

NEGOTIATING COSTS AND BENEFITS AMONG 2008 OLYMPIC VOLUNTEERS: A SOCIAL EXCHANGE PERSPECTIVE

YAN WANG,*† INGE DEROM,* AND MARC THEEBOOM*

*Department of Movement and Sport Sciences, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Brussels, Belgium

†School of Economics and Management, Shanghai University of Sport, Shanghai, China

Significant financial investments in organizing sport mega-events (SME) and training SME volunteers are frequently justified on the basis that local organizations can benefit from a larger pool of experienced volunteers following the event. By employing social exchange theory as a theoretical framework, this study explores the connection between the SME volunteer experience and subsequent volunteer behavior as a potential return on investment. In-depth interviews have been conducted with 15 Chinese volunteers who participated in the 2008 Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games. Qualitative data offers a rich, contextualized view to understand the long-lasting impact of previous SME volunteer experiences, including not only the perceptions in terms of benefits and costs but also its influence on subsequent volunteering elsewhere in the postevent period. We identified that volunteers continue to garner benefits from their SME experience, even 8 years after the event, and mainly in the forms of social, career-related, training, Olympic-related, psychological, and extrinsic benefits. The costs perceived from the SME appear to fade away because the direct costs were covered, and the opportunity costs were low for student volunteers. The theoretical explanations of (future) volunteer behavior provided mixed evidence in the scope of three social exchange theory propositions (i.e., rationality, deprivation–satiation, and approval–aggression proposition). Findings provide valuable insights to inform organizers of SME and other activities to pay more attention to the volunteer experience and to optimize volunteer benefits and costs. Additional improvements in volunteer recruitment are important for Beijing, in preparation of hosting the 2022 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games.

Key words: Cost–benefit analysis; Olympic and Paralympic Games; Proposition; Social exchange theory; Volunteering

Introduction

Organizing sport mega-events (SME) and training SME volunteers requires a significant financial

investment from the host nation. The 2008 Beijing Olympic Organizing Committee spent \$25 million on the recruitment, training, and management of approximately 100,000 volunteers (National

Address correspondence to Yan Wang, Ph.D., Department of Movement and Sport Sciences, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussels, Belgium or School of Economics and Management, Shanghai University of Sport, Shanghai, China; E-mail: wangyan@sus.edu.cn

Audit Office of the People's Republic of China, 2009). SME have been recognized as the impetus for developing a volunteering career, whereby the experience of volunteers may lead to an interest in volunteering again (Fairley, Gardiner, & Filo, 2016; Schnitzer, Kristiansen, & Hanstad, 2018). When volunteers continue to volunteer elsewhere following their SME experience, the local community can benefit from this financial investment as they can draw from a larger pool of experienced volunteers (Chalip, Green, Taks, & Misener, 2017; Fairley, Green, O'Brien, & Chalip, 2015). However, empirical research to understand why individuals decide to volunteer has predominantly covered an analysis of volunteers' motivation (Koutrou & Pappous, 2016). This approach, as Jiang, Potwarka, and Xiao (2017) noted, fails to make a meaningful connection between the SME volunteer experience and subsequent changes in volunteer behavior.

Limited quantitative research has been conducted, producing mixed findings on whether and how volunteers' event experience affected their future volunteer intention and behavior. For example, Downward and Ralston (2006) found the experience of being a Commonwealth Games volunteer had not led to an increase in volunteer involvement one year after the event, while Dickson, Darcy, Edwards, and Terziel (2015) argued that it can be an important determinant of changes in both volunteer behavior and future intention 3 months after the Sydney World Masters Games. Perceptions of previous volunteer experience may, to some extent, play a role in explaining future volunteer behavior (Jiang et al., 2017). However, volunteers' perceptions of experienced SME are not currently investigated (Ferrand & Skirstad, 2015).

As an important theory in behavioral research (J. J. Lee, Capella, Taylor, & Gabler, 2014), social exchange theory can offer variables of perception in terms of benefits and costs to reveal why some individuals continue to volunteer following their SME experience and others do not. Volunteering is in essence an exchange relationship because volunteers respond to costs and benefits (Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Previous research has applied social exchange theory to explore the influence of sport event volunteer experiences (e.g., Doherty, 2009; Hallmann & Zehrer, 2016), but as Kim and Cuskelly (2017) highlighted,

the theoretical basis to understand the systematic reasons for a particular occurrence or nonoccurrence of volunteer behavior has been lacking. Furthermore, primarily quantitative data have been collected (Kim & Cuskelly, 2017). Therefore, the present study has adopted the original social exchange theory by the work of Homans (1974), who developed a series of testable propositions on choices of social behavior influenced by past experience via a cost-benefit framework. Moreover, this study has collected data through in-depth interviews. Qualitative methods can produce in-depth information and rich data, providing a detailed and nuanced understanding of the social world of research participants by learning from their experiences and perspectives (Edwards & Skