like our children, we devote so much time to them. We

maintain them, clean them and restore them. We have sort of adopted them as our

own trains (laughing)"

The findings illustrate that the participants strongly felt that the railway's autonomy, in

terms of self-direction, governance, and self-management were key to their success, and

that members of the trusts were not the 'real' owners of the railways. Research into the

experiences of volunteers typically start with the view that they are striving to perform an

activity which will do good to, and be of benefit to others (Jakimow 2010, 553), and the view

that voluntary work is a result of strongly held individual values reflects the views of the

volunteers in this research. The financial aspects in terms of the income of certain

management level individuals was particularly prominent, and in this regard the volunteers

felt justified in their assertion that due to their work commitment, lack of remuneration,

and the fact that their activities are often accompanied with a degree of risk, that they

themselves should be viewed as the 'real' owners of the railways, which echoes the solidarity also found within industries such as mining and the steel production. This was an expression of the forms of attachments and meanings which volunteers developed and gained from their work with the TR, FFR, and WHR.

Conclusion

Presented in this chapter is the data analysis of the volunteer interviews, with regard to perceptions of volunteering, their views towards themselves and others, and how the volunteers embodied aspects of masculinity and tradition. With regard to answering the research question of "What self-understandings exist amongst volunteers and are there any conflicts between stereotypical images and reality?" the volunteers appeared to accept the stereotypes that were offered to them, however they emphasised that their pathway to volunteering often started in early childhood. Many of the participants considered their period spent volunteering as an escape from their everyday life outside of the railway. The majority adopted the identities which were associated with the roles that they took on during their involvement, such as being an engine-driver or a fireman. The volunteers did not feel that there were any conflicts between stereotypical images and reality as their identities were context-dependent. There was an awareness of how these images might be seen by those outside, but these were not considered to conflict with their character during the time they were involved in the railway. The railways, and the associated society in which the individuals were involved provided a safe space for the individuals to develop their own unique terms.

The volunteer's responses were content analysed and compared across the three case studies using NVIVO. The data has shown that whilst the dominant image of a volunteer

often reflects elements of the Victorian 'lady bountiful' working within the charity sector, the TR, FFR, and WHR stand in contrast to these more female based organisations and imaginings of volunteering, due to their male dominated nature.

Male dominance, masculinity and gender images were embodied by the volunteers in this research. The volunteers indicated that generally females were instructed to occupy roles in customer service and catering, while men had a greater degree of freedom in terms of the roles accessible to them. Whilst the number of female volunteers has increased over the past five years, women, disabled, ethnic minorities and to a degree, young people remain significantly underrepresented, which may have future implications for their sustainability. Six months after completing this research, Violet, Alison and Karen were contacted to ascertain whether they were continuing to volunteer, as they had indicated that without changes, they would cease their engagement. Each of the three women, stated that they were continuing to participate on the railways, as small changes had indeed been made following discussions at their Annual General Meeting (AGM). These changes included more support being provided for females wishing to progress and train as drivers, and firewomen.

The perception of railway volunteers all being "white, middle class, retired, men" (McLlwrick 2017) is reflected within the data presented in this chapter. However, in contrast to this statement, the majority of volunteers within this research did not fit into a middle-class status, but rather fell into the upper working-class group due to their employment. In terms of self definitions, whilst the participants understood that their activities constituted volunteering, they did not define themselves as being volunteers, and instead viewed themselves in terms of their individual contribution, thus drawing a connection between volunteers within the FFR, TR, and WHR and serious leisure volunteering which will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RAILWAY VOLUNTEERING: WORK OR LEISURE?

Introduction

Examining the connection between volunteering, work, and leisure amongst the participants, this chapter will focus upon the five categories of serious leisure as defined by Stebbins (2007), and how they apply to the railway volunteers in this study. This chapter will aim to answer the research questions of "Can railway volunteering be considered a form of serious leisure?".

'Serious leisure' is a concept which was first introduced by Stebbins in 2007 and is used to describe leisure based activities which are both "substantial and interesting" for those who engage (Stebbins 2007, 14). Those who participate often develop a volunteer based 'career' and through this, gain a particular range of skills and experiences. Serious leisure participants often develop strong links with the subculture of their chosen activity (Stebbins 2007, 21). Consequently, railway volunteering can provide individuals with a way in which to develop and strengthen their own personal identities, provide them with a time and place to interact with others who similarly share the ethos of their activity, and a way to enhance their leisure 'career'.

The research highlights that railway volunteering means many things to many people. Railway volunteering is a serious leisure activity (n=61), predominantly dominated by retired individuals with increased levels of free time. However, for others, volunteering within the FFR, TR, and WHR is seen as a form of work (n=9), by way of a route into paid employment and/or higher education particularly amongst the younger volunteers. For a small number of volunteers within this study (n=4) a combination of both work and serious leisure was present. This category predominantly consisted of individuals who were in full

258

time employment and used their free time to volunteer at one of the railways, both as a way in which to relax, and to enhance their CV. The serious leisure category is dominant within this research; however, it is important to highlight that the 'work' and 'combined' categories are significant as they represent indicators of change and how younger people are now choosing to engage.

It was identified through the data analysis that volunteering for the TR, FFR, and WHR is often a replacement for traditional employment during retirement, a way to gain work experience, or for pleasure.

The serious leisure perspective

"Serious leisure is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting and fulfilling that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a leisure career centred on acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience" (Stebbins 1992, 3)

Serious leisure can be categorised as being, casual, serious, or project based (Stebbins 2017, 1). Each type of leisure refers to a set of actions which are followed in order to achieve a particular outcome which the volunteer finds 'appealing' (Stebbins 2017, 1). For instance, a core activity of railway volunteering is to preserve the locomotives. However, there are numerous interrelated steps which it is necessary to follow in order to successfully conduct this activity. Engaging in core activities and their connected stages/steps is often one of the primary aspects which initially attracts individuals to the leisure activity (Stebbins 2017, 1) and encourages them to participate regularly. The serious leisure perspective (Stebbins 2017) contributes three key benefits to leisure research. 1) It provides a way in which to theoretically view the phenomenon of 'leisure'. 2) It highlights the unique features,

similarities, and the connectivity between the three forms of leisure. 3) It provides a 'map' by which all leisure can be categorised as one of the three typologies (Stebbins 2017, 3).

The majority (n=61) of participants within this research based upon their activities, can be classified as being engaged in serious leisure, due to their intense level of commitment, and the fulfilling and substantial nature of their work (Figure 12). Within each category, distinctive socio-demographic profiles are present. Individuals within the 'work' category, were typically aged between 18 and 25, are students or employed part time, and whom participate on an occasional basis.
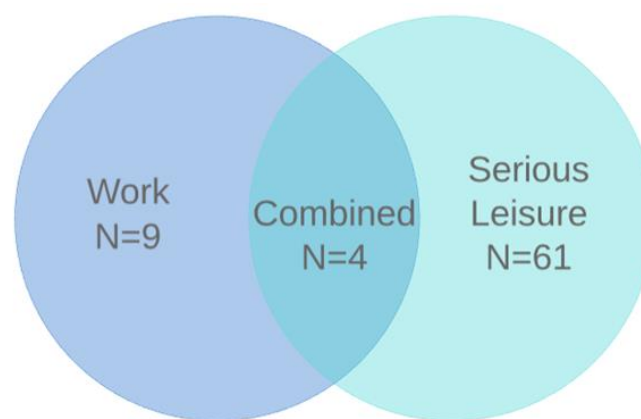
Figure 12. Number of volunteers per category.

According to Stebbins (2007), the serious leisure perspective (SLP) bridges three main forms of leisure, these being serious, casual, and project-based leisure. And includes the four sub categories below.

Leisure is defined in the SLP as un-coerced activity engaged in during free time, where individuals use both their abilities and resources in order to gain satisfaction or fulfilment. Serious leisure however is defined:

"The systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer based activity that is highly

substantial, interesting, and fulfilling and where, in the typical case, participants find a

career in acquiring and expressing a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and

experience" (Stebbins 1992, 3).

The term "serious" embodies qualities including earnestness, sincerity, importance, and carefulness. Amateurs are found in a number of fields including art, science and sport, where they are often linked with professionals in the same field. In comparison, hobbyists often lack the professional qualities of amateurs (Stebbins 2007, 6-8). "Hobbyists are grouped according to five categories 1) collectors, 2) makers and tinkerers, 3) activity participants, 4) players of sports and games, and 5) the enthusiasts of the liberal arts hobbies, which are primarily reading pursuits" (Stebbins 2007, 7). Volunteers, irrespective of whether they are pursuing serious, casual, or project-based leisure, offer un-coerced help, either formally or informally, without financial payment, for the benefit of others (Stebbins 2007, 9). As with serious leisure volunteers, occupational devotees are those who are inspired by "occupational devotion," by a strong, positive attachment to a form of self-enhancing work, where the sense of achievement is high and the line between this work and leisure is often erased (Stebbins 2007, 7).

Serious leisure is distinguished from casual leisure by six characteristics. These are: 1) need to persevere at the activity, 2) availability of a leisure career, 3) need to put in effort to gain skill and knowledge, 4) realization of various special benefits, 5) unique ethos and social world, and 6) an attractive personal and social identity (Stebbins 2007, 8).

Casual leisure is often short-lived, pleasurable and requiring little or no special training to enjoy. It is engaged in for the significant level of enjoyment or pleasure, gained (Stebbins 2007). Among its types are: play, relaxation, passive entertainment, active entertainment, sociable conversation, and sensory stimulation. Casual leisure is considerably less substantial, and offers no form of career (Stebbins 2001, 6).

Project-based leisure is a short-term and occasional form of engagement which involves considerable planning, effort, and often skill. The term "occasional" describes widely spaced undertakings for such regular occasions as arts festivals, sports events, religious holidays, individual birthdays, or national holidays while "creative" stresses that the undertaking results in something new or different, showing imagination, skill, or knowledge. Although most projects would appear to be continuously pursued until completed, it is conceivable that some might be interrupted for several weeks, months, even years. This is illustrated in (Figure 13).
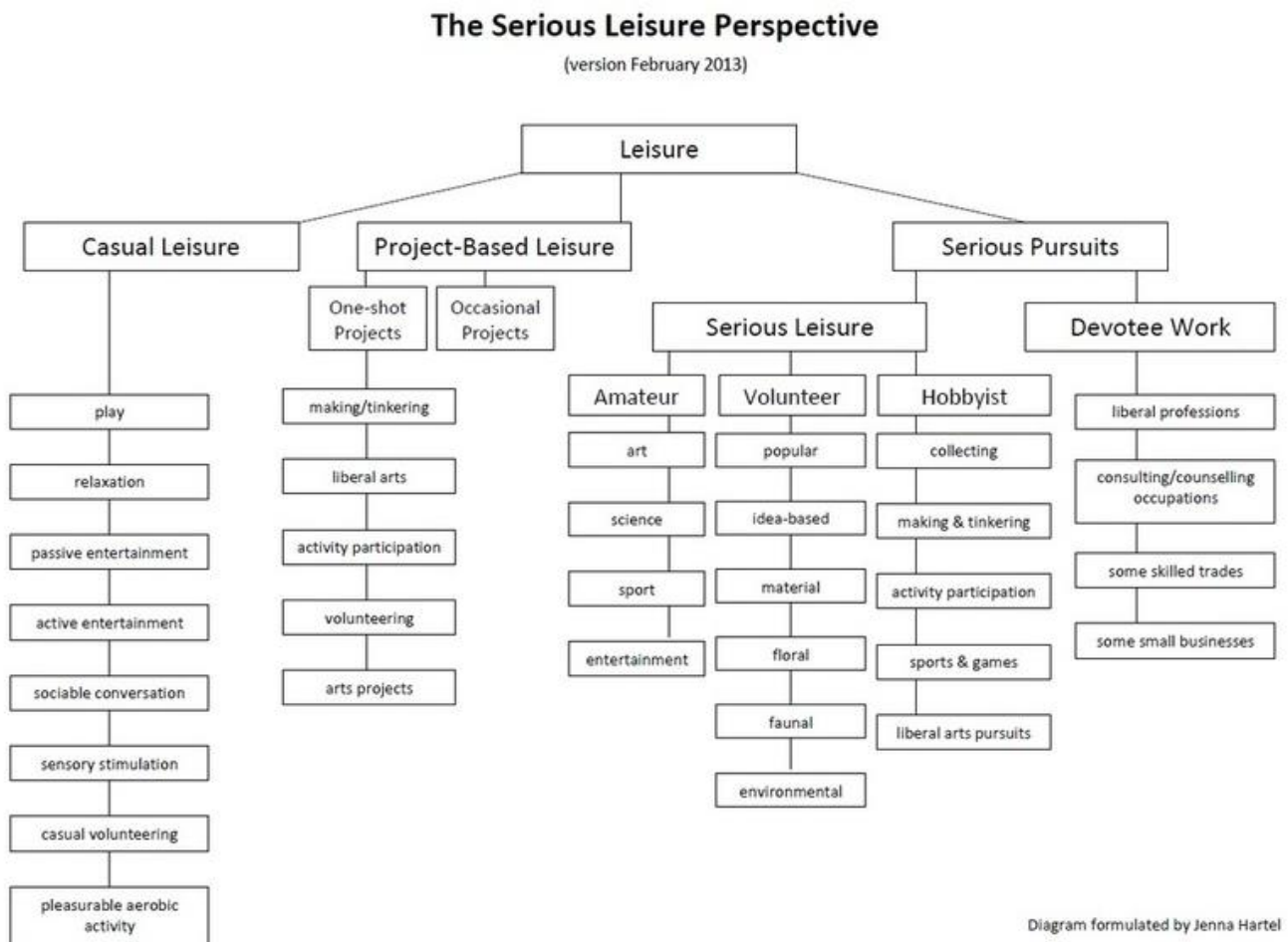
Figure 13. Schematic of the serious leisure perspective by Hartel (2015).

Significant personal effort

The 'serious leisure' category in this research is made up of individuals over the age of 55, retired or working part time who volunteer intensively for extended periods of time. The individuals were typically involved with railway preservation over many years, and retirement served as a period in which their engagement could increase. For these, participation is intensive both in time and financial commitment. Many of those involved in this category volunteer at the TR, FFR, and WHR for extended periods of time, often for weeks or months at a time, such as Gareth:

"I've been a member of the Ffestiniog Railway Society for as long as I can remember. I joined that first and then started to volunteer 9 - 10 years later I think"

For individuals within this group, volunteering achieves two main objectives, the initial perception is that it can, and is often seen as a substitute for a number of aspects gained through paid employment by providing structure, a sense of belonging, and a way in which to utilise their existing knowledge and skills. Whilst additionally, being a way of becoming more involved within the field of preservation. Stebbins (1997) serious leisure suggests that traditional leisure becomes serious leisure, when participants begin to engage in activities which require a significant personal commitment (Stebbins 1997, 17). For individuals who engage in serious leisure, their involvement is often highly satisfying, intensive, and based on extensive skill, knowledge, and experiences (Stebbins 1997, 17), for example Hugh:

"I've worked here for eighteen years, nearly nineteen years. When I first started, I

think I worked one weekend out of every month, but when my wife passed away,

and I retired, I moved down here from Stockport and I now work here most days.

It's so satisfying seeing the results of my work. Yeah, it's difficult sometimes, but on

the whole, I get so much enjoyment from what I do, you know".

Each of the volunteers in this study acknowledged the significant personal effort which goes into their participation. This commitment extends further than simply donating their time. Many of the volunteers discussed that they were expected both by others and themselves to put in a significant level of effort. One volunteer, Steve, whose family have volunteered at the FFR for many generations, is a full-time carer for his wife whilst also being a volunteer. During the interview, Steve indicated that he often felt a degree of pressure to give and donate more of his time than he was currently able, due to his personal obligations. Steve discussed the way that his fellow volunteers regularly expected him to engage more often, and to take on extra work, despite him being clear in the fact that this was not possible. Colin, a volunteer who has worked at the WHR for many years, indicated that "yes we are asked to do a lot, you have to give it your all, your commitment. You get addicted to it in the end". This statement supports Cuskelly et al's. (2002) research which indicates that among some volunteers there is often a development in seriousness. However, in contrast to the findings of Cuskelly et al's. (2002) research, the volunteers in this thesis demonstrated an intensified level of commitment with higher seriousness.

Of the volunteers in this research, nine out of ten individuals expressed significant levels of appeal with regard to a long term volunteering commitment within the railways, in addition

to the continual aim of generating rewards. This aspect illustrates the notion of a leisure career, which forms the second category of Stebbins's (1992) serious leisure. An example of this was illustrated within the following interview excerpt by Jake who used the word retirement within a context of work and saw it as being an 'activity' which provided him with a constant thrill. Jake:

"I remember when I first started, I got such a buzz, I've always been fascinated by steam engines, I think it's because today they are seen as being something of a rarity. Once I started, I just couldn't get enough, it becomes sort of addictive you know. I've been here for thirteen and a bit years now, and I don't ever plan on retiring from this. For me it's that constant thrill of doing something that hardly anyone else gets to do, so for me, long may it continue".

Railway volunteering requires a significant time commitment, regularly results in high expenses, and a considerable personal effort is required in order to become a volunteer at the TR, FFR, and WHR. From the data, geography appears to reinforce the intensity of railway volunteering at each of these locations. As the TR, FFR, and WHR rely heavily on tourism, and with seasonality being a strong characteristic across each organisation, migration for volunteering is relied upon. Of the participants, nine out of ten indicated that they travelled to North Wales (Gwynedd) specifically to volunteer at the railways from other parts of the United Kingdom, predominantly from Cheshire, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham.

Occasional need to persevere

Being a railway volunteer comes with its own unique challenges. Often volunteers are required to work for many hours in the pouring rain or snow, which due to the topography, can be particularly inclement. As highlighted in other diverse studies into serious leisure volunteering, for example Mahoney's (2014) research into sea turtle conservation, and Gipson's (2012) study into female sport volunteers, there are many challenges which accompany such intense volunteering, and overcoming these obstacles requires significant determination.

Working outdoors with trains and historic machinery can present the volunteers with many issues such as having to work in bad weather, however, more challenging demands are often imposed on some, for example being required to supervise children and young people on the tracksiders programmes. Whilst the majority of the participations spoke of their engagement in a positive way and indicated some of the many benefits and advantages of being a 'serious leisure volunteer' at the railways, some individuals indicated that there were aspects which they did not enjoy. Speaking about his own personal engagement, Tom indicated that he felt as though he merely "gets on with it; week by week by week". There was no aspect of pleasure or fulfilment in his statement; and was rather a response to the significant responsibility and obligation considered as compulsory to volunteering at the railway.

It was illustrated by many of the participants in this study that whilst there were considerable benefits to their participation in terms of, for example, meeting new people and sharing an interest with likeminded people, they subsequently understood and accepted the presence of costs associated with their engagement. These 'costs' were indicated as being practical (e.g. gaining time off work), financial (e.g. the cost of travelling

to the railways and associated accommodation) and emotional (e.g. spending time away from their families). These costs are also strongly connected to the fact that the vast majority of railways volunteers, both within the study and beyond, reside outside of the local communities of Gwynedd and Tywyn, and travel specifically in order to volunteer. This then further highlights that the costs are often twofold due to a lack of monetary renumeration and required travel/subsistence, which ultimately makes this type of volunteering exclusive to those with the means of supporting such activities.

Gallant et al's. (2013, 31) research into the results and costs connected with serious leisure, referred to examples of volunteers leaving their employment and developing conflicts within their relationships which on occasion led to the breakdown of marriages.

Tom spoke of how he felt as though he had to carry on volunteering regardless of the problems he may face in his personal life:

> "Ok I know it's not 100% the same, but I suppose it is really. It's just the same as a real job, you can't keep taking time off here and there when you're working. When my dad passed away, I only took two days off and I was back down here. You feel like if you don't do it, no one will, so you just get on with it".

This was further discussed by Sam who reflected on a conversation he had with a friend and fellow volunteer. Sam indicated that his friend, when asked to increase his volunteering commitment, was told by his wife to "leave or we are getting a divorce". Stebbins (2007, 11) indicates that "perseverance" may typically take the form of, for example backing a sports team through a losing period, however, for the volunteers in this research, their

'perseverance' can be understood as being more tangible in nature. As Stebbins (2007, 97) indicates, it is evident that positive emotions often develop, to a degree, from remaining with the activity through the good and the bad, also from overcoming challenges.

The existence of durable benefits

An aspect which was present across the interviews, irrespective of their length of engagement or the work/role they are engaged in, were the profound benefits derived from their volunteering. The benefits gained from being a volunteer at the WHR, TR, and FFR are vast, and range from making new friends and having fun, to more specific examples such as those indicated by Mark:

"I would be so bored if I didn't have volunteering to do. I've got no intention to ever stop coming here. it's not always convenient but I wouldn't be without it. I have met some great mates, learnt new skills, and so yeah. I've got lots out of it, yeah. It's hard going sometimes though, and when it's cold and wet you sometimes think oh god, do I really have to do this, but I make the effort and get rewards".

Danny, discussing his previous employment and volunteering, noted that:

"My work was very stressful, things didn't always go to plan, so it was hard. Volunteering here at the TR really helped me to get through all of that. It gave me something to focus on and look forward to, it got me through some difficult years".

Many of the participants have been engaged in volunteering for many years, with seven participants having been volunteers for over thirty years. Taking into consideration each of

the 74 participants and their personal engagement terms, the average length of involvement is 18 years.

A number of the participants indicated that it was a direct result of the continuing benefits gained from their engagement which prompted them to volunteer for such extended lengths of time, and that the value of these benefits grew over time. Mark spoke of how volunteering "helped me to grow as a person", and that it "changed my whole life".

This was an aspect which was featured by many of the participants, with each individual referring to the many benefits which they acquire through their volunteering, however it is important to note that recognising these personal benefits was rather challenging for some participants, as they initially appeared reluctant to discuss the benefits they personally gain, and rather highlighted the altruistic reasons for their engagement.

Understanding that the latter is not an all-inclusive representation of the situation, but a reaction to the social world in which they engage, the existence of durable benefits, is one of the most clearly identifiable elements of serious leisure among the railway volunteers in this research.

Formation of a career

Volunteers at the TR, FFR, and WHR are encouraged to undertake CPD (continued professional development) and training, at all stages of their engagement. For those involved in roles including driving or engineering, specific requirements in terms of training and development are needed on a continual basis. In addition to these roles, other activities also provide the opportunity for the volunteers to gain career style development, for example social media training for marketing or public relations roles.

The volunteers at the TR, FFR, and WHR do not require a promotion in order to advance, and many of those who decide not to advance still achieve a form of 'career' as they increase their knowledge which can be transferred to other volunteers. Danny stated that:

"I'm happy doing what I'm doing to be honest. I don't particularly want to advance because I like the balance I have at the moment. I will do whatever they need me to do, but in terms of being a supervisor or something, I don't think so".

Shaun spoke of his work, highlighting the concept of a career:

"When I started here, I was just a regular volunteer, and then when X finished, I moved up and now I'm a supervisor, well I don't have the official title, but I basically do the work of one. Everyone asked when X left, well you're basically doing most of his work anyway, why not take on the rest of it, there isn't that much. I had said no for a long time, but in the end, they just wore me down (laughing), so I took on that as well as running the tracksiders day. Luckily, I managed to get another volunteer to take on the tracksiders day in the end, although this was a few years after".

The notion of advancing 'up the ladder' and taking on new/extra roles was indicated by almost half of the volunteers. This substantiates the career element within railway volunteering at these three organisations. Stanley, who has been a volunteer at the TR for many years mapped his progression through the railway as follows:

"I used to just work here one day a week when my wife passed away, this was about twelve years ago. I then changed to three days a week and this went on for a few years, probably about three years. I was then asked to help out on the railways fundraising group, and I did that for about two years. After a while I was then asked to be the railways secretary, this was around two years ago, and I've been doing it ever since".

Whilst the volunteers referred to their engagement as "work", they did not view it in terms of the formal structures and duties which one might undertake with salary based employment. Baldwin and Norris (1999) highlighted that individuals in their research strongly associated with the activity of volunteering and thought that their engagement signified "who they were", and in doing so enabled them to define their own personal self-image. Baldwin and Norris (1999, 86) also identified that amongst the participants, volunteering was an important aspect in their lives and provided them with an ability to improve their skills. For volunteers post retirement, and for individuals who are not in employment, volunteering clearly enables them to develop a sense of fulfilment which may otherwise have been generated from paid work. Tony discussed how his personal development was aided by how other people responded to his volunteering work:

"To tell you the truth, I struggle a bit with my confidence. I don't really have the self belief that I can do it you know. When people ask what I do, I tell them, and the response I get is so nice. People think it's great that, you know, you work for free,

giving something back. Having people tell you that you do a good job, or are doing

something worthwhile, it gives you a little boost. It has really helped me".

Improving personal skills was an aspect routinely highlighted by the participants. They

associated their increasing skills with the creation of a 'career' at the railways. Andy spoke

of volunteering and developing as a person through his engagement:

"Through being a volunteer, I have grown so much as a person, I have learnt so

many things, and gained so many new skills that I don't think I would have got

through doing anything else. I am also much more confident too".

Other participants discussed their desire to continually learn new things and to develop

their skills further as part of their engagement. The vast majority of the volunteers had

considerable knowledge of the railways including their locomotives, the railways history,

and the engineering side of the operations. Each individual displayed a clear desire to

continue training and learning in order to develop their knowledge further Graham (2004).

For many volunteers, across each of the railways, training occurs organically for non-safety

critical roles, rather than through formally organised training. The development of Chris's

railway 'career' was illustrated as being a gradual process of helping out and observing

others alongside a significant amount of hands-on work, which extended over many years.

Both formal and informal training across the TR, WHR, and FFR is conducted on site.

Volunteers in safety critical roles such as guards, undergo formal training in addition to on-

the-job training, including MIC's (Mutual improvement classes) which is a traditional railway

training concept dating back to the 19th century. For outdoor workers, their informal

training is conducted on the job by observing others. External training is rare across the three railways, as Tommy, one volunteer, highlighted when referring to a course on Welsh slate construction:

"In more than 50 years of volunteering this is the only external course I have ever been on. We were unfamiliar with this technique and we paid for this training ourselves".

Whilst the three railways have a management hierarchy as illustrated previously, an informal hierarchy is also present, whereby experienced volunteers often take on more supervisory roles and are typically responsible for the training of new recruits, significantly regulations across each railway ensures that at no point, will unsupervised trainees be dispatched.

The passage below illustrates how volunteers learn both formally and informally, and how their roles often transition from being a novice to a trainer. Many of the participants found the 'on the job' training by fellow volunteers to be particularly beneficial, as it enabled them to learn from a colleague who had previous experience, without any power dynamic, Harry:

"The training was great, I can't remember lots about it as it was a long time ago, but it was good. Yes, we get refresher training every few years which is really good, because I think you never really stop learning do you. There are always new things to learn. X trained me, we spent a week or so going over all the basics, and slowly building up my knowledge until I was able to do it confidently by myself. X is now a driver and I remember him having to take all this paperwork home to learn, luckily,

I never had to do that (laughing). I've trained up quite a few new guys over the

years, I really enjoy it actually".

The main distinguishing feature of career volunteering in contrast to more casual forms

of volunteering, resides in the volunteer's personal motivators. Career volunteers engage

predominantly as a way to gain a sense of fulfilment, whilst in contrast, casual volunteers

participate largely for their own enjoyment and pleasure (Stebbins 1996, 2007). Fulfilment

differs from enjoyment and pleasure within this context, in that it refers to the way in which

the volunteers engage in activities which may be considered 'hard work' or 'tedious', in

order to reap substantial rewards later on. Fulfilment is an aspect which lasts. Pleasure and

enjoyment are often temporary, lasting for the duration of the project or engagement

period, however in contrast, fulfilment enables the volunteers to feel a part of something

bigger, and this feeling often lasts for many years.

The creation of an ethos of the activity

Stebbins (2006) defined the activity ethos as being "a social world where participants

can pursue their free time interests". The social world refers to a space of "social

organisation" (Stebbins 2006, 13), which is often dispersed and unstructured in nature.

Typically, greater in size compared with more traditional clubs, societies, groups or

organisations, social worlds are not "specifically defined by its formalities or membership

records, or spatial territories, it must be seen as an internally recognisable collection of

actors, organisations, events and practices which have coalesced into a perceived sphere of

interest and involvement for participants" (Unruh 1980, 277).

Regarding this research, the social world is a particularly important aspect of the

experience which the volunteers gain. There are distinct borders and rules of participation

at the railways. Volunteers often expected to gain or develop a "family" type atmosphere through their engagement. They pride themselves in being "open armed" (Stan) and accepting to each and every person who joins them without ever questioning their circumstances or motives whilst also being empathetic to the fact that every individual has their own personal lives outside of the railways.

"I've always felt like I have had to fit in, with work, friends, everything really, but not here. I get to be me. I get to do what I want, when I want, although this is within reason. No one has ever asked why I'm here, it doesn't matter to people. Everyone is friendly, we look after each other. It's a home away from home for most of us".

The participants often discussed how their 'co-workers' have consistently supported them through their lives, from early adulthood to older age, and the benefits gained from working alongside and communicating with fellow volunteers with a wide range of ages, backgrounds and skill specialism. The railways in this context become their own social worlds which are intricate, dependable, and secure, with each individual making a contribution to the overall operations of the organisations.

Commitment, community and serious leisure

As with members of other serious leisure based 'communities', railway volunteers create identities which ultimately impact their experiences. These identity based narratives provide "ways of thinking, seeing, and talking. Virtual paradigms of experience to which participants continually turn and, in turn, shape, to make sense of their lives and selves" (Holstein and Gubrium 2000, 162).

As discussed in the literature review chapter, individuals develop a sense of identity from a range of sources. The individuals in this research create and perform sub-cultural identities through their 'railway consumption' and the associated lifestyle. Traditionally, identity was based upon aspects including work, gender, religion, and age (Kellner 1992, 141), however in more modern society, identity is more fluid and mobile. Volunteers on the railways are engaged in a multi-layered subculture. Their involvement is displayed in a range of symbols such as their clothing and the language used. For the dedicated volunteers, their participation is a way of life, it dictates their free time, work time and often where they choose to live.

Cultural identities are developed from social relationships and the roles which individuals perform (Weeks 1990, 88), and identity is both a product of similarities and differences between people. The two statements below were by volunteers at the Ffestiniog Railway, and they illustrate the variation between the 'occasional recreational volunteer' who is 'outside' of the subculture, and 'regular intense volunteer' who is a member of the subculture.

"Do you volunteer here?" (outsider)

"Yes, I'm a volunteer" (insider)

In the initial question, 'volunteering' is referred to as an activity, the 'act' of volunteering, whereas in the subsequent statement the individual referred to himself as a volunteer. Subcultural identity is not fixed, it is constantly fluid (Hall 1999, 96), and as new volunteers progress from 'outsiders' to 'insiders', the focus moves from developing an identity, to portraying their engagement to the rest of society (Donnelly and Young 1988, 107) by way of both visible and invisible aspects including clothing, equipment and language.

Status in the railway culture was often developed by being highly skilled, either as an engineer or driver. The stronger their skill set, the higher their subcultural status, Richard states:

"You get treated with respect if you know what you're doing. If you can get it (the train) up the hill when you're losing power and everything seems to be going wrong, that's when you get the respect".

Other characteristics were also seen as important in gaining status, including having a positive and can-do attitude, being willing to go above and beyond what was expected of them, and being prepared and willing to go out in all weather conditions.

Aside from skills and attitudes, commitment was key to gaining subcultural status. Locomotive driving is a particularly difficult skill to develop, and to become adept at the role, considerable commitment in terms of time, effort and financial resources is required. The majority of railway volunteers were highly committed. 'Hard core' was a term used by many when discussing the commitment of the longer term volunteers and was often used to represent their status in the subculture.

The consumption of objects, specific equipment and kit, is key to the 'railway lifestyle', and as with sports, railway volunteering is a commodity driven subculture (Burman and Stratton 2013, 82), in which consumer capitalism is paramount to its growth, particularly in relation to commodities such as clothing and the equipment. In the railway culture, the branded fleece jackets with the FFR, TR and WHR logos are central to the identity which the volunteers developed. Knowledge of engines and locomotive engineering was an important aspect of the subcultural capital. The volunteers which I observed during

the participant observation phase of this research, spent vast amounts of time talking about and discussing aspects of these topics; the positive and negative features of particular engines, the performance capabilities of various machinery and the various brands of engine oil. When they were not discussing engines, the volunteers could often be seen reading railway magazines and posting messages on railway 'social media' pages.

Despite the expense required in order to volunteer, it was clear that individuals could not 'buy' themselves into the core of the subculture as the relationship between the economic and cultural capital is more complex than a simple exchange. It was evident from discussions with the volunteers that there was a sense of 'anti-materialism' whereby the attitudes towards those who purchased equipment which was considered beyond their skills level, merely as a way in which to 'display' their subcultural membership was frowned upon. This was clearly depicted in the following excerpt by Rich, who spoke of how some individuals may look as though they are actively involved through their range of material items, although in reality, many of these individuals did not possess the knowledge to accompany it:

> "They have all the gear and no idea. They come here with all their flashy wrenches and tool kits, but in reality, they haven't got the first idea of what they actually need to do. You can't buy these skills, but it looks like some of them try to do, you do it and that's what makes you one of us".

The excerpt by Rich clearly illustrates that subcultural status was not the product of consumption or material items, but was the product of commitment, dedication and hard work.

The homogeneity amongst the volunteer's appearance especially amongst the males was frequently recorded in the field notes. At each of the railways, the volunteers generally wore the same 'uniform' of a navy fleece jacket, dark trousers, and sturdy boots. This evident lack of individuality, as indicated by a number of volunteers was a result of the recognisable subcultural style. It is this 'subcultural style' which displayed the involvement of the volunteers, however there were strong contrasts between the committed/long term volunteers and the more episodic/shorter term volunteers. For 'insiders' particularly those who were committed volunteers, clothing items such as the navy logo embroidered fleece was the primary signifier of their membership.

As discussed, the volunteers who took part in this research demonstrated significant levels of commitment to their activities, and it was this commitment which was essential in order for them to become accepted into the railway subculture. For those whom their involvement extended into 'serious leisure' (Stebbins 1992), volunteering at the railways often 'took over their lives'. This relationship between subculture, lifestyle and commitment was key to understanding the internal dynamics of those who engage, along with the meanings which they attach to their involvement.

Focusing on the indicators of 'commitment' for these individuals, it was clear from the interview data that the majority of the more committed volunteers typically saw their volunteering as a key aspect of their lives, and thus typically organised their whole lifestyle around this involvement. Richard, a male in his late 50s, was in his own words an "obsessive railway geek". He lived and worked near the Ffestiniog Railway and living in close proximity gave him the flexibility which he needed to become a 'serious' railway volunteer. Richard argued that he would not commit himself to any social events as a precaution, in case he

was needed at the railway. Volunteering, as he clearly described, dictated almost every aspect of his life:

"Most of my friends are volunteers too. I just don't understand people who don't do it. I don't think my wife really gets it, and our kids sometimes think that I'm a bit selfish and feel that I put the railway before them. At Christmas for example, I know that my wife and the kids would like to go to the Christmas markets, but they always clash with the Santa trains. They keep asking me if I will go with them and they can't seem to understand when I say no, and that it depends on if I'm needed. I think they feel as though I'm being selfish, but it's what I love, once you start, it just sort of becomes your way of life".

Whilst serious leisure can be engaged upon as a solo activity, typically those who engage, do so in order to gain social ties, specifically friendship (Stebbins, 1996, 51), which is shown in the excerpt below by Steven:

"I moved here after I retired and I guess I worried about being, just, lonely, I guess. I've always visited the area, but when my wife died, and I retired I thought I needed a change. I knew a couple of people who volunteer here and live around here too, so I just thought that, well if they can do it, so can I. I didn't really know many people when I moved here, so volunteering really helped me to get to know people and develop friendships with people from all over the world. You don't have to work in groups, there are plenty of other things to do, but yeah, most people like working together, I think it's more fun that way, well, it is for me anyway".

280

Serious leisure, by bringing together individuals who share common goals and interests,

becomes an important source of meaning, identity, and solidarity (Rojek 2001). It provides

an environment which encourages those who engage to redefine themselves and their

community (Reid and van Dreunen 1996, 48). Serious leisure can also be viewed as an

instrument for transforming and enhancing communities (Reid and van Dreunen 1996, 46).

Serious leisure volunteers are often substantially connected to their wider communities,

and as shown within the WHR, FFR and TR, their volunteers provide significant

entertainment and education to public and community audiences through their ongoing

work experience placement opportunities with local secondary schools and various themed

evenings held during the summer/autumn.

Whilst serious leisure is often viewed in relation to a form of belonging or membership

of a particular social world, research has often depicted those who engage in serious leisure

as being socially ostracised and 'cut off' as a result of the strong social identities assumed

through their participation (Lawrence 2006). Colin noted in his interview that he had

regularly experienced stigmatisation by non-railway volunteers, and recounted instances

where he had been often referred to as being "weird" by others. This negativity may be due

to the significant commitment which many railway volunteers often have for their activities.

In addition, this intense commitment often results in lifestyle choices which may be viewed

by others as being eccentric. This was featured within Tam's interview, whereby he

highlighted that recently, he relegated his wife out of their bedroom, so that he had enough

space to set up his model train set.

According to Stebbins (1992) serious leisure, there are six distinct qualities which

identify a pursuit as being serious leisure, these qualities are noted as being "perseverance,

leisure career, significant effort, durable benefits, unique ethos and identify formation"

(Stebbins, 1992, 18). Through conducting the data analysis, each of these qualities were present, particularly within the accounts of older and retired volunteers.

Perseverance is defined by Stebbins (2006, 49) as being "the persistence in a goal directed behaviour over considerable time". The majority of volunteers in this research were adults when they initially became railway volunteers at the FFR, TR, and WHR, however, the majority of these individuals, nine out of ten, developed an interest in the railways as children and young adults, such as Matt:

"Yeah, I started working here six and a bit years ago, soon after I retired. It's something I had always wanted to do really, but I never had the opportunity when I was working. I've always been obsessed with trains, I used to go train spotting when I was a little lad, all my mates did, it was great fun".

This desire to be involved within the railway preservation industry was typically sparked by male relatives, either fathers, uncles or grandfather who had an involvement within the railways. The above excerpt highlights links between growing up and retirement. While the opportunities for railway volunteering are present post retirement, the choice to engage at the railways as opposed to other organisations such as the National Trust is often based upon the individual's views, and reflects the importance of backgrounds and family cultures, such as Richard:

"My dad and grandad did, they were very keen railway enthusiasts and it sort of passed down to me, I guess. I blame them (laughing)".

The data collected highlighted that individuals who were interested in becoming railway volunteers as children or young adults, waited until they reached a particular stage during their lives to begin volunteering, predominantly once their children had grown up and left home, or post retirement, as they often had more free time and access to a disposable income during this period. Since his adult years, James discussed how he had an ambition of becoming a volunteer at the FFR. He spoke of how he felt that volunteering full time was just not realistic, that was until met his second wife at the age of 42. James was unaware that his wife already had a connection to the heritage railways of North Wales through her father, and upon communicating he become a full time volunteer at the FFR following his retirement, with the support of his wife, he commenced his volunteer training three days after his official retirement:

> "Being a volunteer here was my life time goal. I don't think many people have wives who are as understanding as mine, I'm very lucky. I guess I had this really simple vision of what volunteering here was like, I didn't really know how hard it would be, it takes a lot of hard work and dedication, but you reap the rewards".

The older volunteers, who typically volunteer post retirement, do so in order to keep active, increase well-being, to reduce social isolation and to pursue a livelong hobby, such as Lewis:

> "I retired ten years ago now. I didn't particularly want to retire if I'm honest, but I was quietly pushed out. I didn't want to retire and be forced to watch daytime TV all day. I volunteered here on and off when I was younger, but when I started

coming here regularly, I felt like I was important again. People here don't see me as someone who is past it, because let's face it, most of us here are knocking on a bit".

Older, retired individuals represent a significant proportion of those who are involved within the railway preservation and wider volunteering sector and may not be exempt from the reported changing characterisation of volunteerism (Einolf 2009). The Baby Boomer generation of individuals born between 1946 and 1964, are now generally transitioning from paid employment to retirement (Wallop 2018). Gonyea and Googins (2006, 18) indicate that this cohort of individuals may strive towards gaining a different form of volunteer activity, in contrast to generations before them. The Baby Boomers may also be more attracted to roles and activities which enables them to pursue goals and objectives within a substantially flexible arrangement (Esmond 2001). This aspect may present challenges for some volunteer based organisations such as the National Trust, which requires individuals to volunteer on a regular basis, on set days, each week, such as Brett:

"My wife and I did start looking into volunteering for the National Trust, we have always been members. We went for the meetings and everything to see the place, but when we were told that we would have to volunteer every single Wednesday between nine and two, it sort of put us off you know. My wife wasn't as bothered as I was, but I've already had to put up with that sort of structured regime while I was employed, so the idea of having to stick with it again, really put us off".

Seasonal and episodic volunteering is a key current and future trend in volunteering both within the United Kingdom and further afield (Rochester 2010, 19). Short term

engagement now accounts for approximately half of all volunteering activity in the UK and USA (Meijs and Brudney 2009). Hustinx and Lammertyn (2004, 568) utilise the term 'distant' when referring to voluntary engagement which is both infrequent and short lived. Whilst traditional volunteering is seen as being predominantly 'time driven', as a way in which to pass time, episodic and seasonal volunteering in contrast, is viewed as being typically 'cause driven' (Evans and Saxton 2005), such as Phillip:

"I saw an advert in one of the railway magazines I have on subscription, they wanted people to help out over Christmas, I had nothing else planned, so I thought, why not. I had a couple of days free".

Whilst the term 'episodic' generally refers to one off activities, volunteers within the FFR, WHR, and TR, engage in what Bryen and Madden (2006, 82) refer to as 'bounce back volunteering", which involves individuals engaging in multiple instances of episodic volunteering within the same organisations.

Macduff (2005) describes three distinct forms of episodic volunteering based on their time commitments, these are, temporary episodic volunteers who engage in one short term activity, interim volunteers who participate on a regular basis over a pre-determined and short period of time; and occasional episodic volunteers who engage in short periods of activity on an infrequent basis (Macduff 2005, 74). A further category of episodic volunteering is provided by Handy et al. (2006) who provides a distinction between habitual episodic volunteers who engage in multiple instances of volunteering on a continual basis, and true episodic volunteers who participate for two or less opportunities over the course of a year.

Seasonal and episodic volunteering is particularly prominent within the FFR, WHR, and TR during the summer months, where individuals are encouraged to volunteer for one weekend on designated tasks. Short term volunteering breaks, are popular particularly amongst employed volunteers including Alfie, who engages for one week each year within the FFR:

"I'm pretty much stuck to a desk all day, in a stuffy room, full of other people. My brother once asked me why I don't go and spend my week off on a beach in Spain, and my answer was, I would be bored and fed up. I have to keep busy and occupied. Coming here allows me to get out into the countryside, get fresh air, and do something hands on, rather than typing and number crunching all day, which is quite dull and tense".

For Alfie, his participation is in clear contrast to his day to day work, and therefore, he views his episodic volunteering as a form of a holiday. Short term volunteering holidays were also referred to by Mac, who discussed how he regularly saves up his annual leave in order to volunteer twice a year at the WHR:

"I haven't been on a holiday abroad for years. My wife goes on an annual cruise with her friends, but I choose to come here instead. I save up all my holidays and take them in two blocks. I love my job, but it can take its toll sometimes, it's not very enjoyable particularly when we have a tough case, which means working late into the night with the associated and high stress levels. It's wonderful to be able to

get away from it all for a couple of weeks, turn off my phone and laptop, and

completely immerse myself in it all".

Over a period of fifteen years, Ellis volunteered regularly in place of a traditional holiday, taking on average three weeks per year. Living approximately 80 miles away, despite a desire to volunteer regularly, Ellis was unable to volunteer on a regular basis, and therefore, accumulated his holiday time at work and used these weeks for participation within the FFR. Discussing his fellow volunteers, Ellis highlighted the following:

"When I'm here I work as a ticket inspector, which is completely different to what I

do normally, I did want to train to be a driver, but I like how I can interact with the

visitors in this role. I think the main thing is being able to switch off from work, and

just come down here for a few days and escape all the demands placed upon you

by work".

Preserved railway volunteers have a particularly distinct age profile. Approximately six per cent of active volunteers within heritage railways nationwide are under 25, nineteen per cent are between the ages of 26 to 54, with the vast majority being aged 55 and over (Heritage Railway Association 2013, 6). These statistics have also been identified with regard to the participant demographic information in this study. Overall, within The Welsh Highland, Ffestiniog, and Talyllyn railways, 9.4% of the volunteers are under 25, 8.3% are between the ages of 26 and 35, 5.4% are within the age bracket of 36 and 45, 13.5% are in the 46-55 group, 24.3% within the 56-64, and the largest group with 39.1% are aged 65 and above.

Based on the above data, many of the participants indicated that throughout their volunteering lives, their involvement has changed in both its type and intensity, which subsequently highlights that voluntary involvement often varies significantly throughout an individual's life course (Omoto et al. 2010). Sam discusses how he has volunteered in a number of different organisations and has undertaken many diverse roles over his lifetime. Whilst he was in university, Sam was a member of various groups including a chess society, debate team, and a student newspaper. Upon completing his BA studies, he gained a voluntary position in a local charity shop to build up his CV. Sam decided to further his education by studying towards an MA degree, and after completion, he worked in a voluntary capacity at a railway interest magazine, and had aimed towards working within the rail industry, however this was not seen as an appropriate career path at the time. Following university, he travelled abroad to teach English in Russia, and while he was there, he also engaged in conservation work. At the present time, whilst working as a civil servant, Sam volunteers at three railways, the Talyllyn, Vale of Rheidiol, and the Llangollen Railways:

"I stayed as a volunteer for 15 years, and at one time I spent fifty weekends a year working there. Multiple compulsory moves of location and houses with my work made that increasingly impossible. When we moved here, and my work became much more structured, I was able to give more time to it, and now I volunteer at the Talyllyn, Vale, and Llangollen Railways. Family and other considerations do play a substantial role in these considerations, as indeed do little things like sufficient annual leave allowance. There is never enough annual leave entitlement to do all the things one might want to do, although my employer does allow a generous five

days volunteering leave each year which I take up to Talyllyn. Nonetheless, other

commitments and so on, all prevent giving as much time as one might like to do.

When I moved here from X, my wife and I didn't really know anyone, but she joined

the Women's Institute, and through that made lots of friends outside of work. "I

have plenty of friends in work but it's nice to be able to have a group of friends

who have similar hobbies and enjoy the same things, so that's a definite plus".

Each voluntary activity provided Sam with an opportunity to participate in a form of

leisure in addition to enhancing his employment prospects. Whilst he now is employed full

time and therefore increasing employability is not a current priority, his participation is now

primarily a source of gaining new friendships, and a way to be 'accepted' into his local town.

Sam's personal history of engagement illustrates how his motivations and prospects with

regard to participation, have altered over time as his engagement in other types of activities

have transitioned.

Gerry has been a volunteer in various organisations since his early teens, including helping

out at his local charity shop, food bank, church, Sea Scouts, and now the Ffestiniog Railway.

His participation with the Sea Scouts began when the group lost one of its volunteers, this

was after his son had initially joined, and there was a fear that the group would be closed if

another 'helper' could not be found, and therefore Gerry saw this as an opportunity to both

enable his son to continue participating, but also a way in which to meet new people and

contribute to his community. Whilst his involvement with the Scouts was initiated to a

degree by the earlier engagement by his son, his further voluntary activities for the RSPB

were distinctly dissimilar. Gerry's involvement within the Ffestiniog Railway directly

correlates to his lifelong passion for British history and engineering:

"My father and grandfather were both engineers, so I grew up with engineering in

my blood, I guess. We used to come here when I was young, and I remember being

fascinated with the Menai Bridge and Thomas Telford. History, particularly British

history is a big interest of mine, and when I used to live in X, I joined their historical

society with my wife which was fantastic".

Participation for Gerry has changed and transitioned over a period of years and has

been connected to the involvement of his fellow family members and his own employment.

Gerry and Sam have particularly distinct backgrounds with regard to their volunteerism, and

this highlights that in terms of the motivations, reasons for engagement and the forms of

activities undertaken, substantial variations are present between individuals.

Further life stages such as parental obligations, or marital commitments, also have a direct

effect upon participation. Parenthood and its impact on volunteering was a feature in a

number of the interviews.

Frankie reflected upon his participation when his children were younger:

"With young children, there was a period when I just couldn't volunteer. When I

returned, I was not allowed to re-join the painting team, a new dedicated team had

been established, and there was very little encouragement to join any team in fact,

as they wanted volunteers to commit to every weekend. This was not possible, if

like me, you had a family to consider. Volunteering is a lot easier now that our

children have grown up. Like most volunteers, I am heavily committed to other

voluntary activities".

This is an aspect, which is also referred to by Tommy:

"I always give priority to my young children, so I don't volunteer as much as I used to. I have seen this happen to many people, and many often reappear when their children are older and who also volunteer themselves. I also met my wife through volunteering here".

Felix highlights that following his marriage, he would regularly participate alongside his wife at the railway, however due to the demands of raising a young family he had to suspend his activities for a number of years:

"Immediately prior to getting married, my future wife and I would spend weekends working here, usually with her in the tea bar. Up until the time our first child became mobile, he would be in the pram on the platform. Therefore, my involvement became more sporadic, my presence at home was required almost continuously when I wasn't at work".

Furthermore, Angus discussed how his participation has transitioned substantially over a period of time, and certainly after becoming a parent with the extra family responsibilities associated with that:

"After 1967, I volunteered for two weeks per year until I was married in 1974. I persuaded my wife to volunteer with me for two weeks, but the arrival of my two

daughters, meant that my support for the railways had to be via occasional working parties. This activity ceased in the 80's, and from then until 2014, I remained an armchair supporter as we raised our daughters, I also had a busy job where literally a 12-hour day became standard, happily in 2015, I escaped. I volunteer at three other railways and help out with childcare of two of my grandchildren along with my wife".

Participation in volunteering can also be understood in terms of age characteristics. Amongst the participants categorised as either students or unemployed, volunteering was seen as a way in which to fill gaps in employment or to provide a pathway into a full time career, such as Alvin:

"I studied for a diploma in business administration, I enjoyed it but sadly I didn't do too well. Over the past eighteen months I tried for lots of jobs, but I never even got an interview, so I decided that while I was waiting for the perfect job to come along, I would do some volunteering".

Conclusion:

In answer to the research question of : "Can railway volunteering be considered a form of serious leisure?", the answer is yes. Many of the participants interviewed as part of this research recognise their experience in terms of a serious leisure perspective. The process of volunteering can certainly be understood as a career for many of the volunteers, the perseverance and effort required is high and unique benefits are gained.

As shown within the accounts of many of the younger participants, featuring aspects of 'extracurricular activities' and/or 'voluntary work' on their CV's, is considered to be a strong advantage in gaining work or a place at university. This was a factor, which was unique to this particular age group and did not present itself within the interviews by subsequent age groups.

Voluntary engagement, activity and leisure within the third age is increasing in significance as an area of sociological research. Laslett (1989) defines the concept of 'third age' as being the generation of individuals who, as a result of increased health and status, are able to engage and participate within society in ways which were not available to previous generations of older people. Interestingly, 63% of participants within this study could be classified as being within the 'third age', as the majority have retired at a point in their lives, where they are still healthy, active and seeking activities to occupy their new found leisure time. Based on the interview data collected, it is clear that the participants who fall within the category of 'leisure' (younger individuals), 'work' (middle aged) and 'combined' (older and retired), illustrates that there are unique age characteristic within each, and through examining this factor in relation to the opportunities available within the three railways, the low number of 'young' participants can reflect the current lack of internship roles available, however it is important to note that each organisation is actively trying to increase their numbers of work experience placements for pupils at local secondary schools.

It is evident from the data that railway volunteering within the TR, FFR, and WHR are strongly akin to Stebbins's (2017) theory of serious leisure. The volunteers within this research, particularly those who are retired, dedicate significant amounts of time to their volunteering efforts, often engaging for weeks or months at a time. Volunteering for these

individuals is far more than simply a hobby or past time. As highlighted in this chapter, these volunteers clearly display each aspect of Stebbins's (2007) serious leisure: formation of a career, developing a unique ethos, durable benefits, considerable effort, and the occasional need to persevere. This chapter has shown that whilst from the outside, railway volunteers may appear to have similarities with the same as volunteers in any other organisation or industry, they are in fact distinctly different.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

Introduction

This study has examined the role of volunteers within the Ffestiniog, Welsh Highland, and Talyllyn railways. These railways are all heavily dependent upon volunteer effort to effectively operate the lines. However, this participation is very seasonal, with the peak occurring in the summer months, which coincides with the peak numbers of holiday makers and visitors to the area. The findings of this dissertation are concerned with how an individual might become involved with the organisation, examining the stereotypical views of volunteers, and considering the role of masculinity within the three different railways. The distinction between work and serious leisure has been examined and interrogated, together with the seasonal nature of railway volunteering, and some consideration was given to how the participants defined their own involvement in the railways.

In this chapter, the distinct themes that were identified as a part of this research will first be examined. It will be followed by a closer examination of the research questions and the extent to which these have been answered will then be considered.

The process of volunteering

The volunteers are given two inductions, and training. The duration of the training process is dependent upon the individual, their time commitments and their ability. The kinds of activities reflect some of the traditional approaches to learning different tasks on the railways: the original role for most volunteers might be as an engine cleaner, before progressing further to firing or engine driving. This reflects the traditional hierarchy or progression of how engine drivers tended to be the final stage in a gradual progression from fire-lighting and preparing the engines. The training process takes place by observing others.

In safety critical roles, on the job training takes place. For the most part, an informal hierarchy is present where the experienced volunteers will take on the supervisory roles. The kinds of tasks available on the Talyllyn reflect the range of opportunities open to many of the staff, such as Hugh, who was approximately 70 years old, cleaning the windows on the inside and outside of the café, and deadheading the flowers in the window boxes. This suggests that the enthusiastic outlook which individuals display is not simply for the more exciting engine driver jobs. However, Hugh had previously worked on the trains carrying out maintenance and was no longer able to do the strenuous work that this would involve. This indicates that volunteering is not simply driven by an interest in the opportunities it brought, but partly in an affection for the railway itself, that was built up through many years of being a part of the fabric of the organisation.

Volunteers perform most of the roles at the Talyllyn railway, and this can involve a wide range of activities, such as engineering, catering, retail and social media. Volunteers are able to work across more than one department. Some positions within the railways require remuneration particularly within the retail and finance departments, but volunteers tend to take part in the everyday running of the organisation. Each day for instance the Talyllyn railway requires twenty volunteers. Although volunteer numbers vary between organisations, and fluctuate according to season, the overall figure in 2017 was approximately 1,500. The volunteering is characterised by seasonal or episodic volunteering, which are predominantly short-term volunteering breaks. Many individuals see these types of breaks as a kind of a holiday.

The distribution and the allocation of activities and duties are the responsibility of departmental team leaders who are in most cases fellow volunteers. The rotas are arranged approximately a month in advance, and potential volunteers are required to specify when

they might be available for work before any of the rotas are published. There are some

changes allowed by the team leader and these need to be consulted on. The kinds of

activities that volunteers complete are regulated. Volunteers are required to walk sections

of the line, registering problems such as overhanging vegetation. This ensures of identifying

potential issues before they constitute a significant problem. Nonetheless, the volunteers

remain enthusiastic, and some only stop working long enough to eat a sandwich, with some

even working through their breaks without a pause.

Working on the railways concludes each day with cleaning duties at the stations, and

the necessary paperwork is completed. The fact that the volunteers often stay at hostels,

and rotate duties such as cooking, adds to the sense of a family that many participants

noted. Therefore, it is not reasonable to examine the experience of working as a volunteer

upon the railways without taking into account the wider experience of volunteers. It is not

simply the case that the working experience involves arriving at the station and ends upon

leaving but can include a social experience that extends for the whole day. This sense of

camaraderie and the social atmosphere that forms a part of the railway is frequently cited

as one of the reasons that the participants continue to return, sometimes for over thirty

years.

The gendered nature of railway volunteering

There was a significant imbalance in the gender distribution of the volunteers on the

railways. Of the participants interviewed across the three railways, 69 were male and 5

were female. This is supported by the view that gender affects the likelihood of volunteering

for different activities (Lewis et al., 1989, 623). Some other factors may have contributed to

the nature of the work on the railways, such as the almost accepted perception of the

masculine nature of steam engine driving, and this is reflected in some participants'

comments during the interviews. However, there was also an indication of resistance to

women participating in other tasks, and this was reflected through a lack of encouragement

and the provision of training. There were some indications that this perspective was

beginning to change amongst participants.

This characteristic distinction may also reflect the gendered nature of enthusiasm for

steam locomotion. As the fieldwork demonstrates, there may be significant enthusiasm for

the role of a driver, whereas other volunteers such as staffing in the shop, were more likely

to be female. The prestige of the railways is represented by the fact that in the interviews, it

was mentioned with pride that as the Talyllyn railway was the first one to be run by

volunteers, it seemed to be the one that was held in the highest regard. However, the

conversations with the female volunteers during the fieldwork suggested that more

volunteers who were also female would be very welcome additions.

To understand the gender issues which arose within this specific context of railway

volunteering, the Harvard Analytical Gender Framework Matrix has been utilised. The

framework is broken down into the four components below.

Table 8: Harvard Tool One: The Activity Profile

Activities	Women	Men
Driving		X
Ticket Inspecting		X
Retail	X	
Catering	X	
Visitor Experience	X	X
Firing		X
Engineering		X
Cleaning	X	X
Signalling		X
Permanent Way		X
Guarding		X
Gardening	X	X

The Activity Profile above collates the data on male and female occupied roles within each of the railways. The data was collected by way of archival analysis, and through in-depth reviews of railway statistics. It is evident that whilst women do have access to roles within these organisations, such involvement is typically limited to cleaning, gardening, catering, retail, and visitor experience, which in contrast to the roles occupied by men, is far more gender biased, reflecting previously held stereotypes on gender roles in work (Lafky et al. 1996).

Table 9: Harvard Tool Two: Access and Control Profile

Resources	Women	Men	Benefits	Women	Men
Training	A	A/C	Travel Opportunities		A/C
Education	A/C	A/C	Social programmes	A/C	A/C
Personal Development	A	A/C	Incentives		A/C
Key: A = Access C = Control					

The Harvard Tool Two, as shown above, was used to examine men and womens access to, and control of resources and benefits within the railways. Benefits ranged from educational opportunities, incentives, and renumeration (financial), whilst the resources ranged from training opportunities, personal development, and transport. The use of the Harvard Tool Two reveals that both men and women have access to, and control over education (for example apprentiships), and social programmes (for example group activities), however in contrast to men who have both the access and control to each resource and benefit above, women did not possess control within training and personal development. This lack of control was attributed by many of the female volunteers in this research as being a direct result of a lack of awareness towards female volunteers wanting to strive and advance within their chosen roles, and due to a lack of female voices in AGM's, reviews, and organisational meetings.

Table Ten: Harvard Tool Three: Influencing Factors

Influencing Factors	Constraints
Economic Conditions	Income distributions, and access to a disposable income.
Community Norms and Social Hierarchies	Family obligations and commitments, and cultural practices.
Training and education	Dissemination of knowledge, skills, and technology, with women facing significant barriers.
Attitudes	Attitudes towards women in male dominated sectors and roles.

Harvard Tool Three enabled for the factors which influence the differences in the gender divisions of labour, access, and control as indicated in tools one and two to be charted. In identifying these factors and constraints future trends within the railways can be identified. These factors must also be considered as they present opportunities for the increasing involvement of women within the railways. The Harvard Framework above, enabled for the in-depth examination of gender issues to be explored, which enabled for the the complexities which arose to be understood.

The role of masculinity and tradition in the perception and embodiment of volunteering is present in all three railways. Despite there being developments over time, masculinity remains a dominant culture of the railway societies. This challenges the view that volunteering is largely carried out by middle class women, or an extension of the female caring roles that exist in society. Railway volunteering is thus seen as a masculine hobby, that is further ethnically homogeneous, being dominated by white, middle class males. The significance of class is that volunteering has previously been seen in terms of a middle-class background or those who have the economic capital to be able to afford to participate, alongside the social class or respect that accrues from being a part of such organisations. This potentially confirms the relationship between the social capital and

volunteering that could be developed as a result of this link, as suggested by Bourdieu (1990, 59). However, the extent to which this is necessarily supported by the evidence might be questioned because the extent to which the participants view their work as altruistic volunteering rather than fulfilling their interest in participating on the railway could be questioned. The interviews revealed that volunteering on the railways was construed as an 'expensive hobby' rather than necessarily something that is seen as helping those in need. The masculine element is emphasised by a number of participants. For example, Violet stated that the railway was 'seen as a manly thing to do' and that 'it's always been a male-dominated hobby.' Violet makes reference to the view that because of the masculine nature of the hobby, it is perceived as being trainspotting rather than railway enthusiasm.

The stereotypical image of railway volunteers was that of a middle-aged male, although this was not borne out by the evidence. There was some concern that the image of railway volunteering being dominated by particular groups or individuals might serve to deter some kinds of railway volunteering. Indeed, the evidence shows that such a stereotype is unfounded. Furthermore, this was limited to some perspectives, and most of the younger railway volunteers perceived that there were similarities between older railway volunteers and themselves. Therefore, whereas the traditional form of volunteering has tended to focus upon some kinds of stereotypes, such as spinsters or those from a deeply religious background, the volunteers on the railways were perceived from the framework of railway enthusiasts (Boneham and Sixsmith 2003, 58). This suggests that the 'do-gooder' image that is held for volunteering is not necessarily supported here, in that it is recognised that those volunteers are engaging in a leisure pursuit, rather than simply attempting to support the railways.

Women were more commonly seen as working within the shop and café. This supports the views in the literature that indicate women tend to volunteer in roles that are associated with a caring role. The extent to which the female participants identified personally with such roles might be questioned. The female volunteers suggested that there were a series of subtle nuances that kept them away from progressing in their training, in what was otherwise viewed as a male preserve. One volunteer, Carol, suggests that she wished to train as a driver, but was simply not contacted as promised. This may indicate that there is some resistance to greater equality in role distribution amongst the older generation.

There were also a number of perspectives noted in the interviews with the male volunteers that indicated they felt there were few opportunities available to women because women, were seen as lacking in physical strength and would not like to take part in jobs that involved getting dirty. Therefore, the view of those male participants aged over 55, was to see women as more likely to engage in 'femal appropriate' activities such as working in the shop or cafe. This was resisted by a number of female volunteera, who suggested that they did in fact wish to progress into these other roles within the railways, and if there was continuing resistance then she would simply cease volunteering. It was recognised by the volunteers at each of the railways, that there were some changes being made in a general sense towards female acceptance, however without significant changes being made to make training accessible to everyone, they would ultimately withdraw from their potential future involvement. It may also be the case that there were shifts in the dominance of males in certain jobs in the railway industry as a whole.

It also may indicate that there are barriers to females in male-dominated employment, supporting the view that volunteering may be regarded largely as an

extension of work rather than as a leisure environment. The railways organisational process often diverts women to what is considered to be more female-appropriate roles, and the failure to include more women at all inclusive levels was then seen by many of the volunteers as being indicative of the gendered nature of the activity; effectively this constituted a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Local involvement within the railways: A paradox between volunteers and the local community.

Volunteering in all the railways drew on a number of local volunteers, but was also characterised by many of the longer-term volunteers coming in from other regions and volunteering over a substantial period of time. On the Talyllyn railway, there seems to be a number of challenges in securing local networks. On one hand, the fieldwork observations identified that there were volunteers living locally who actively participated. However, it was also stated by one volunteer, Alison, that the railway was not necessarily seen in a positive light by the local people living in the area, because they did not usually speak Welsh, and there was a further perception that the railway was drawing tourists and tourist income from the local area and more traditional visitor attractions in the area. However, during the same discussion it was also suggested that the railway brought in a number of tourisms into the area, therefore benefitting the local economy. Most volunteers do not live close by, but their enthusiasm for volunteering is substantial, and so they do something that they enjoy. This would suggest that the volunteers gain significant benefits from their volunteering activities. The social capital that comes with working in the railway does not necessarily translate to local pride, unlike the pattern identified by Dallimore et al. (2018,

39). However, in the fieldwork and discussions with volunteers, it was apparent that there was significant pride in how the workers felt about the railways themselves.

The railway community is seen as separate from the outside world. The volunteers live and work together closely, for longer periods of time. Although their hours and the demands made upon them are often less than would be demanded from a full time employment perspective, their involvement tends to exceed what would often be expected of paid work in terms of commitment other than hours. The extent to which this model enhances their wider communities might be questioned, however, because the individuals come from a wider geographic area than simply the immediate locale. Stigmatisation by non-railway volunteers and a negative perception of the volunteering role may undermine the impact of this commitment. Therefore, although there was some acknowledgement of the railways being of benefit to the local community, particularly in the case of the Talyllyn railway, the experience of the volunteers did not necessarily contribute directly to increased social status within their communities.

The influence of community on volunteering

The influence of the community upon volunteering thus appears to be limited to some of the more serious leisure volunteers, but significant in terms of those that came from the local community. A striking element about the volunteer population of the FFR, WHR and the TR is that many of the volunteers are drawn from further afield than may be the case in other sectors (Portney and Berry 1997, 632-636). This contrasts significantly with the evidence of Dallimore et al. (2018, 22), which suggests that local communities provide a number of contextual factors that can contribute to volunteering, such as ensuring that there are places of support for volunteers. The existence of the shared experience of volunteering subsequently means a common experience and practice is built up over time,

contributing to the opportunities for individuals to gain social status (Dallimore et al., 2018, 22). Similarly, Liu and Besser (2003, 360) suggest that the sense of community can help predict the extent to which volunteers contribute to these contexts, and volunteering can thus build up local forms of cultural capital and social status.

Although the railways are classified as registered charities and individuals often volunteer out of a sense of 'charity', their aim, in terms of providing an experience for tourists and for keeping the railways functioning, may seem less urgent than charities that are directed towards a more fundamental charitable cause. This would perhaps explain the fact that many of the motivations for volunteering are identified from the participants as coming from their own experiences of the railways, rather than necessarily an experience of charitable giving. However, this issue was not discussed within the railway volunteers, and further research might identify these factors to a greater extent.

The intergenerational influences upon volunteering

The extent to which the volunteering was intergenerational was significant. The majority of the participants noted that they had family members who captured their interest in the railways, or in volunteering for a specific railway. In some cases, participants volunteered through the influence of their spouses or through a shared interest. Where some married volunteers began independently, their spouses would often join them after a few years. Routes into volunteering thus reflect a significant influence of family.

In the interviews, the power of the family was a significant force in a number of cases. Close family members often acted as influences upon an enthusiasm for steam railways. In many cases, the volunteers reported having parents and sometimes grandparents who were involved with the same railway. The majority of participants indicated that they had a family

history of volunteering on the railways. This formed a significant influence on their decision to initially engage, and often resulted in encouragement to continue. The desire to be involved was thus usually noted as coming from male relatives who had an interest in the railways. Those that were interested in being railway volunteers may have gained this interest at a young age, and then waited until a particular point in their lives to begin the volunteering process (Youssim et al. 2015, 9-10).

This supports the notion of there being a particular habitus that contributes to volunteering, although in this case it seems to involve an enthusiasm for railways rather than an empathy towards volunteering in a more general sense (Komp et al. 2012, 282). Although participants did tend to volunteer for other activities, such as church groups or for the National Trust. Therefore, this does not necessarily support the notion that the intergenerational influence upon the volunteering process was related to volunteering as a general activity, but mostly in the sense of a shared enthusiasm for railways, or specifically for railway volunteering. This was the view that was most commonly noted by most of the volunteers, who stated they had a family involvement in railways, or in the specific railways they engaged with. Therefore, the extent to which this reflected a transmission of shared values may be questioned, although the transference of shared interests certainly seems to be amply demonstrated. In some cases, this came from an interest in heritage and history. Therefore, for many participants, the railway represented a significant factor in their family life from an early age.

The influence of family upon volunteering

The impact of the family upon volunteering may be considered more closely in terms of how far immediate or intergenerational influences contributed to the volunteering engagement of the participants. The results of this study identify that there is a significant

influence of the family upon volunteering. This supports Youssim et al.'s (2015, 4) consideration of the effect of the family upon volunteering, which identifies the role of social capital and how habitus is communicated through family networks. Data collected from the participants in this study has shown that family influence and persuasion to engage was strong. This is represented by those that participated because they were interested in being involved in the sector itself, with the role (driver, signaller etc) within that constituting a secondary concern. This suggests that volunteering represents the cultural capital that had been inherited as a part of the family influence. Therefore, for those that grew up in families where the benefits of volunteering itself were more clearly demonstrated, and the positive experiences were promoted, it was shown that individuals, were more likely to undertake voluntary engagement.

A second effect of the family upon volunteering was in the more direct influence upon the participants' interest in the railways. This was not necessarily related to offering one's services in the railways. However, a number of participants cited their interest in steam as coming from the impact of others upon their experience, such as their grandfather taking them to view the steam trains. Others suggested that it was a childhood passion that continued through adulthood and thus gained expression in their choice to volunteer. Family also played a role in terms of the participants' immediate family, who would often accompany them in volunteering, and this has had an effect on their capacity to continue with their interests. A number of participants cite this aspect, with many indicating that they often had competing demands upon their free time, and that this had an influence on their overall volunteering.

There was some geographical differentiation in terms of the factors that led to volunteering. For the individuals living in the area or nearby, the extent to which

volunteering took place for the sake of volunteering for a local cause took precedent. Those

that lived further away and tended to use volunteering as a way to engage during their

holidays were more likely to be affected by an interest in the railways. However, for both

sets of volunteers, the two forms of volunteering were not mutually exclusive. Furthermore,

for both forms it was possible to become engaged in the volunteering process through the

serious leisure perspective, where an initial interest develops into a fully-grown habit and

leisure career simply from the experience of a first few areas of interest. Therefore, in terms

of the influence of the family upon volunteering, the results here demonstrate a pervasive

impact, but not an exclusive one. Most volunteers are influenced by a number of different

factors that combine and overlap, rather than a single overarching effect.

The relationship of age to railway volunteering

It can be demonstrated that although there is a range of participation between the

different volunteers, the number of hours devoted by each volunteer on average increases

by age. This is in contrast with other volunteering organisations, which emphasise the need

for a rigid schedule (Warburton and Terry 2000, 246). This is not the case with these three

organisations within the heritage railways, as there is no minimum requirement for the

volunteers to meet each month. Flexibility means that there are more volunteers taking

part, but it also allows for participation to be provided at a rate that the volunteers find

most suitable.

Volunteering within the FFR, WHR, and the TR can be understood from a natural life

course perspective. Smith (2004, 56) suggests that volunteering is understood from the life-

course perspective by the fact that for retired individuals, volunteering can offer the

opportunity to participate in the community. The prior experiences of the individual will

affect the kinds of activities that are undertaken (Smith 2004, 58). To a degree, the life-

course perspective is supported here because the demands of work and family meant that participants were more likely to increase their involvement in volunteering according to age. This may be integrated with the notion of serious leisure, in that the leisure career perspective involves a training period that is undertaken through much of the life course before culminating in a 'career'. However, it should be noted that although this is supported for a number of the participants, it is not the only model of involvement, given that the participants include those that are engaging for shorter periods of time in order to obtain experience in the sector itself. Furthermore, the life-course perspective upon volunteering tends to exaggerate the relationship between the life course and the likelihood of volunteering. There is a general tendency for volunteering to increase throughout the lifespan of those involved, and this ties with the notion of serious leisure in terms of a career.

It is clear that the older a participant was, the more likely they were to participate in volunteering. For many of the older participants, volunteering would have taken place to a greater extent had they had more disposable time available. Therefore, the increased involvement that is associated with age is not due to an increase in interest or a change in attitude, but simply because more time is available to those who have retired.

Volunteering-as-work or serious leisure

There were different perspectives concerning how the volunteers perceived themselves as either volunteers or workers. This does not necessarily reflect a dichotomy in Stebbins's (2011, 11) perspective, in that the type of volunteering might constitute work, but it might be viewed as leisure. This distinction is unremarkable in a number of contexts, with some work-related processes such as gardening being seen in terms of work for some, and leisure for others (Thurnell-Read 2016, 71). However, in the railway context, the

concept was reflected in a disinclination amongst some to use the phrase 'volunteer' to describe their involvement. Some individuals separated themselves from traditional volunteers. The image of volunteers tended to be associated with images of 'middle aged females' or students. However despite this, for the purposes of this thesis, the term volunteer has been applied to these individuals in order to separate them from their paid counterparts. The distinction between casual and serious might be seen here in the degree of complexity of the tasks undertaken (Stebbins 2011, 7). The pleasure might be similar to that gained from casual volunteering, but there are significant differences.

Rather than identifying themselves specifically as a volunteer, personal definitions of their role focusing upon the specific job roles were more common, and so they considered themselves as a guard, or a staff member. The participants were aware that they were volunteers (as indicated in their volunteer role documents) in the sense of not being paid, however they did not self-identify as volunteers. Instead, there was a sense of working through a number of states to obtain job descriptions such as fireman or driver. The fact that the volunteering resulted in the imposition of specific job types upon the participants may qualify partly for this effect, in that the participants feel that they volunteer, but that it goes beyond what they might think of as volunteering. It was perhaps the fact that the volunteering was not seen as onerous, or there was a sense in which they felt that they were a part of a team, family or community. The affinity that the volunteering experience gave the participants functioned as an important part of the experience and gave the participants an incentive for future involvement. There was an increased level of solidarity through the different volunteers engaging with others. The sense of family atmosphere meant that a form of kinship was developed for participants as a result of the practice. This

collective identity provided many of the volunteers with an important sense of in-group belonging in what they did.

The notion of serious leisure may therefore be applied to the volunteering activities of the participants. The railway volunteering activity can be interpreted as a serious leisure activity and is largely dominated by those retired individuals that have significant amounts of free time and economic resources to take part. However, for some others, it is seen as a way of gaining social capital through work experience and thereby facilitating a route into paid employment. 61 participants that were engaged in serious leisure. This is characterised by their intense commitment and the fulfilling nature of the work that they carry out. Those that found it explainable by a 'work' perspective can be seen as students or those that were employed and so only occasionally participated, with a number of 13 participants.

The six qualities that Stebbins identifies in serious leisure were clearly identifiable across the vast majority of the interviews. The aspects of serious leisure are: perseverance, leisure career, significant effort, durable benefits, unique ethos and identify formation" (Stebbins 2011, 11). There was clearly persistence in goal-directed behaviour over time. The railway volunteering process tended to involve significant effort, and the hierarchy of tasks led many volunteers to perceive it as a form of career. The durable benefits might be seen in terms of the social benefits accrued by the participants, and the unique ethos was frequently cited in terms of the family atmosphere that the volunteering process developed. Identity formation was one of the more significant elements of the railway volunteering process, in that there was a tendency to identify participation in terms of job description rather than simply in terms of being a volunteer.

The cost of volunteering

The relationship between the high financial commitment of volunteering and the different levels of participation was significant in the research. The financial outlay associated with volunteering on the railways was likely to limit participation to those with a higher status and income. In this case, it is not surprising that there is a relationship between the economic capital of volunteers and their continued activity. However, this should not be applied to volunteering as a whole: the relationship between the personal motivations for engagement and the benefits that the activity brought may have been at variance compared with working in a charity shop, and it is clear that in the fieldwork observations, the ways in which some participants worked in the café or engaged with other tasks demonstrated that there are a wide range of volunteering activities which are regularly undertaken.

The volunteers noted that they had contributed substantial personal effort, which extended beyond simply giving the time to the volunteering activity. There were some reports that even though they contributed a significant level of effort, some participants indicated that they felt substantial pressure to give more than they had initially committed to provide. This indicates that for some volunteers, there was an increasing seriousness in their volunteer work. It also may be supported with the perspective of a development in serious leisure in the sense that it became a career for the volunteers. Volunteers also developed a sense of obligation and so continued to volunteer despite personal commitment issues. This conforms with Stebbins (2011, 11) notes that perseverance involves keeping with the activity even when it no longer seems to provide the benefits it initially seemed to promise.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

A review of the research questions and the research process

This chapter reviews the research questions and methodology, presents the contributions of the thesis, summarises the main findings, and indicates areas of future research. As discussed in the literature review, volunteering and the voluntary sector are both challenging to define (Davis Smith 1995, 14), and particularly in relation to heritage railways generally, little is still known about what exactly prompts individuals to engage as previous studies are limited. Heritage railways were a particularly unique area of study due to the large number of individuals involved and the high percentage of older and retired volunteers, compared with many other organisations.

Research focusing on the general voluntary sector has shown that those who volunteer typically fall into a number of distinct categories, these being: female, high socio-economic status, aged between 40-55, with high levels of educational attainment. Whilst a small proportion of the volunteers who participated in this research did fall into a number of these categories, particularly in terms of age, the vast majority were distinctly different as in contrast they were generally male, retired, aged 50 and above, at the higher end of the working class grouping, with a history of railway interest. These differences make studying volunteering within heritage railways particularly interesting, as it is unique in terms of the demographics and commitment of those who engage. One of the most significant challenges facing heritage railways in the United Kingdom is the lack of younger people joining and engaging. Currently, as this thesis has shown, the majority of railway volunteers are male, retired and over the age of 50, who have typically grown up with, or have fond memories of steam trains (Jones 2018).

While this group of volunteers are working hard to preserve the railways, a potential time bomb is looming whereby there is a lack of younger individuals engaging, and therefore quite possibly loosing important engineering expertise. As this thesis has indicated, one of the potential solutions to this challenge is by encouraging the intergenerational transmission of volunteering through current volunteers and their families and friends, and through this, the next generation will be in place to take over, sustaining these organisations for years to come.

This thesis was directed at answering a number of research questions which acted as a way of organising the discussion and developing the analysis. The research questions will be considered in turn, and the extent to which they may be answered will be covered. In some instances, these overlap with the themes that were identified in the literature review and discussed above, but the focus in this case is how far each example might be answered more directly.

Can railway volunteering be considered a form of serious leisure?

The answer to this research question identified in the results is yes, railway volunteering can be considered a form of serious leisure. Serious leisure is defined as the systematic pursuit of the kind of activity which people find interesting enough that they effectively launch themselves upon a leisure career (Stebbins 1992, 3). Many of the participants interviewed here would recognise their experience in terms of a serious leisure perspective. The process of volunteering can certainly appear as a leisure career for many of the volunteers. There is a process through which the participants need to navigate in order to graduate from initially quite menial tasks, to eventually being trained in undertaking

highly skilled positions such as engine driving. In many cases, engine driving is more

commonly proceeded upon after working in maintenance, and then as a fireman on the

footplate, although it is possible to immediately begin training for the loco driving itself.

Importantly though, the more skilled the role, the longer the period of training, the greater

the involvement of the individual, and consequentially, the more likely they are to continue

with the process.

Not all the participants identified, engaged in serious leisure. There are some

differences in age concerning whether the participants classed themselves as engaging in

serious leisure. The serious leisure category comprises of those aged over 44, who are

retired or working part-time. These are more likely to volunteer for extensive periods of

time. However, this was also quite possibly because they had an association with the railway

over an extended period of time, and so retirement was seen as an opportunity for their

commitment to increase. This group provided an intensive period of engagement over a

number of years, with retirement offering the opportunity to reinforce this commitment.

The serious leisure perspective is distinct from the amateurs grouping of Stebbins (2007, 14)

through their motivation: which engaged predominantly for altruistic reasons. This was

certainly true of a number of the participants, but it was also evident that they did so in

order to satisfy their own interest in the railways. It was reported that participation in the

railways became almost addictive for some, whom thrived on the constant thrill of engaging

with the railroad. Furthermore, Stebbins (2007, 14) concept of serious leisure involves the

participants providing specialist knowledge, and in doing so create a career from their

volunteering. Within the organisation this was reflected in the sense of social benefits,

which meant a unique ethos had developed amongst many of the longer-term volunteers.

The fact that the participants did not find that their enthusiasm for trains was reciprocated

by people outside of the railways actually encouraged a deeper, more meaningful identification with those who reflected themselves.

This research contributes to the notion of serious leisure by contributing to the sense in which those involved in serious leisure were socially ostracised and cut off through the strong identities that their participation portrayed. Some of the participants did respond to being considered eccentric by others, as this seems to have been a contributory factor in the perseverance and the identify formation of the individuals involved.

For younger participants their involvement with the railway was largely to obtain CV points and to enhance their employment prospects. However, this contributes to the serious leisure perspective in that this indicated that the participants were committed in part to gain their own experience as a complement to their career objectives, rather than simply engage in the process of volunteering for altruistic reasons. Therefore, these groups might be understood through the serious leisure perspective alongside the broader understanding of a longer-term career involved in the volunteer process.

What self-understandings exist amongst volunteers, and are there any conflicts between stereotypical images and reality?

The self-understandings amongst volunteers seemed to accept the stereotypes that were offered to them but emphasised that their pathway to volunteering often began when they were small children or young adults. For some, the stereotypical elements played little if any role in their decision to volunteer. This meant that there were no concerns of the stereotypical aspects to the role because the main focus was upon gaining experience and obtaining volunteering credits on their CV. Some individuals were volunteering to complete

unpaid work, and as such simply viewed their participation as a way in which they could increase employability. For a few of these participants, the link between what they completed and the museum sector in which they intended to eventually work was important. For others, such as Noah, volunteering was a way to gain experience in the transport sector, and so the association between the two was that perceived link, rather than an abiding concern for the heritage elements of the railway.

Significantly, the self-understanding that was exhibited by volunteers involved undertaking a specific identity during the course of the volunteering period, that was effectively dissociated from their identities outside the railway. Several participants considered the period, spent volunteering as an escape from their everyday existence and life outside the railway, and many adopted the identities which were associated with the roles that they took on during their involvement, such as being an engine-driver or a fireman. Therefore, for the period during which the research was conducted, the participants did not feel that there were any conflicts between stereotypical images and reality as their identities were context-dependent. There was an awareness of how these images might be seen by those outside, but these were not considered to conflict with their character during the time they were involved in the railway.

What underlies the enthusiasm and interest of railway volunteers?

The factors that underlie the interest and enthusiasm of railway volunteers differ according to their level of engagement and role that they play. For some, it is the realisation of a lifelong interest in railways. This contributed directly to some participants' passions, in that their role in the railway directly reflects their interest in trains. For others, it

complemented their interest, in that it drew on their existing eagerness. Few developed an enthusiasm for volunteering at the railways without an existing interest in the railways.

Overall, the factors that added to the enthusiasm of the volunteers came from a variety of sources. The evidence that is presented here indicated that the most substantial influences came from the family background of volunteers. This might be expected, given that with a range of opportunities and competing options for volunteering, there would need to be a distinguishing factor for the railways to demand attention. The second factor is that given the fact that many participants travelled a considerable distance to take part in the process and engage in a leisure career, meant that their interest initiated from a desire to seek something they might be involved in that included an element of the railways, rather than a desire for volunteering per se without a concern for the activity that took place. Therefore, for those wishing to volunteer solely for social benefits, there would be a number of opportunities available closer to home.

What is volunteering within the TR, FFR, and WHR like on a day-to-day basis?

The results of the research were able to identify the day-to-day experience of the volunteers. For many, participation within the heritage railways is often seen as though it has similarities with paid work. The tasks in some instances are identical, irrespective of whether the workers are paid or volunteering. Many of the paid staff discovered the railway as volunteers and then made a transition to paid workers. Volunteers are trained, with no fixed time period for effective training; it depends upon the job that is undertaken. On-the-job training is usually provided. In the FFR, after initial volunteering takes place, an expression of interest may be made to take things further. The formal trainee position takes

over two months. Volunteers perform most of the activities with the Talyllyn Railway and will often work across more than one department. Although the retail and finance positions in the TR are paid, twenty volunteers are needed for the railway to function effectively each day.

The day-to-day experience of volunteers on the railway varies according to the role they undertake. The working hours are usually regular, with the exception of those working in the café needing to match the requirements of the railway timetable. This can sometimes lead to very long days for some, where there is the expectancy of staying until the job is completed. The rota for work is arranged approximately three or four weeks in advance and distributed through different networks. Volunteers are expected to indicate their availability before the timetable is distributed, and changes to the schedule are only permitted after discussion with the team leader. A hierarchy of work is present in all three railways, where the distribution of activities is the responsibility of the volunteer departmental team leaders. There are informal team meetings that are held daily between the team leaders, this is an important opportunity for any enquiries or amendments to be discussed, and the work roster if necessary, adjusted accordingly.

The daily routine for volunteering begins for all three railways between 7.15am and 8.30am. The morning session of work typically continues until 12.30pm, although it might overrun in busy periods. Work stops for an hour for lunch, and then will continue until approximately 3.30-4.30pm. The working day will conclude with necessary cleaning duties taking place and paperwork completed at each of the stations. For volunteers, the days' activities will commence with a communal breakfast and conclude with an inclusive activity in the evening, an example being a quiz night.

The typical day's work for the railway volunteers will thus vary considerably from the daily working life of others. The volunteers do not follow a rigid schedule, in the sense of providing a specific number of hours over a set period of time and so allows the volunteers to participate at a rate that suits them. Typically, the number of hours that the volunteers contribute increases with their age, as the older group typically has the greatest quantity of free time. In common with other forms of volunteering, training is provided informally between the more experienced and those with less experience. Informal training thus offers the opportunity to contribute to the sense of how life at the railway continues: as well as it involves instruction on how the machinery operates, it also offers the opportunity for observing the ways in which the railway works. As such, it can provide cultural continuity between different volunteer members of the railway, ensuring that the organisational culture is transmitted. However, the ways in which this takes place was not given close attention by participants in the railway, although there was note made of the differences, in how the railway functioned by the older participants and how their initial involvement varied in comparison to present day. A more concerted examination of how the organisational culture of the railways varies over time might provide an interesting insight into the role of organisational factors such as path dependency, and changes in the way that the railways are organised over several years.

What identities, sense of purpose, or interests, are associated with railway volunteering?

The identities, sense of purpose or interests that are associated with railway volunteering are therefore diverse. For some, the volunteering is associated with the sense of status in terms of being involved in the railway. A childhood desire to be an engine driver

was often realised as a result of volunteering and this can reflect a significant influence. However, it is not automatically the case that the enthusiasts necessarily identified with the wider community; many were resistant to the stereotypical image of the train spotter and were aware that this is how their interest might be perceived externally. However, there was also a sense of community gained from working alongside those who had a strong sense of affinity with others. This did not necessarily result in a sense of identity that was projected outside of the close-knit railway environment, however, and many reported that they did not talk about their interest in railway volunteering to work colleagues.

The interest that contributed to the role played by the volunteers was significant and can be associated with the sense of serious leisure. In this, the sense of purpose became a self-fulfilling cycle, in that the more time that was spent volunteering, the greater the rewards that the individual obtained from the process. The initial interest that may have come from the influence of family, an interest in railways, the contribution of the community or simply an interest in volunteering might provide the initial spark that engaged the participant, but this was more fundamentally fulfilled by the actual engagement. This may have also been contributed to by the extent to which volunteering would involve a residential role for participants, and so the contribution of the social interaction during work and afterwards obviously had a significant impact upon some of the individuals.

The sense of purpose of the volunteers can be potentially strengthened by the initial involvement, and the fact that a number of the participants referred to the sense of community they felt at each of the railways indicated that the railways present a number of factors that can increase the involvement of the participants. The impression of camaraderie and the social benefits are not the only factors that contribute to the continued involvement of participants. It could be argued, for example, that in many cases

the interest that the individuals feel they obtain from their involvement in the relationship is the shared interest in steam railways in general, and in their specific railway in particular, and with their colleagues who are involved in the same context.

Conclusion

This thesis has drawn a number of conclusions. Firstly, there is no common perspective of volunteering that is reflected by the participants. The general view of volunteering which is commonly held, is one that is focused upon a specific age and gender. A number of participants, suggested that the term 'volunteering' conjured up images as being something completed by an 'old lady', rather than something that involves driving a train. Therefore, rather than define their own relationship with the railway in terms of volunteering, the participants preferred to see it as a hobby or even as work.

This may reflect a particular aspect of railway volunteering, which often includes an existing enthusiasm for steam railways, and therefore represents something that the participants complete for their own potentially extrinsic benefits. It does not necessarily reflect a desire to be altruistic, in the sense of there being onerous tasks undertaken for the benefits that it gives to others, such as working in a charity shop. However, this did not mean that there was simply an enthusiasm for the more spectacular tasks such as engine driving, but many volunteers were happy to polish the brass, clean stations and complete numerous other tasks that were not skilled or highly regarded. This reflected the notion of working on the railways as a part of a community and demonstrated the fact that the family atmosphere and sense of belonging amongst volunteers improved individual involvement to the degree that they supported the railway, rather than focused upon their personal benefits.

Volunteers thus reflected a range of interests in undertaking roles and there was considerable variation in motivation, although most seemed to be indelibly focused upon what can be described as a serious leisure approach.

A second question of how to characterise volunteering on the railways relates to the broader social benefits that the participants attained, together with the tangible skill set. This may be identified as offering benefits in terms of transferable skills, which were identified by the younger participants more frequently. However, even for older individuals, the skill set that developed was considered to be useful, not least in offering the opportunity for further training to be offered to the newer volunteers. Therefore, the overall effect of volunteering was to create the sense of a career that developed from limited roles to more substantial supervisor-led roles. This is consistent with the notion of serious leisure, but also identifies how many of the roles that are included are similar to work-related roles.

The railway volunteering context was found to be heavily gendered, both in the sense of the total number of volunteers and in the gender distribution of the roles that were completed by the participants. This was also true for ethnicity. There were limited attempts made to correct this disparity, and some indications are evident that women were diverted away from roles which were seen as appropriately masculine. However, there were indications of changes taking place, and the fact that some participants indicated that they would withdraw their labour to ensure that they could choose the roles they were most interested in, demonstrated that there were attempts to remedy the situation.

The fact that the volunteers came from further afield than the local communities of Gwynydd and Tywyn indicates, that the interest in working on the railway transcends the desire to keep the railway functioning for the wider benefit of the local communities. It also

indicated the widespread interest in steam railway volunteering, together with family influences upon participation. Thus, meaning that local involvement was more limited than might be expected in the case of other charitable organisations. It also indicated that there was perhaps more of a stigma associated with railway volunteering, and undermined participation for some potential volunteers. This then created the beneficial situation where residential volunteering was more common, which resulted in a greater sense of community that then led volunteers to feel that their work was a holiday from their other lives. The interest and support the volunteers felt for their roles often came at significant economic and personal cost, indicating that there were some substantial benefits that came from the work. This may be associated with the identities that the participants were able to adopt during their volunteering period, where the opportunity to partake in the railway reflected a 'holiday' away from their usual identities.

Recommendations for further research

This research has demonstrated a number of unique attributes of volunteering in the context of a steam railway. The perspective might benefit from a closer comparison with other research concerning volunteering, that can identify differences between how the roles are perceived, and whether such activities might be considered closer to a hobby rather than contributing to a charity. Volunteering is usually considered to have an altruistic benefit that rewards the local community or to people in need. However, in this case, the volunteering takes place largely because of the shared enthusiasm for steam railways by the volunteers and visitors. The economic benefits that the railway brings to the local community, for example, were rarely mentioned. This might indicate that for volunteers there are more personal reasons for taking part rather than altruistic motivations. Therefore, we should perhaps contribute to a broader understanding of volunteering and

indicate that some aspects of this might be more effectively understood under a leisure framework.

Secondly, the gendered nature of the volunteering process might benefit from closer examination. Of interest here, was the ways in which women were to a point, covertly prevented from participating in those roles that were considered to be male domains. How this takes place might be compared with the similar processes to exclude women from male-dominated work, and thus offers an opportunity for a broader understanding of these mechanisms. Therefore, this could be associated with the organisational culture of the railways, and the way in which the training process communicates values of the organisation that can be difficult to shift.

The focus upon the relationship between age and volunteering might be considered here. Although there was a link between age and volunteering, this was due more to there being greater levels of economic resources and time, rather than due to inclination. Further research is needed to establish whether the inclination for volunteering remains consistent across the lifespan, as seems to be the case here. However, the evidence indicates that rather than there being a consistency of motivation for volunteering in general, there was an interest in being involved in steam railways in particular. Enthusiasm may explain volunteering for some of the participants. Further research may be required to examine whether there are similar areas in which such a relationship takes place; for example, in sports.

Finally, this study would have benefited from a more thorough examination of the benefits that the steam railway brings to the wider community. The focus here was upon the benefits that were acquired through volunteering, and how these skills might be improved by the activities undertaken. However, an investigation of how the steam railway

was perceived in the wider community and the general attitudes towards it, would have provided an interesting backdrop to interpret these results. The fieldwork identified that there were a range of perspectives present in the local community, and further research may be needed to investigate this more thoroughly.

The findings of this research illustrate that railway volunteering provides a life-changing experience for many participants, through offering individuals an alternative to their day to day lives, enabling them to engage in activities which contribute towards the aim of preserving the railways for future generationa, all whilst doing 'something different'. Through their engagement, volunteers noted that they felt as though they were thriving and saw themselves as a vital component in the larger preservation movement. Distinctions were noted between the participants themselves and staff engaged by organisations such as the National Trust, their personal accounts, histories of volunteering, and their experiences of 'work'. Within the three railways it was seen as distinctly separate from the 'real world' or from their life outside of the railway, which for many of the older individuals, contained a degree of social isolation and loneliness, particularly for those who had experienced bereavement or ill health, and therefore their escape to the railway provided them with a 'temporary break' from their 'other lives', enabling them to step back from their various obligations and expectations.

As discussed previously in the findings chapter, many participants brought elements of their 'real world' to their volunteering through actively encouraging their friends and family to volunteer alongside them. Further research could provide a more comprehensive and in-depth engagement with Goffman's (1990) research, which could focus upon the development of relationships within the railway in terms of those who engage alongside a partner, friend or family member, through using ethnographic methods. Furthermore, it

could examine how associations from their 'real world' provide a form of transferable 'back stage' to those individuals who volunteer alongside a companion. However, as discussed previously, due to the nature of the railways and the way that the working gangs are organised to include new and more experienced volunteers, grouping family members or friends together is not always possible.

Railway volunteering is a heterogeneous phenomenon, however despite this, within the wider preserved railway industry, variations may exist between the data collected from the volunteers in this study, and individuals who volunteer for railways internationally in countries such as Romania which require substantially more resources, particularly in terms of financial requirements and social capital. A further area of focus could examine variations in terms of volunteer demographics, the aspects generated through their engagement, and the meanings attached to volunteering amongst British and international railway volunteers.

For many of the younger individuals in this study, volunteering enables them to strive towards becoming more employable, through developing their skills and meeting new people. These aspects were discussed in detail within the findings chapter particularly in relation to how one young person was encouraged to volunteer in order to gain entry into university. Across the interviews, participants referred to the benefits gained through their volunteering, however for the younger individuals who noted that their engagement was predominantly a way to enhance their CV, when asked about the particular benefits which volunteering would provide for their future employment, many highlighted that employers looked favourably upon un-remunerated activities and community based involvement. Furthermore, for those hoping to gain access to higher education, it was noted that volunteering, irrespective of the role or industry, is viewed positively within students' applications, and this directly influenced the engagement of many younger volunteers.

Further research could examine the reasons behind why university admissions, and potential employers view experiences of volunteering as beneficial, and whether statistics show a difference in higher education acceptance rates, between those with a background of volunteering, and those without. Additionally, research could examine how volunteering is 'sold' to young people, and whether any significant differences exist in the recruitment of younger, as opposed to more senior individuals.

Summary

This research has argued that the railway societies studied throughout the research provide a location in which volunteers can work and live alongside other individuals who share similar interests and hobbies, and where mutual respect, understanding, and positive attitudes towards preservation and simple living is encouraged. Within many volunteer based organisations three distinct spheres exist, these being work, socialisation and domestic, however, within the TR, FFR, and the WHR, all three spheres are combined and engaged upon within the confines of the societies.

This thesis provides an example of successful volunteering which for some individuals contributes to a form of escapism from their daily lives, to keep active in retirement, and to enhance their employability. Within the railways, people are able to grow and thrive, through their volunteering, however long term or transient it may be. Enabling individuals to positively and directly impact railway preservation to ensure its sustainability for future generations. Railway volunteering combines work and serious leisure together, it is beneficial to both those who engage in terms of providing increased well-being, and to the wider community by delivering long lasting economic benefits to the local infrastructure and populace.

Thesis contributions

Review of previous literature

Previous research had not comprehensively examined the extent of research on heritage railways and have not taken into consideration research beyond their own specific disciplines, including history and engineering, and therefore little cross discipline research was available. This lack of cross focus has led to very few links being made across the areas of sociology.

The review of previous literature in chapter three presents an overview of the literature on volunteering, serious leisure, and heritage railway engagement. It also highlighted limitations and gaps in the existing literature, for example, research focusing specifically on the motives of volunteers in isolation rather than on the background and influencing factors behind their engagement including family history and demographics.

Research methodology

This research adopted an approach which enabled the complexities of volunteering within the heritage railway industry to be understood, while taking into consideration individual points of view. As indicated above, previous studies of volunteer motives have either consisted of large scale quantitative studies for example, conducted by Holmes (1999). The present work, interviewing a large number (74) of volunteers across the three railways, ensured that the findings brought in more individual perspectives, which can be applied both across the heritage railway sector and subsequently across the wider volunteering sector in the United Kingdom and further afield.

Becoming involved

The thesis' most significant contribution is in developing a broader understanding of serious leisure and how it applies to heritage railway volunteers. Findings from this research indicate how for the vast majority of participants, volunteering was seen as a serious leisure activity, which is characterised by the level of commitment, often intense for considerable lengths of time, the acceptance of the occasional need to persevere in times of difficulties, and often with the aim of generating a form of career through their engagement at the railways. Across the 74 interviews, work related adjectives were referred to, with many of the participants identifying themselves based on their role/position, rather than as a volunteer.

For the vast majority, developing a sense of belonging and identity along with creating new friendships were key to their engagement, with camaraderie being cited regularly by the participants. This thesis has not only shown that volunteering is a largely serious leisure based activity, but also that intrinsic and extrinsic reasons for volunteering change over time, for example for the majority of the volunteers it was a subject interest which initially influenced the participants to offer their services, while it was the social side of their involvement which influenced their continued engagement and participations.

The research identified that without adequate social interaction, the volunteers will become demotivated and the TR, FFR and WHR may find themselves short of volunteers. Due to the potential shortage of volunteers in the sector this is a very important consideration.

As subject interest was one of the most common reasons cited for engagement, it would appear to be practical for the TR, FFR and WHR to target visitors as potential new volunteers as many will have already shown a clear interest in the railways.

Volunteering and retirement

This thesis has contributed to the understanding of the role of retirement as a key life stage which prompts voluntary engagement, with keeping active in retirement noted as one of the main reasons for their participation. The research identified that volunteering provides individuals with an opportunity to pursue lifelong ambitions and interests, to make new friends with others who have similar passions, and to compensate for the aspects lost after ending full time/paid employment.

As retirement had such a significant impact on the participants' decisions to volunteer, the most effective method for recruiting new volunteers for the railways would appear to be through targeting new or near retirement age individuals, and this would explain the popularity of the recruitment of individuals from the "friends of" groups. In addition, volunteering, particularly post retirement, as indicated by many in the research, provides a way in which to improve mental health and wellbeing by providing a new focus, making new friends and feeling useful after retirement. This is an aspect of personal benefit which should be publicised in order to increase volunteer recruitment.

Thesis limitations

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the main limitations of this thesis were with regard to the data collection and field work stages. The high level of consistency across

the sample suggests that the conclusions of this thesis can be applied more generally to other railway organisations in the United Kingdom who engage the services of volunteers.

One of the main challenges faced in this research was the fact that due to the nature of volunteering at the TR, FFR and WHR, the interviews themselves where shorter than originally planned, as it was necessary to interview the volunteers whilst they were working as they typically worked long hours and were unable to stay behind following their shift. The volunteers also did not always have a typical 'lunch break' and therefore interviews were conducted on the job. In addition to the interviews, participant observations were also conducted to examine interactions between the volunteers, management and visitors. Whilst these observations were less intrusive for the volunteers, using this approach alone would not have answered many of the questions proposed.

One of the conclusions of this research was the fact volunteers' reasons for becoming and continuing to be involved at the railways changed over time. These reasons were based on discussions during the interviews, and a longitudinal study over a set period of time would have enabled such changes to be tracked over time, however due to the limits particularly in terms of time, this was not deemed practical for this particular piece of research.

Overall, heritage railway volunteering can, as shown in this thesis, be understood as a form of highly committed serious leisure engagement. Many of the participants gain a 'career', develop new skills and experiences, and find the activity rewarding and substantial. For some of the individuals who took part in this research, the engagement provided them with a renewed sense of belonging and identity, enabled them to feel useful and valued post retirement, and improved their mental health and wellbeing. Heritage railways will not continue to survive without the input of their volunteers, and this thesis has shown that the

benefits are twofold. The railways themselves gain a reliable, hardworking and dedicated

work force, and the majority of volunteers gain substantial personal rewards.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adamson, D (2008), Still Living On The Edge. *Contemporary Wales* 21, 47-66.

Adler, J., and Goggin, J. (2005), What Do We Mean By Civic Engagement. *Journal Of Transformative Education* 3, 3:236-253.

Ahn, Y (2017), The Recruitment Of Volunteers Connected With Sports Mega Events. A Case Study Of Pyeong Chang 2018 Olympic And Paralympics Winter Games. *Journal of Destination Marketing And Management* 28, 14-32.

Ajzen, I (1991), The Theory Of Planned Behaviour. *Organizational Behaviour And Human Decision Processes* 50, 2:179-211.

All Party Parliamentary Group on Heritage Railways (2013), *Report On The Value Of Heritage Railways.* London: HMSO.

Alvesson, M., and Billing, Y. D (1999), *Understanding Gender And Organisation*. London. Sage.

Alvares, E., Bogart, D., Satchell, M., Shaw-Taylor, L., Xueshenq, Y. (2016), *Railway And Growth Evidence From 19th Century Wales*. Cardiff: Cardiff University Press.

Arnould, E., and Thompson, C. (2005), Consumer Culture: 20 Years Of Research. *Journal Of Consumer Research* 31, 4:868-887.

Askins, K (2015), Being Together: Everyday Geographies And The Quiet Politics Of Belonging. *ACME: An International E-Journal For Critical Geographies* 14, 2:461-469.

Association of Preservation Trusts (2019), *UKAPT.* http://heritagehelp.org.uk/organisations/association-of-preservation-trusts-apt (Accessed 18 July 2019).

Atenstaedt, R., Lamb, D., Andrews, S., and Jones, C. (2009), *Review Of Primary And Community Care Services Provided In North Wales: Population Profile Of North Wales.* Caernarfon: Gwynedd Council.

Avrami, E., Mason, R., and Torre, M. (2000), *Values And Heritage Conservation.* Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Baldwin, C., and Norris, A. (1999), Exploring The Dimensions Of Serious Leisure: Love Me, Love My Dog. *Journal Of Leisure Studies* 31, 1-7.

Bandura, A (1977), Towards A Unifying Theory Of Behavioural Change. *Self-efficacy* 84, 2:191-215.

Bauman, Zygmunt (1996), 'From Pilgrim To Tourist – Or A Short History Of Identity', In S Hall

& P du Gay (eds), *Questions Of Cultural Identity*, pp. 18-36. London: Sage.

Bauman, Zygmunt (2000), *Liquid Modernity.* USA: Polity Press.

B.B.C. (2016), *Full Steam Ahead*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/programme/bo71/2 1pglf.
(Accessed 16 August 2016).

Beckett, D (2014), *Trends In The UK Housing Market*. London: CFS.

Bekkers, R (2007), Intergenerational Transmission Of Volunteering. *Acta Sociologica* 50, 2:
99-114.

Bell, D (2007), *Memories Of The Leicestershire Coal Fields.* Melton Mowbry: Countryside
Books.

Bell, D (2009), The Dirty Thirty: Heroes Of The Miners' Strike. Nottingham: Five Leaves.

Bell, J (1999), Doing your research project. Maidenhead: Open University Press. *Industrial
Railway Heritage Trains: The Evolution Of A Heritage Tourism Genre And Its Attributes.*
London: Routledge.

Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, E., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, M., and Wright, D. (2009), *Class, Culture, Distinction.* London: Routledge.

Bennett, M., and Parameshwaran, M. (2013), *What Factors Predict Volunteering Amongst Youths In The UK.* London. NCVO.

Berger, J., and Heath, C. (2008), Who Drives Divergence: Identity Signalling Outgroup Similarity And The Abandonment Of Cultural Taste. *Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology* 95, 3:593-607.

Bhati, P., Pryce, J., and Chaiechi, T. (2013), Industrial Railway Heritage Trains: The Evolution Of A Heritage Tourism Genre And Its Attributes. *Journal Of Heritage Tourism* 2, 9:114-133.

Boneham, M., and Sixsmith, J. (2003), Volunteering And The Concept Of Social Capital. *Voluntary Action* 5, 3:47-60.

Bourdieu, P (1984), *Distinction. A Social Critique Of The Judgement Of Taste.* London. Routledge.

Bourdieu, P (1986), The Forms Of Capital In: Richardson, J G (ed), *Handbook Of Theory And Research For The Sociology Of Education.* New York. Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P (1990), *Reproduction In Education: Society And Culture*. London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P., and Wacquant, L. (1992), *An Invitation To Reflexive Sociology*. London: Polity Press.

Bradford, S., and Nowland-Foreman, G (1999), *Working Together: Civil Society In New Zealand.* Auckland: Commonwealth Foundation.

Bradley, S (2016), *The Railways, Nation, Network And People.* London: Palgrave.

Brewis, G (2014), *A Social History Of Student Volunteering: Britain And Beyond: 1800-1980.* London: Palgrave.

Britain's Finest (2019), *Top Attractions In Wales.*
https://www.britainsfinest.co.uk/attractions/search/country/wales (Accessed 12 April 2018).

British Sociological Association (2002), *Statement Of Ethical Practice.*
https://www.britsoc.co.uk/equality-diversity/statement-of-ethical-practice (Accessed 28 June 2017).

Brodie, R., Hollebeek, L., Biljan, J., and Llic, A. (2011), Customer Engagement. *Journal Of Service Research* 14, 3:252-272.

Brown, J (2017), *The Railway Preservation Revolution. A History Of Britain's Heritage Railway.* London: Pen and Sword.

Brown, T (2006), *Beyond Constructivism: Navigationalism In The Knowledge Era: On The Horizon.* Pretoria: Emerald Insight.

Brown, M and Ferris, G (2007), *Work And Quality Of Life*. New York: Ezzom.

Browne, J., Jochum, V., and Paylor, J. (2013), *The Value Of Giving A Little Time.* London: WCVA.

Bryen, L., and Madden, KM. (2006), *Bounce-Back Of Episodic Volunteers: What Makes Episodic Volunteers Return? Working Paper, No CPNS32.* Www.researchgate.net>2. (Accessed 18 May 2017).

Bryman, A (2016), *Social Research Methods.* 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Building Change Trust (2001), *Seven Steps To Increase Volunteering.* https://www.buildingchangetrust.org/blog/Seven-steps-to-attracting-new-volunteers (Accessed 14 March 2018).

Buchanan, A (1989), History And heritage: The Development Of Industrial Archaeology And Britain. *The Public Historian* 11, 1-6.

Burman, P., and Stratton, M. (2013), *Conserving The Railway Heritage.* York: Routledge.

Burney, S (2008), *Inductive And Deductive Research Approaches.* Karachi: University of Karachi.

Burr, J A., Choi, NG., Mutchler, JE., and Caro, FG. (2005), Caregiving And Volunteering: Are Private And Public Helping Behaviours Linked. *The Journals Of Gerontology. Series B: Psychological Sciences And Social Sciences* 60, 247-256.

Burr, JA., Tavares, J., and Mutchler, JE. (2011). Volunteering And Hypertension Risk In Later Life. Journal Of Ageing And Health 23, 1:24-51.

Butcher, J and Einolf, CJ. (2017), 'Volunteering: A Complex Social Phenomenon' in Dekker, P. and Benjamin L. (eds), *Perspectives On volunteering: Voices From The South*. Switzerland: Springer.

Bussel, H., and Forbes, D. (2002), Understanding The Volunteer Market. The What, Where, Who And Why Of Volunteering. *International Journal Of Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Marketing* 7, 3:244-257.

Cabinet Office (2010), *Community Life Survey*. London: HMSO.

Cabinet Office (2016), Community Life Survey. London: HMSO.

CADW (2011), *The First Industrial Nation.* Cardiff: CADW.

Carlo, G., Okun, MA., Knight, GP., and de Guzman, MRT. (2005), The Interplay Of Traits And Motives On Volunteering: Agreeableness, Extraversion And Prosocial Value Motivation. *Personality And Individual Differences* 38, 3: 1293-1305.

Carman, J., and Sorensen, M. (2009), *Heritage Studies: Methods And Approaches.* London: Routledge.

Carter, I (2007), Train Tracks: Work, Play And Politics On The Railway. *The Journal Of Transport History* 28, 1:131.

Castells, Manuel (2005), Global Governance And Global Politics*. Political Science And Politics* 38, 1:9-16.

Cathrall, W (1828), *The History Of North Wales. A Topographical Description Of Caernarfon, Anglesey And Denbigh, Flint, Merionneth, And Montgomery*. Manchester: J Cleave and Son.

Chinman, M and Wandersman, A (1999), *The Benefits And Costs Of Volunteering.* London: Palgrave.

Civil Exchange (2012), *Big Society Audit.* London: Civil Exchange.

Clary, E G., and Snyder, M. (1998), *The Motivations To Volunteer*. London: Routledge.

C.L.S (2016), *Community Life Survey*. London: HMSO.

Cnaan, R., and Handy, F. (2012), *Towards An Understanding Of Episodic Volunteering.* Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.

Cnaan, R., Handy, F., and Wadsworth, M. (1996), Defining Who Is A Volunteer: Conceptual And Empirical Consideration. *Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 25, 3:364-383.

Cohen, A (1982), *Belonging, Identity And Social Organisations In British Rural Cultures.* Manchester: University Press.

Cohen, A (1985), *The Symbolic Construction Of Community*. University Of Manchester: Manchester.

Cohen, A (2003), Ethnography And Case Study, A Comparative Analysts. *Academic Exchange Quarterly* 7, 283-288.

Communities and Local Government (2011), *Community Action In England.* London. HMSO.

Conlin, M., and Bird, G. (2014), Railway Heritage And Tourism: Global Perspective. Bristol: Channel View.

Cooley, C (1998), *On Self And Social Organization*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Cornish, D., and Clarke, R. (1987), Understanding Crime Displacement: An Application Of Rational Choice Theory. *Criminology* 25, 4:933-947.

Cornish, D and Clarke, R. (2004), *Rational Choice Perspectives.* New York: Springer.

Coulls, A (1999), *Railways As World Heritage Sites.* London: Manchester University Press.

Crang, M (1995), *The Production Of Spaces For The Past: A Cultural Geography Of The Heritage Industry In England*. Bristol: University of Bristol.

Crang, M (1998), *Cultural Geography.* Routledge: London.

Cresswell, JW (2002), *Educational Research. Planning, Conducting And Evaluating Quantitative And Qualitative Research*. New Jersey: Merill Prentice Hall.

Cresswell, JW (2007), *Qualitative Inquiry And Research Design. Choosing Among Five Approaches*. (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Crow, G (2002), *Community Life: An Introduction To Local Social Relations*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Cuskelly, G., Taylor, T., Hoye, R., and Darcy, S. (2002), *Volunteer Management Practices.* New York: Stanley Press.

Dallimore, DJ., Davis, H., Eichstellar, M., and Mann, R. (2018). Place, Belonging And The Determinants Of Volunteering. *Voluntary Sector Review* 91, 1:21-38.

Davidson, A., and Roberts, J. (2005), *Ports And Harbours Of Gwynedd.* Caernarfon: Gwynedd Council.

Davis-Smith, J (1994), Determinants Of Voluntary Association Participation And Volunteering. A Literature Review. *Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 23,3:243-263.

Davis-Smith, J (1995), *The Voluntary Tradition: Philanthropy And Self-help In Britain 1500 To 1945.* London: Routledge.

Day, G (n.d.), *Select Committee On Welsh Affairs*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Dean, J (2011), *Class Diversity And Youth Volunteering In The UK Applying Bourdieu's Habitus Of Cultural Capital*. Sheffield: Sheffield University.

Decius, J., Schaper, N., and Seifert, A. (2019), Informal Workplace Learning: Development And Validation Of Leisure. *Human Resource Development Quarterly* 30, 495-535.

Department of Health and Social Care (2012), *GP Earnings And Expenses*. London HMSO.

Dicks, B (2000), *Heritage, Place And Community*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Dicks, B (2003), *Culture On Display: The Production Of Contemporary Visability.* London: Open University.

Donnelly, P., and Young, K. (1988), The Construction And Confirmation Of Identity In Sports Sub-cultures In Sociology. *Sociology Of Sport* 5, 3:223-240.

Duke, N., Skay, C., Pettingell, S. and Borowsky, I. (2009), From Adolescent Connections To Social Capital: Predictors Of Civic Engagement In Young Adulthood. *Journal Of Adolescent Health* 44, 2: 161–168

Duncan, J (1982), *Housing And Identity*. New York: Holmes and Meier.

Durkheim, E (1976), *The Elementary Forms Of The Religious Life*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Echensperger, Heimo (2000), Heritage Railways On The Brink Of Commercial Operation. *Japan Railway And Transport Review* 30, 23-29.

Egil, B., Schlesingder, T., and Nagel, S. (2014), Expectation based types of Volunteering in Switzerland. Managing Leisure 19, 359-375.

Einolf, C (2009), Will The Boomers Volunteer During Retirement. *Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 38, 2 56-66.

Einolf, C., and Chambre, SM. (2011), Who Volunteers? Constructing A Hybrid Theory. *International Journal Of Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Marketing* 16, 4:298-310.

Eisenberg, N., Fabes, R.A., & Spinrad, T. L. (2006), Prosocial Development. In W. Damon, & R. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook Of Child Psychology: Social, Emotional, And Personality Development.* (pp. 647–702). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Ekerdt, J (2010), Frontiers Of Research On Work And Retirement. *The Journal Of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences And Social Sciences* 65, 1:69-80.

Ellis, SJ., and Noyes, KH. (1990), *By The People*. San Francisco: Josey Bass.

Erikson, R. and Goldthorpe, J. (1992), *The Constant Flux: A Study Of Class Mobility In Industrial Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

Erlinghagen, M. (2010). Volunteering After Retirement: Evidence From German Panel Data. *European Societies* 12, 5: 603-625.

Esmond, J (2001), *International Year of Volunteers.* Western Australia: Trove.

Etikan, I., Musa, S., and Alkassim, S. (2015), Comparison Of Convenience Sampling And Purposive Sampling. *American Journal Of Theoretical And Applied Statistics* 5,1:1-4.

Evans, E., and Saxton, J. (2005), *The 21st Century Volunteer.* Https://mmu.rl.talis.com>items. (Accessed 10 September 2018).

Festrail (2012), *Our Volunteers*. http://wwwfestrail.co.uk/jobs.htm (Accessed 24 October 2017).

Festrail (2016), *Railway Facts*. Gwynedd: Ffestiniog Railway.

Festrail (n.d.), *Volunteer*. http://wwwfestrail.co.uk/volunteer.htm (Accessed 2 June 2016).

Ffestiniog Railway (2010), *About Us.* www.ffestiniograilway.org.uk/aboutus (Accessed 12 November 2017).

Ffestiniog Railway Society, (2017), *The Development Strategy: A Framework Document.* Gwynedd: Ffestiniog Railway Society.

Fisher, A.V. (2019), *Development Of Inductive Generalization.* https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com>cdep. (Accessed 10 August 2018).

Flanagan, C., and Levine, P. (2010), Civic Engagement And The Transition To Adulthood. *The Future Of Children* 20, 1:159-179.

Fontana, Dominic (2000), *New Age Of Steam.* Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth.

Frey, R., Botan, H., Friedman, G., and Kreps, L. (2000), *Interpreting Communication Research: A Case Study Approach*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Galeri Creative Enterprise (2019), *What We Do*. Caernarfon: Gwynedd Council.

Gallant, K., Ardi,S., and Smale,B (2013), Celebrating, Challenging And Realising serious leisure. *Leisure* 37, 2-91-109.

Gergen, K and Gergen, M (2018), *Positive Aging.* Generations 30, 7:252-255.

Gibson, L (2013), *Template For Writing Field Notes.* https://anthropod.net/2013/08/14/a-template=for-writing-fieldnotes/. (Accessed 12 December 2016).

Gilbert, S (2001), *Researching Social Life*. London: Sage.

Gipson, D (2012), *Olympic Volunteering*. London: Asset Publishing.

Glaser, B., and Strauss, A. (1967), The Discovery Of Grounded Theory*. Strategies For Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine de Gruyer.

Glover, T (2013), *Census Analysis Comparing Rural And Urban Areas Of England And Wales.* London: HMSO.

Goddin, G. (2002). Whose Heritage Railway Is It? A Study Of Volunteer Motivation. *Japan Railway and Transport Review*, 32: 46- 48.

Goffman, Erving (1959), *The Presentation Of Self In Everyday Life.* New York: The Overlook Press.

Goffman, E (1963), *Stigma Notes Of The Management Of Spoilt Identity.* New Jersey: Englewood Cliffs.

Goffman, E (1990), *Presentation Of Self In Everyday Life.* London: Penguin.

Gonyea, J., and Googins, B. (2006), Expanding the Boundaries of Corporate Volunteerism. London: Springer.

Goodrick, D (2014), *Comparative Case Studies Methodological Briefs: Impact Evaluation 9*. Florence: UNICEF Office Of Research.

Goss, KA. (1999). Volunteering And The Long Civic Generation. *Nonprofit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28, 4:378-415.

Gouthro, M. and Palmer, C. (2010), Pilgrimage In Heritage Tourism: Finding Meaning And Identity In The Industrial Past. In: Conlin, M. and Jolliffe, L. (Eds.) *Mining Heritage And Tourism: A Global Synthesis*. London: Routledge. pp.33-43.

Graham, M (2004), Volunteering as heritage/volunteering in heritage. In R. A. Stebbins & M. Graham (Eds.), *Volunteering As Leisure/leisure As Volunteering: An International Assessment.* (pp. 13– 30). Wallingford: CABI Publishing

Griffin, B., and Hesketh, B. (2008), Adaptable Behaviours For Successful Work And Career Adjustment. *American Journal Of Psychology* 55, 2:65-73.

Guild, M., Harrison, T., and Saxton, J. (2014), *Volunteering In Disadvantage Communities.* London: VSSN.

Gwynedd Council (2012), *Equality Report.* Caernarfon: Gwynedd Council.

Gwynedd Council (2013), *North Wales Work Package.* Caernarfon: Gwynedd Council.

Haas, H (2013), Volunteering in Retirement Migration: Meanings And Functions Of Charitable Activities For Older British residents In Spain. *Ageing And Society* 33, 8: 1374-1400.

Hall, K (1999), *The Non-Profit Sector.* London: Palgrave.

Handy, F., Brodeur, N., and Cnaan, R. (2006), Summer On The Island: Episodic Volunteering. *Voluntary Action* 7, 3:31-46.

Handy, F., Cnaan, R., Brudney, J., Ascoli, U., Meijis, L., and Ranade, S. (2000), Public Perception Of Who Is A Volunteer. *Voluntas* 11, 45-65.

Harris, Dale (2015), *Romanian And British Volunteers Are Working Together On Re-opening Iconic Heritage Railway In Transylvania*. http://www.romania-insider.com/romanian-and-british-volunteers-are-working-on-re-opening-iconic-heritage-railway-in-transylvania/ (Accessed 4 June 2019).

Harrison, Rodney (2012), Forgetting To Remember, Remembering To Forget: Late Modern Heritage Practices, Sustainability, And The Crisis Of Accumulation Of The Past. *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 1-17.

Harrison, Rodney (2014), *What Is Heritage.* London: Open University.

Hart, L., Larson, E., and Lishner, D. (2005), Rural Definitions For Health Policy And Research. *American Journal Of Public Health* 95, 1:149-155.

Hartel, J. (2015), *The Critical Role Of Emotions In The Recruitment, Retention, And Well-being Of Volunteers. A Review And Call For Research: New Ways Of Studying Emotions In Organisations*. London: C.E.G.

Hartwell, S., Kitchen, L., Milbourne, P., and Morgan, S. (2007), *Population Change In Wales.* Cardiff: University of Wales Publishing.

Hayward (1998), *De-facing Power*. Bristol: Sage.

Heritage Railway Association (2013), *Report On The Value Of Heritage Railways.* www.hra.uk.com/documents (Accessed 12 August 2016).

Heritage Railway Maps (2017), *Overview Maps*. Www.heritagerailwaymaps.co.uk. (Accessed 27 January 2018).

Hernandez I Marti, G (2004), *The deterritorialization of cultural heritage in a globalized modernity.* http://llull.cat/IMAGES_175/transfer01-foc04.pdf (Accessed 21 March 2016).

Herzog, A. R., House, J. S., and Morgan, J. N. (1991), Relation Of Work And Retirement To Health And Well-being In Older Age. *Psychology and Aging* 6, 202–211.

Hewison, R (1987), *The Heritage Industry: Britain In A Climate Of Decline.* London: Methuen.

Ho, M., and O'Donohue, S. (2014), *Volunteer Stereotypes. Stigma And Relational Identity Projects*. Scotland. University of Edinburgh.

Hohmann, R (2002), The Future Of Heritage Rail Conservation In Germany. *Japan Railway And Transport Review 30,* 20-22.

Holmes, K (1999), Changing Times: Volunteering In The Heritage Sector 1984-1998. *Voluntary Action* 1, 2:21-35.

Holmes, K (2002), *Volunteers And Visitor Interaction In The UK Heritage Sector. Motives And Benefits.* Leeds: University of Leeds Press.

Holmes, K., and Smith, K (2009), *Managing Volunteers In Tourism: Attractions, Destinations And Events*. London: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Holstein, J., and Gubrium, F. (2000), The self we live by in a modern world: Identity in a postmodern world. London: Oxford University Press.

House Of Lords (2019), *Heritage Rail: Young People*. London: Cabinet Office.

Howlett, S (2008), *Lending A Hand To Lending A Hand. The Role And Development Of Volunteer Centres As Infrastructure To Develop Volunteering In England. Volunteering Infrastructure And Civil Society Conference*. Netherlands: Aarsmeer.

Hughes, S (2017), *Welsh Slate Archaeology And History Of An Industry.* London: Sage.

Hunter, KI., and Linn, MW. (1981), 'Psychosocial Differences Between Elderly Volunteers And Non-Volunteers'. *The International Journal of Aging And Human Development* 12, 3:205-13.

Hustinx, L., and Lammertyn, F. (2004), Collective And Reflexive Styles Of Volunteering. *A Sociological Modernisation Perspective* 2, 1:133-136.

Hustinx, L., and Meijs, L. (2011), Re-embedding Volunteering: In Search Of A New Collective Ground. *Voluntary Sector Review* 2, 1:5-21.

Institute For Volunteering Research (2003), *Volunteering For All*. London: IVR.

Institute For Volunteering Research (2004), *Is Volunteering Equally Accessible To All.* London: NCVO.

Institute For Welsh Affairs (2013), *Welsh Democracy*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Jackson, A (2008), Local And Regional History As Heritage: The Heritage Process And Conceptualising The Purpose and Practice Of Local Historians. *International Journal Of Heritage Studies* 14, 4: 362-379.

Jakimow, T (2010), Negotiating The Boundaries Of Voluntarism: Values In The Indian NGO Sector. *Voluntas* 21, 4:546-568.

Jeannotte, MS (2003), Singing Alone? The Contribution Of Cultural Capital To Social Cohesion And Sustainable Communities. *The International Journal Of Cultural Policy* 9 35-49.

Jefferies J (2005), *The UK Population Past, Present And Future.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Jenkins, G (2005), *Welsh Woollen Industry*. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, R (1996), *Social Identity*. London: Routledge.

Jochum, V., and Paylor, J. (2013), *New Ways Of Giving Time: Opportunities And Challenges In Micro Volunteering.* London: Institute for Volunteering Research.

Johnson-Coffey, GC (1997), Trends In Volunteerism. The Bottom Line. *Managing Library Finances* 10, 2:60-64.

Jones, I (2011), *Parliament And People In Mid 19th Century Wales.* Cardiff: Cardiff University Press.

Jones, S (2003), *The Political Dynamics Of NE Wales With Special Reference To The Liberal Party 1918-1935*. Cardiff: University of Cardiff Press.

Jones, S (2018), *Family Habit Of Inheriting Volunteer Roles Could Help Small Charities.* https://theconversation.com/family-habit-of-inheriting-volunteer-roles-could-help-small-charities-104722 (Accessed 31 October 2018).

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2016), Inclusive Growth Commission. London: Cambridge University Press.

Kalil, P., and De Leire, T. (2004), *Family Investments In Children's Potential.* Chicago: Taylor and Francis.

Kamat, A (2001), *Room For Growth*. London Community Foundation.

Kee, YH., Li, C., Wang, JCK., and Bin Kailani, MI. (2018), Motivations For Volunteering And Its Associations With Time Perspectives And Life Satisfaction: A Latent Profile Approach. *Psychological Reports* 121, 5:932-51.

Kellner, D (1992), *Popular Culture And The Construction Of Postmodern Identities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Kiely, R., Bechhofer, F., and McCrowe, D. (2005), Birth Blood And Belonging. Identity Claims In Post-Devolution Scotland. *Sociological Review* 53,1:150-171.

Kilpatrick, S., Stirling, C., and Opin, P. (2010), Skill Development For Volunteering In Rural Communities. *Journal Of Vocational Education And Training* 62, 2:195-207.

Klein, K., Conn, A., Smith, D., and Sorra, J. (1994), *From Micro To Macro*. London: Routledge.

Komp, K., Van Tilburg, T., and Van Groenou, Mb. (2012), Age, Retirement And Health As Factors In Volunteering In later life. *Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 41, 2: 280-299.

Lafky, S., Margaret, D., Steinmaus, and M., Berkowitz, D. (1996), Looking Through Gendered Lenses: Female Stereotyping In Advertisements And Gender Role Expectations. *J&MC Quarterly* 73, 2:379-388.

Laslett, P (1989), *A Fresh Map Of Life. The Emergence Of The Third Age.* London: Weidenfield and Nicholson.

Lawrence, L (2006), *Serious Leisure Extensions And Applications*. London: LSE.

Lewis, RJ., Winstead, BA., and Derlega, VJ. (1989), *Gender Differences In Volunteering For Friendship Research*. New York: University of New York.

Leyland, P (2011), *Multifaceted And Constitutional Dynamics Of UK Devolution.* London: Palgrave.

Liew, K and Pang, N. (2014), Industrial Railroad To Digital Memory Routes: Remembering The Last Railway In Singapore Media. *Culture And Society* 36, 6: 761–775.

Liu, AQ., and Besser, T. (2003), Social Capital And Participation In Community Improvement Activities By Elderly Residents In Small Towns And Rural Communities. *Rural Sociology* 68, 3:343-365.

Light, D (1995), Heritage As An Informal Education, in D. Herbert (ed.), *Heritage, Tourism And Society.* London: Pinter.

Little, J., and Austin, P. (1996), Women And The Rural Idyll. *Journal Of Rural Studies* 12,101-111.

Little, M (2002), *Making A Difference.* London: Sage.

Löfström, A (2004), *Gender Equality And Economic Growth*. Stockholm. The Swedish National Health Of Growth And Welfare.

Low, N., Butt, S., Paine, A., and Smith, L. (2017), *Helping-Out. A National Survey Of Volunteering And Charitable Giving*. London: Cabinet Office.

Lowenthal, D (1985), *The Past Is A Foreign Country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lukka, P. and Ellis, A. (2001), An Exclusive Construct? Exploring Different Cultural Concepts Of Volunteering. *Voluntary Action* 3, 3: 87-109.

Lynn, P and Davis-Smith, J. (1992), *The 1991 National Survey Of Voluntary Activity In The UK. Voluntary Action Research Second Series, Paper 1.* London: The Volunteer Centre UK.

Lyons, M., Wijkstrom, P., and Clary, G. (1998), Comparative Studies Of Volunteering. *Voluntary Action* 1, 1:45-54.

Macduff, N (2005), *Societal Changes And Rise Of The Episodic Volunteer*. Emerging Areas Of Volunteering. Indianapolis: ARNOVA.

Mackay, H (2010), *Understanding Contemporary Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Machura, S., Jones, S., Wurgler, A., Cuthbertson, J., and Hemmings, A. (2018), National Identity And Distrust In The Police. *European Journal Of Criminology* 16, 1: 60-80.

Mahoney, H (2014), Work, Leisure And flourishing. An Ethnographic Study Of Voluntary Sea Turtle Conservation. London: Palgrave.

Maleske, C (2017), *Social Classes Influence On Sport Participation: A Literature Review On Sociology Concepts And Sport Sociology.* Available at: dev_5_2017_maleske.pdf (weebly.com) (Accessed 01 June 2017).

Mann, R., and Plows, A. (2011), *East, West, And The Bit In The Middle*. *Localities In North Wales*. Bangor: WISERD.

Marchant, I (2004), *Parallel Lines Or Journeys On The Railway Of Dreams.* London: Bloomsbury PLC.

Marks, D (1999), Great Little Trains: The Role Of Heritage Railways In North Wales In The Denial Of Welsh Identity, Culture And Working-Class History, in R. Fevre and A. Thompson (eds), *Nation, Identity, And Social Theory: Perspectives From Wales.* Cardiff: University Of Wales Press.

Massey D (1994) A Global Sense Of Place. In: Massey D (ed.) *Space, Place And Gender.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mattingly, Jenny (1984), *Volunteers In Museums And Galleries: The Report Of A Survey Into The Work Of Volunteers In Museums And Galleries In The United Kingdom.* Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire: The Volunteer Centre UK.

McFarland, D., and Thomas, R. (2006), Bowling Young: How Youth Voluntary Associations Influence Adult Political Participation. *American Sociological Review* 71, 401-425.

McGinnis, Lee., Chun, Seungwoo., and McQuillan, Julia. (2003), *A Review Of Gendered Consumption In Sport And Leisure.* Nebraska: University of Nebraska.

McGrath, Steven (2016), *Britain's Heritage Railways Are Booming, But A Demographic Timebomb Looms.* http://www.citymetric.com/transport/britains-heritage-railways-are-booming-demographic-timebomb-looms-1801 (Accessed 29 July 2016).

McLennan, J and Birch, A (2005), *Age And Volunteer Motivations*. London: Palgrave.

McLlwrick, A (2017), *Talyllyn Railway Preservation Society.* Tywyn: Talyllyn Railway.

McNamee, L., and Peterson, B. (2015), High Stakes Volunteer Commitment. *Non-Profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 45, 2:275-294.

Meier, S., and Stuzer, A. (2008), Is Volunteering Rewarding. *Economia* 75, 927: 39-59.

Meijs, L., and Brudney, J. (2009), Models Of Volunteer Management. *Human Services Management* 38, 3:297-309.

Meijs, L., and Hoogstag, E. (2001), New Ways Of Managing Volunteers: Combining Membership Management And Programme Management. *Voluntary Action* 3,3:41-61.

Meijs, L., and Hoorn, E. (2008), No One Best Volunteering Management And Organising. In Liao-Toth, M (ed), *Challenges In Volunteer Management.* North Carolina. Information Age Publishing.

Merriam, S (1998), *Qualitative Research And Study Applications In Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Michael, P (2008), *Public Health In Wales.* Cardiff: National Health Service.

Miller, L., Neathey, F., Pollard, E. and Hill, D. (2004), *Occupational Segregation, Gender Gaps And Skill Gaps*. Equal Opportunities Commission Working paper series 15.

Mills, A.J., Durepos, G., and Wiebe, E. (2010), *Encyclopaedia Of Case Study Research*. London: Sage.

Moorhouse, H (1978), The Marxist Theory Of The Labour Aristocracy. *Journal of Social History* 3, 1:61-82.

Moorhouse, H (2008), The Marxist Theory Of The Labour Aristocracy. *Social History* 1, 3: 61-82.

Morth, C (2016), *Cultural Capital*. London: Sage.

Musick, M., and Wilson, J. (2007), *Volunteers: A Social Profile*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

National Assembly for Wales (2017), *Economy, Infrastructure And Skills Committee.* Cardiff: NWEAB.

National Heritage Act (1980), *Legislation For Heritage.*
www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1980/17/contents (Accessed 14 January 2018).

NCVO (2015), *Policy And Research*. London: NCVO.

NCVO (2019), *Policies In Practice*. London: NCVO.

Nesbit, R (2012), The Influence of Family And Household Members On Individual Volunteer Choices. *Non-Profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 4, 2:1-21.

Network Rail (2016), *A Women's Place*. Https://networkrail.co.uk/who-are/our-history/railway-history-feature-articles/a-womensplace/. (Accessed 12 December 2017).

Nichols, G., and Ralston, R. (2012), The Rewards Of Individual Engagement In Volunteering. *Environment And Planning* 44, 12:2974-2987.

Niyaz, F (1996), *Volunteering By Unemployed People: A Rate To Opportunity.* London: NCVO.

North Wales Tourism (2017), *Little Trains Of North Wales*. Gwynedd: Go Wales.

Ockenden, N., Stuart, J., and Hill, M. (2011), *Volunteers Managing Other Volunteers. New Form Or Returning To The Roots Of Voluntary Action*. Milton Keynes. Open University.

Okun, M.A. (1993), Predictors Of Volunteer Status In A Retirement Community. International *Journal Of Aging And Human Development* 36, 1:57-74.

Omoto, A. M., Snyder, M., and Hackett, J. D. (2010), Personality And Motivational Antecedents Of Activism And Civic Engagement. *Journal Of Personality* 78, 6: 1703– 1734.

ONS (2011), *Key Statistics For Wales.* Https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/popula ttenestimates/bulletins/2011censuskeystatistsforwales/2012-12-11. (Accessed 20 November 2017).

Orr, Noreen (2006), Museum Volunteering: Heritage As Serious Leisure. *International Journal Of Heritage Studies* 12, 2:194-210.

O'Toole M (2013), *Control, Identity And Meaning In Voluntary Work: The Case Of The RNLI.* Warwick: University Of Warwick.

Padavic, I., and Reskin, B. (2002), *Men And Women At Work*. California: Sage.

Park, J., and Smith, C. (2000), To Whom Much Has Been Given. *Journal For The Scientific Study Of Religion* 39, 3: 272-286.

Paull, M (2002), Reframing Volunteer Management: A View From The West. *Australian Journal On Volunteering* 7, 21-27.

Payne, C (2017), *Changes And Division of Unpaid Volunteering In The UK 2000 To 2015.* London: Palgrave.

Penner, L (2004), Volunteerism And Social Problems. Making Things Better Or Worse. *Journal Of Social Issues* 60, 645-666.

Perry, JL., Brudney, JL., Coursey, D., and Littlepage, L. (2008), What Drives Morally Committed Citizens? A Study Of The Antecedents Of Public Service Motivation. *Public Administration Review* 68, 3:445-458.

Portney, KE., and Berry, JM. (1997). Mobilizing Minority Communities: Social Capital And Participation In Urban Neighbourhoods. *American Behavioural Scientist* 40, 5:632-644.

Popescu, D., Sanchez, AG., Nicolae, V., State, C., and Toanca, L. (2015), *Empirical Research Regarding The Importance Of Volunteering For The Sustainable Development Of Social Economy Enterprises*. London: Economic Computation and Economic Society

Prescott, J., and Bogg, J. (2014), *Career Attitudes Of Men And Women Working In The Computer Games Industry.* London: Ewdemos.

Public Health Wales (2006), *Summary Profile Of The Population Of Wales*. Cardiff. National Public Health Service for Wales.

Purcell, D., MacArthur, K., and Samblanet, S. (2010), Gender And Glass Ceiling At Work. *Sociology Compass* 4, 9:705-717.

Putnam, R (1995), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse Of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R (2000), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse Of American Community.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Railway Technology (2014), *Regular Funding Sources For Railways In Britain.* Www.railwaytechnology.co.uk/funding. (Accessed 21 November 2017).

Rees, B (1979), *Notes On The Historical Sociological Reason For The Decline In Non-conformity In England And Wales*. Cardiff: ORCA.

Reid, D., and Van Dreunen, E. (1996), Leisure As A Social Transformation Mechanism In Community Development Practice. *Journal of Applied Recreation Research* 21,1:45-66.

Remler, K., and Van Ryzin, G. (2011), *Research Methods In Practice: Strategies For Description And Causation.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Rex, J., and Moore, R. (1967), *Race, Community And Conflict: A Study Of Sparkbrook.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rhoden, S., Ineson, E., and Ralston, R. (2009), Volunteer Motivation In Heritage Railways: A Study Of The West Somerset Railway Volunteers. *Journal Of Heritage Tourism* 4, 12-36.

Roberts, K (2001), *Class In Modern Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Roberts, Dafydd (2011), A Narrow Swathe Of English Eccentricity, The Reopening Of The Talyllyn And Ffestiniog Railways. *Folk Life* 49, 2:154-168.

Rochester, C (1999), *Rediscovering Voluntary Action: The Best Of A Different Drum*. London: Centre for Voluntary Organisations.

Rochester, C (2010), *London Trends In Volunteering. Building Trade Trust.* London: COFV.

Rochester, C., Howlett, S., Paine, E., and Zimmeck, M. (2009), *Volunteering And Society In The 21st Century.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rochester, C., Howlett, S., Paine, E., and Zimmeck, M. (2010), *Volunteering And Society In The 21st Century*. 2nd Edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rojek, C (2001), *Media*. London: Reakiton

Rolt, T (1961), *Railway Adventure.* London: Pan Books.

Rotolo, T., and Wilson, J. (2006), Employment Sector And Volunteering. *Sociological Quarterly* 47, 1: 21-40.

RSPB (2018), *Reserves And Local Economies.* Conwy: RSPB.

Samuel, R (1994), *Theatres Of Memory: Past, And Present In Contemporary Culture.* Oxford: Verso.

Savage, M., Bagnall, G., and Longhurst, B. (2002), *Globalisation And Belonging.* London: Sage.

Savage, M., Bagnall, G., and Longhurst, B. J. (2005), *Globalisation And Belonging.* London: Sage.

Scaglia, S (2012), *The Role And Importance Of The Welsh Language In Wales's Cultural Independence Within The UK.* Cardiff: Honno.

Schouten, J (1991), *Personal Rights Of Passage And The Reconstruction Of Self*. New York Association Of Consumer Research.

Schucksmith, M (2004), Young People And Social Exclusion In Rural Areas. *Rural Sociology* 44,1 43-59.

Seaman, PM (2012). Time For My Life Now: Early Bloomer Women's Anticipation Of Volunteering In Retirement. *The Gerontologist* 52, 2: 245-254.

Seidman, S (2015), The Social Construction Of Society. New York: WW Norton.

Shagurova, AA., Ivanovna, EG., Aleksandrovna, BI., Denisenko, SI., Valerievich, TM., Viktorovna, NM., and Potutkova, SA. (2016), 'Characteristics Of The Essence Of Volunteering In Psychology'. *International Journal Of Environmental And Science Education* 11, 15: 8572-9.

Sheard, J (1995), The Lady Bountiful To Active Citizen And Volunteering And The Voluntary Sector, in J, Davis-Smith, C, Rochester and R, Hedly (ed). *An Introduction To The Voluntary Sector*. London: Routledge.

Sherman, A., and Shavit, T. (2012). How The Lifecycle Hypothesis Explains Volunteering During Retirement. *Ageing And Society* 32, 8: 1360-1381.

Shultz, K. S (2003), Bridge employment: Work after retirement. In G. A. Adams and T. A. Beehr (Eds.), *Retirement: Reasons, Processes, And Results* (pp. 214–241). New York: Springer.

Simmel, G (1971). "The Stranger". In: *On Individuality And Social Forms*. Edited by Donalk N. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 143-49.

Sixsmith, J., and Boneham, M. (2003), Accessing The Community: Gaining Insider Perspectives From The Outside. *Qualitative Health Research* 13, 4:578:589.

Skinner, MW., and Joseph, AE. (2007), The Evolving Role Of Voluntarism In Ageing Rural Communities. *New Zealand Geographer* 63, 2:119-129.

Smith, L (2006), *The Uses of heritage.* London: Routledge.

Smith, D.B (2004), Volunteering In Retirement: Perceptions Of Midlife Workers. *Nonprofit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 33, 1:55-73.

Smith, DH., and Stebbins, RA. (2016), *The Palgrave Handbook of Volunteering, Civic Participation, And Non-profit Associations*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, L and Waterton, E. (2009), The Envy Of The World: Intangible Heritage In England. *Intangible Heritage,* 289-302.

Spracklen, K (2013), *Whiteness and Leisure*. New York: Springer.

Stake, R (1995), *The Art of Case Study Research*. California: Sage.

Stake, R (2004), Case studies. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook Of Qualitative Research* (pp.435-453). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Stake, R (2006), Qualitative Case Studies, in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook Of Qualitative Research* (5[th]ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Stebbins, R (1992), *Amateurs, Professionals, And Serious Leisure*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University.

Stebbins, R (1996), Volunteering. A Serious Leisure Perspective. *Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 25, 211-224.

Stebbins, R (1997), Casual Leisure: A Conceptual Statement. *Journal Of Leisure Studies* 16, 17-25.

Stebbins, R (2004), Introduction. In Stebbins, R and Graham, M (ed). *Volunteering As Leisure, Leisure As Volunteering: An International Assessment.* Oxon:CAB1.

Stebbins, R (2006), *Serious Leisure. A Perspective For Our Time*. USA: Transaction Publishers.

Stebbins, R (2007), *Serious Leisure.* New Brunswick: Transaction.

Stebbins R (2011), *Serious Leisure: A Perspective For Our Time*. London: Routledge.

Stebbins, R (2017), *Serious Leisure.* (2nd Ed). Canada: University of Calgary.

Stets, J., and Burke, P. (2005), New Directions In Identity Control Theory. *Advances In Group Processes* 22, 43-64.

Stewart, A (2015), Romanian Railway Interest Groups. *Tourism Management* 28, 4: 1128-1138.

Strangleman, T (2002), Constructing The Past: Railway History From Below Or A Study In Nostalgia. *The Journal of Transport History* 23, 2:147-158.

Strathern, M (1981), *Kinship At The Core.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sundeen, R., Raskoff, S., and Garcia, C. (2007), Differences In Perceived Barriers To Volunteering To Formal Organizations. Lack Of Time And Lack of Interest. *Non-profit Management and Leadership* 17, 279-300.

Talyllyn Railway (2016), *Funding Sources*. Www.talyllyn.co.uk/news/funding. (Accessed 23 November 2017).

Talyllyn Railway (2017), *Welsh Language Policies*. Https://talyllyn.co.uk/welsh. (Accessed 18 November 2017).

Talyllyn Railway (n.d.), Our History. Https://www.talyllyn.co.uk/about. (Accessed 23 October 2017).

Tang, F., Morrow-Howell, N., and Hong, S. (2009), Inclusion Of Diverse Older Populations In Volunteering. *Non-profit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 38, 5: 810-27.

Taylor, PD., Panagouleas, T., and Nichols, G. (2012), Determinants of Sports Volunteering And Sports Volunteer Time In England. *International Journal of Sports Policy and Politics* 4, 2:201-220.

Taylor, RF (2004), Extending Conceptual Boundaries: Work, Voluntary Work And Employment. *Work, Leisure And Society* 18, 1:29-49.

Taylor, TP., and Pancer, S. (2007), Community Service Experiences And Commitment To Volunteering. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 37, 2:320-345.

Teijlingen, E (2014), Semi-structured Interviews. Bournemouth: University of Bournemouth.

Teske, N (1997), Beyond Altruism-Identity Construction As Moral Motive In Political Explanation. *Political Psychology* 18,1 1-232.

The Citizenship Survey (2009), *National Statistics From The Citizenship Survey.* www.webarchives.nationalarchives.go.uk/20120919165052/http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/corporate/statistics/citizenshipsurvey (Accessed 15 November 2019)

Thomas, G (2013), Leadership As Group Success. *Group Process And Intergroup Relations* 16, 1:3-16.

Thomas, E., and Finch, H. (1990), *A Qualitative Research Study Of Images, Motivations And Experiences.* London: London the Volunteer Centre.

Thurnell-Read, T (2016), Masculinity, Age And Rapport In Qualitative Research. In: Ward, M (eds), *Gender, Identity And Research Relationships In Bingley West Yorkshire*. London: Emerald.

Tocqueville, A, and Bender, T (1981), *Democracy In America.* New York: Modern Library.

Tonkin, Susan (2012), *What Is Heritage.* Australia: Australian Heritage Strategy.

Torgerson, M., and Edwards, M. (2012), Paradoxes Of Providing Rural Social Services: The Case Of Homeless Youth. *Rural Sociology* 74, 330-355.

Trochim, W (2006), *Research Methods Knowledge Base*. London: Sage.

Unruh, D (1980), *Characteristic And Types of Participation*. (2nd Ed). California: Wiley.

Urry, J (1990), *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure And Travel In Contemporary Societies.* London: Sage.

Visit Snowdonia (2017), *Snowdonia Mountains And Coast.*

Https://www.visitsnowdonia.info/cardigan_bay-17.aspx. (Accessed 19 November 2017).

Wahl, F., Susin, J., Lax, A., Kaplan, L., and Zatian, D. (2011), Changing Knowledge And Attitudes: Mental Health. *Stigma Research And Action* 1, 44-53.

Wallace, T (2006), 'Working of the Train Gang': Alienation, Liminality And Communitas In The UK Preserved Railway Sector. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12. 3: 218-233.

Wallop, H (2018), *Gen Z, Gen Y, Baby Boomers: A Guide To Generations.*

www.telegraph/genz/151.co.uk. (Accessed 25 August 2018).

Warbuton, J., and Gooch, M. (207), Stewardship And Volunteering By Older Australians: A Generative Response. *Local Environment* 12, 1: 43-55.

Warburton, J., and Terry, DJ. (2000), Volunteer Decision Making By Older People: A Test Of A Revised Theory of Planned Behaviour. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 22, 3:245-257.

Wassermann, V., and Frankel, M. (2015), Spatial Work In Between Glass Ceiling And Glass Walls. *Gender Class Intersectionality And Organisational Aesthetics* 36, 11: 1485-1505.

Waterman, P (1975), The Labour Aristocracy In Africa. Development and Change 6, 3:57-64.

Waterton, E and Watson, S. (2013), *The Palgrave Handbook Of Contemporary Heritage Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weaver, G., and Agle, B. (2002), Religiosity And Ethic Behaviour In Organisations. A Symbolic Interactionist Perspective. *Academy of Management Review* 27, 1:77-97.

Weckerle, R., and Shultz S. (1999), Influences On The Bridge Employment Decision Among Older USA Workers. *Journal Of Occupational And Organizational Psychology* 72, 317-329.

Weeks, J (1990), *Identity, Culture And Difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Wellington, J (1996), *Methods And Issues In Educational Research.* Sheffield: USDE.

Welsh Assembly Government (2015), *Voluntary Sector Scheme*. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.

Williams, M (2008), *Economic Impact Of The Welsh Highland And Ffestiniog Railway*. Bangor: Bangor University.

Wilson, J (2000), Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26-215-240.

Wilson, J., and Musick, M. (1997), Who Cares? Towards An Integrated Theory of Volunteer Work. *American Sociological Review* 62, 694-713.

Wilson, J., and Musick, M. (1998), The Contribution Of Social Resources to Volunteering. *Social Science Quarterly* 79, 799-814.

Wright, Patrick (1985), *On Living In An Old Country: The National Past In Contemporary Britain.* Boston: Oxford University Press.

Yin, R (2009), *Case Study Research Designs and Methods: Applied Social Research Methods*. 4th (ed). London: Sage.

Yin, R (2014), *Case Study Research Design And Methods: Applied Social Research Methods*. 5th (ed) California: Sage.

Youssim, I., Hank, K., and Litwin, H. (2015). The Role Of Family Social Background And Inheritance In later life Volunteering: Evidence From SHARE-Israel. *Research On Aging* 37, 1: 3-17.

Zainal, Z (2007), Case Study as a Research Method. *Journal Of Kemanusiann* 9, 1-6.

Zeppal, H and Hall, C. (1992), Arts And Heritage Tourism. In Weiler, B and Hall, C. (eds), *Special Interest Tourism.* London: Belhaven.

Zumpano, L (2008), *Heritage And The Making Of National Identity: A Study of Margaret Thatcher's Britain.* Vancouver: University of Victoria.

APPENDICES

English participant consent form

Understanding the dynamics of cultural, social, and civic participation in Wales: The role and experiences of volunteers within railway preservation societies.

Participant consent form

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactory.

2. I agree to take part in an interview. I agree for the researcher to make notes and for these to be used within the thesis write up. I understand that my name and any other personal/identifiable information will not appear anywhere in the reports, presentations, or papers based upon this research.

3. I agree for the researcher to use a digital recording device to record the interview, and for the recording to be used with her notes within the

write up, and that my name will not appear anywhere in the reports, presentations or papers.

4. I understand that all the information I provide will be treated as strictly confidential.

5. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free at any time to withdraw without providing a reason, without my rights being affected. Additionally, should I not wish to answer any questions/questions I am free to decline.

6. I understand that under the Data Protection Act, I can, at any time, ask to see the information, which has been collected about myself, and I can request the deletion of that information if I wish.

7. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____

_____

Name   Date

_____

Signature

Welsh participant consent form

Dealltwriaeth deinameg cyfranogiad diwyllianol, chymdeithasol, a dinesig yng Nghymru: Y rol profiadau o wirfoddolwyr o fewn cymdeithasau cadwriaeth rheilffordd.

Furflen caniatad gyfranogwyr

1. Rwyf yn cadarnhau fy mod I wedi ddarllen a ddeallt y ddogfen gwybodaeth ir astudiaeth uchod. Rwyf wedi cael cyfle I ystyried yr manylion, ofyn cwestiynau, ac mae rhein wedi cael ei ateb yn boddhaol.

2. Rwy'n cytuno i gymryd rhan mewn cyfweliad. Yr wyf yn cytuno i'r ymchwilydd i wneud nodiadau ac i'r rhain gael eu defnyddio o fewn y traethawd ymchwil yn ysgrifennu i fyny . Deallaf na fydd fy enw ac unrhyw wybodaeth bersonol / adnabyddadwy arall yn ymddangos yn unrhyw le yn yr adroddiadau, cyflwyniadau, neu bapurau yn seiliedig ar yr ymchwil hwn.

3. Rwy'n cytuno i'r ymchwilydd i ddefnyddio dyfais recordio digidol i gofnodi'r cyfweliad, ac ar gyfer cofnodi i'w defnyddio gyda ei nodiadau o fewn y ysgrifennu i fyny , ac na fydd fy enw yn ymddangos yn unrhyw le yn yr adroddiadau, cyflwyniadau neu bapurau.

4. Rwyf yn deall y bydd yr holl wybodaeth a roddaf yn cael ei thrin yn gwbl gyfrinachol.

5. Rwyf yn ddealt fy mod yr cyfranogiad hyn yn gwirfoddol, ac rwyf yn gallu tynnu'n ol ar unrhiw adeg heb rheswm, heb fyng hawliau yn chael ei effeithio. Yn ychwanegol, os ydw I ddim eisiau ateb unrhiw cwestiwn penodol, rwyf yn gallu dirywio.

6. Rwyf yn ddeallt o dan y Ddeddf Diogel Data, fy mod ar unrhiw amser yn gallu ofyn I weld yr wybodaeth sydd wedi cael ei casglu gan yr ymchwilydd, ac hefyd rwyf yn gallu rhoi cais I fewn Ir data gael ei ddileu.

7. Rwyf yn cytuno I cymerud rhan yn yr astudiaeth uchod.

_____

_____

Enw yr gyfranogwr   Dyddiad

_____

Llofnod

English participant information sheet

Understanding the dynamics of cultural, social, and civic participation in Wales: The role and experiences of volunteers within railway preservation societies.

Participant information sheet

Invitation to take part in the study

I would like to invite you to take part in my PhD research. This document will explain the reasons behind conducting this research and what your involvement will be. I am happy to explain further and answer any questions you may have.

The purpose of this research

This research is concerned with participation in railway preservation societies, in order to understand your motivations behind volunteering, your experiences of it, the forms of relationships generated, and the skills and sense of identity developed as a result.

Civic participation is particularly important as the people involved are actively making a difference to something that matters to them on a personal level. Additionally, it is a positive aspect for local/rural communities as it brings people together to work towards a common goal and fosters a sense of neighbourliness and unity.

Why have I been invited?

You have been involved in, at some point, the Ffestiniog, Welsh Highland, and/or Talyllyn railways. Your personal experiences can help towards my understanding of heritage, community, and civic participation/engagement within local communities. If you wish to take part, you may withdraw yourself from the research at any point without providing a reason.

What will happen if I decide to take part?

Firstly, you will be asked to fill out a consent form, this will show that you agree to an interview. This will provide me with your consent to use the information collected in my research, and other associated documents. Your contact details will be kept confidentially in the data storage facility within Bangor University. Identifiable data e.g. your name will not be used at any point without your written consent, data collected will be used to form a part of this thesis and may be used in peer reviewed publications and/or conferences. You will be asked to provide consent prior to the recording of any interview or conversation, and you may if you wish, request a summary of the research collected, and at any point you can ask to see the data collected on yourself.

What will happen to the results of this study?

Through conducting the research and listening to the interviews, the information/data provided by yourself and others will be used to form part of my PhD thesis. If you require any further information, please contact Stephanie Olivia Penney Jones (soue15@bangor.ac.uk).

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is funded by WISERD, as part of a three year PhD project. The study is based in School of Social Science at Bangor University under the guidance of Dr Robin Mann and Professor Howard Davis. For further information please visit this website http://www.wiserd.ac.uk/about-us/people/stephanie-jones/.

What happens if I have any concerns about this project?

If you have any concerns or worries at any time about any aspect of this project, please contact Professor Howard Davis: h.davis@bangor.ac.uk Tel: 01248 382123 or Dr Robin Mann: r.mann@bangor.ac.uk Tel: 01248 382232.

Contact for further information

If you would like more information, please contact Stephanie Olivia Penney Jones: Email soue15@bangor.ac.uk.

Welsh participant information sheet

WISERD

PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

Dealltwriaeth deinameg cyfranogiad diwyllianol, chymdeithasol, a dinesig yng Nghymru: Y

rol profiadau o wirfoddolwyr o fewn cymdeithasau cadwriaeth rheilffordd.

Taflen wybodaeth I gyfranogwyr

Gwahoddiad I gymryd rhan yn yr astudiaeth

Hoffem eich gwahodd I gymryd rhan yn fy mhrosiect ymchwil. Mae'r daflen wybodaeth hon

yn egluror rhesymau tuol ir brosiect, a beth fydd ei yn olygu I chi. Fydd ai, Stephanie Jones,

yn barod I roi unrhiw eglurhad bellach ac ateb unrhyw gwestiwn sydd gennch.

Pwrpas yr astudiaeth

Mae'r ymchwil hwn yn ymwneud â chyfranogiad mewn cymdeithasau cadwraeth

rheilffyrdd, er mwyn deall eich cymhellion y tu ôl i wirfoddoli, eich profiadau ohono, y

mathau o berthnasoedd a gynhyrchir, a'r sgiliau a'r ymdeimlad o hunaniaeth a ddatblygwyd

o ganlyniad. Mae cyfranogiad dinesig yn ardderchog I bobol yn gyffredinol, oherwydd maent

yn cymryd rhan mewn weithgaredd sydd yn wneud wahaniaeth iddynt ar lefel personol.

Maent hefyd yn dda I gymunedau, yn enwedig mewn ardaloedd gwledig.

Pam ydw I wedi cael wahoddiad?

Rydych wedi bod yn gysylltiedig â, ar ryw adeg , yr rheilfyrdd Ffestiniog ac Ucheldir Cymru.

Bydd eich profiadau personol yn helpu tuag at ddeall cyfranogiad dinesig, chymdeithasol a

diwyllianol mewn ardaloedd lleol. Gellwch gymryd rhan neu beidio a chewch dynnu'n ol o'r astudiaeth ar unrhyw adage heb rhoi rheswm.

Beth fydd yn digwydd os byddaf yn penderfynu cymryd rhan?

Byddwn yn eich wahodd I lenwi ffurflen gydsynio. Bydd hyn yn ddangos eich bod yn cytuno I cyfweliad neu'n adael I mi wylio eich cyfranogiad mewn weithgareddau dinesig. Bydd yn rhoi caniatad I mi ddefynddio'r hyn sydd yn chael ei ddweud yn fy adroddiadau ymchwil a chyhoeddiadau eraill. Cedwir eich manylion cyswllt ac personol mewn cronfa ddata cyfrinachol Mhrifysgol Bangor. Ni fyddwn yn ddefnydio eich enw neud ddata adnabyddadwy ar unrhiw bryd, bydd data a gesglir yn cael ei ddefnyddio i ffurfio rhan o'r traethawd ymchwil hwn a gellir eu defnyddio mewn cyhoeddiadau a / neu gynadleddau a adolygwyd gan gymheiriaid. Byddwn yn ofyn eich caniatad cyn recordio unrhyw cyfweliad neu sgwrs gyda chi. Os dymunwch, cewch grynodeb o ganlyniadau'r ymchwil. Cewch, ar unrhyw adeg, ofyn I weld y wybodaeth yr ydym wedi ei chasglu amdanoch.

Beth fydd yn digwydd I ganlyniadau'r astudiaeth hon?

Fyddai yn wylio ac wrando arno chdi a eraill a byddwn yn ddefnyddio'r wybodaeth hyn I ysgrifennu traethawd PhD. Os hoffech fwy o wybodaeth gofynnwch I mi Stephanie Olivia Penney Jones (soue15@bangor.ac.uk).

Pwy sy'n trefnu a chyllidio'r ymchwil?

Mae'r ymchwil wedi ei chyllidio gan Sefydliad Ymchwil Gymdeithasol ac Economaidd, Data a Dulliau Cymru (WISERD), fel rhan o mhrosiect PhD tair mlynedd. Lleolir hastudiaeth yn yr

Ysgol Gwyddorau Gymdeithas, Prifysgol Bangor odan arwain Dr Robin Mann, ag yr Athro Howard Davis.

Beth fydd yn digwydd os bydd gennyf unrhyw bryderon am y brosiect?

Os ydych yn bryderus ynghylch unrhyw agwedd ar y brosiect hon, cysylltwch a Dr Athro Howard Davis Ebost: h.davis@bangor.ac.uk Ffon: 01248 382123 neu Dr Robin Mann Ebost r.mann@bangor.ac.uk Ffon: 01248 382232.

Person cyswllt I gael gwybodaeth neu fanylion bellach

Os hoffech ragor o wybodeth bellach cysyllwch a Stephanie Olivia Penney Jones Ebost: soue15@bangor.ac.uk.

English expression of interest form

Understanding the dynamics of cultural, social, and civic participation in Wales: The role and experiences of volunteers within railway preservation societies.

Expression of interest form

I am happy for my contact details to be stored securely at the University of Bangor and for the researcher, Stephanie Olivia Penney Jones, to contact me about the study. Please initial the box

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Email: _____

Telephone number: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Welsh expression of interest form

W/SERD

PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

Dealltwriaeth deinameg cyfranogiad diwyllianol, chymdeithasol, a dinesig yng Nghymru: Y

rol profiadau o wirfoddolwyr o fewn cymdeithasau cadwriaeth rheilffordd.

Ffurflen mynegi diddordeb

Rwy'n fodlon I'm manylion cyswllt gael ei chadw'n ddiogal yn Mhrifysgol Bangor

ac I'r ymchwilydd Stephanie Olivia Penney Jones, gysylltu a mi ynglyn ar

astudiaeth uchod. Llythrennau cyntaf enw yn y blwch

Enw: _____

Cyfeiriad: _____

_____

E-bost: _____

Rhiff ffon: _____

Llofnod: _____

Dyddiad: _____

Ethical approval letter from the College of Business, Law, Education and Social Sciences at

Bangor University

COLEG BUSNES, Y GYFRAITH, ADDYSG A GWYDDORAU CYMDEITHAS

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, LAW, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

4th July 2016

Dear Stephanie

Re: Understanding the dynamics of cultural, social, and civic participation in Wales: The role and experiences of volunteers within railway preservation societies

Thank you for your recent amended application to the CBLESS Research Ethics Committee.

The committee has considered your application and I am now able to give permission, on behalf of the CBLESS Research Ethics Committee, for the commencement of your research project.

I wish you well with your research. Yours sincerely

Dr. Diane Seddon

Chair, College Ethics Committee cc – Dr Robin Mann

PRIFYSGOL BANGOR

CANOLFAN WEINYDDOL BANGOR, GWYNEDD, LL57 2DG

FFÔN: +44 (0) 1248 383231 FFACS: +44 (0) 1248 383228

EBOST: Cbless@bangor.ac.uk

BANGOR UNIVERSITY

ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE, BANGOR, GWYNEDD, LL57 2DG

TEL: +44 (0) 1248 383231 FAX: +44 (0) 1248 383228

EMAIL: Cbless@bangor.ac.uk

YR ATHRO/PROFESSOR PHIL MOLYNEUX BA, Mphil, PhD

DEON Y COLEG/DEAN OF COLLEGE

PRIFYSGOL

BANGOR
UNIVERSITY

'Serious Leisure And Railway Volunteering: A Study Od The Welsh Highland, Ffestiniog

And Talyllyn Railways

Interview Guide

Introductions

Introduce self, thank the participant, remind them of details around informed consent/recording etc. Double check the time they have available for interview.

"As you know, we're interested in finding out more about the railway and the volunteers who work here. I want to find out a bit more about your life and for you to tell me in your own words what it is like to be a volunteer on the heritage railways here in North Wales".

Demographics:

Gender:

Male

Female

Other

Income:

Under £15,000,

Between £16,000 and £25,000

Between £26,000 and £35,000

Between £36,000 and £45,000

Over £46,000

Broad: Past and present

- What is your current or previous (if retired) job role, (probe for full time/part time)?

- Do you live locally to the railway? (if not, probe where)

- How long have you been a railway volunteer, and specifically how long have you been a

  volunteer at the FFR, TR, or WHR?

- What originally motived you to volunteer at the railway?

Being a volunteer

- Do you have a family history of volunteering on the railways? (probe which family

  members, male or female).

- How would you describe a typical railway volunteer, is there such a thing? (probe: the

  role of women, female volunteer numbers, BAME, local versus non-local).

- What is your first memory of being a volunteer at the railway? can you remember your first day here?.

- What changes have you witnessed here, in terms of volunteer numbers, demographics etc?

- What are the best memories that you have of being a volunteer here (or can you describe a high point (s) during your time here so far?) [get details: when, where, who what why?].

- What challenges have you faced as a result of being a volunteer?

- If you had to describe your life as a railway volunteer to an 'outsider', what would you say? *Positives, negatives, work, leisure, local community, volunteer communities etc.*

- What benefits or drawbacks have you experienced through being a volunteer [prompt: friendships, identity, sense of community, belonging, lack of free time etc].

Broad: The future and liminality

- What do you think the future holds for the FFR, WHR, or TR?, and for the heritage rail industry as a whole?.

- Do you feel that the railway is in the middle of a change?, why?.

- Are children/young people the future of the railway, and if so, in what way?

- What is the economic future of the railway? Creation of jobs?

Living heritage

- How important do you feel integrating the railway into the local community is in developing positive relationships?.

- How would you describe the role of the railway in the local community?.

- How would you describe the community's attitude towards the railway and its

 volunteers?.

- Do your specific tasks and roles produce benefits which are unique to the railway?.

- How would you describe your role, and the activities you carry out?

Final questions

- Is there anything we have not spoken about that is important for our understanding of

 railway volunteering and the railway community?

Interviewee statistics

Interview ID	Date of interview	Organisation	Gender	Age	Length of service (years)	Nationality	Employment Status
1	12/08/2016	TR	F	56-64	7	English	Retired
2	12/08/2016	TR	M	56-64	49	English	Self employed
3	13/08/2016	FR	M	65+	2.5	English	Retired
4	14/08/2016	TR	M	65+	51	English	Retired
5 (follow up 1)	14/08/2016	TR	M	56-64	32	Welsh	Retired
6	14/08/2016	FFR	M	65+	30	Welsh	Retired
7	14/08/2016	TR	M	65+	13	English	Retired
8	15/08/2016	TR	F	65+	44	English	Retired
9	15/08/2016	WHR	M	56-64	40	English	Full time
10	15/08/2016	FFR	M	65+	49	English	Retired

11	17/08/2016	FFR	M	65+	53	English	Retired
12	17/08/2016	TR	M	65+	8	English	Retired
13	17/08/2016	TR	M	65+	38	English	Retired
14	19/08/2016	FFR	M	65+	4	Welsh	Retired
15 (follow up 2)	19/08/2016	TR	M	65+	48	English	Retired
16	19/08/2016	TR	M	56-64	40	English	Part time
17	20/08/2016	TR	M	Under 25	2	English	Student
18	20/08/2016	FFR	M	65+	49	English	Retired
19	01/09/2016	TR	M	56-65	3	Welsh	Full time
20	01/09/2016	FFR	M	65+	35	English	Retired
21	01/09/2016	TR	M	56-64	51	English	Retired
22	01/09/2016	WHR	M	65+	58	English	Self employed
23	02/09/2016	TR	M	46-55	28	English	Full time carer
24	02/09/2016	WHR	M	26-35	3	English	Full time

25 (follow up 3)	02/09/2016	FFR	M	65+	62	English	Retired
26	02/09/2016	WHR	F	65+	3.5	English	Retired
27 (follow up 4)	03/09/2016	TR	M	26-35	14	Welsh	Other
28	03/09/2016	FFR	M	65+	54	English	Retired
29	04/09/2016	TR	M	46-55	45	English	Self-employed
30	05/09/2016	FFR	M	26-35	18	English	Self employed
31	05/09/2016	FFR	M	56-64	42	English	Full time
32 (follow up 5)	05/09/2016	FFR	M	46-55	11	English	Self-employed
33	05/09/2016	FFR	M	65+	59	Welsh	Retired
34	05/09/2016	WHR	F	65+	58	English	Retired
35	06/09/2016	TR	M	46-55	45	English	Full time

36 (follow up 6)	06/09/2016	TR	M	56-64	48	English	Retired
37	07/09/2016	FFR	M	56-64	22	English	Retired
38	07/09/2016	FFR	M	56-64	12	Welsh	Retired
39	08/09/2016	TR	M	56-64	44	English	Retired
40	09/09/2016	FFR	M	26-36	3	English	Full time
41 (follow up 7)	09/09/2016	FFR	M	26-35	6	English	Full time
42	10/09/2016	TR	F	Under 25	1	English	Full time
43	11/09/2016	WHR	M	65+	9	English	Retired
44	12/09/2016	TR	M	65+	45	Scottish	Retired
45	13/09/2016	WHR	M	65+	30	English	Part time
46	14/09/2016	TR	M	56-64	47	English	Retired
47	15/09/2016	WHR	M	36-45	8	English	Full time
48	16/09/2016	FFR	M	56-64	10	English	Retired

49	16/09/2016	WHR	M	65+	46	Welsh	Retired
50	16/09/2016	FFR	M	46-55	4.5	English	Full time
51	17/09/2016	TR	M	46-55	3	English	Full time
52	18/09/2016	WHR	M	26-35	7	English	Self employed
53	18/09/2016	FFR	M	56-64	2	English	Retired
54	18/09/2016	FFR	M	Under 25	1.75	English	Student
55	19/09/2016	TR	M	46-55	35	English	Self employed
56	19/09/2016	TR	M	46-55	35	English	Self employed
57 (follow up 8)	21/09/2016	FFR	M	46-55	18	English	Full time
58	21/09/2016	FFR + WHR	M	Under 25	4	English	Student
59	23/09/2016	FFR	M	65+	43	English	Retired
60	24/09/2016	TR	M	65+	8	English	Retired
61 (follow up 9)	24/09/2016	TR	M	56-64	1	English	Retired

62	25/09/2016	WHR	M	65+	2	English	Retired
63 (follow up 10)	25/09/2016	FFR	M	65+	50	English	Retired
64	25/09/2016	FFR	M	46-55	25	English	Full time
65	25/09/2016	WHR	M	65+	24	English	Retired
66	27/09/2016	TR	M	26-35	1	Welsh	Unemployed
67	29/09/2016	FFR	M	Under 25	5	English	Full time
68	01/10/2016	TR	M	Under 25	4.5	English	Full time
69	02/10/2016	FFR and TR	M	65+	50	English	Retired
70	04/10/2016	WHR	M	Under 25	6	English	Full time
71	10/10/2016	FFR	M	56-64	35	English	Self employed
72	11/10/2016	FFR	M	36-45	15	English	Full time
73	12/10/2016	FFR	M	Under 25	1	English	Full time
74	16/10/2016	TR	M	56-64	32	Welsh	Retired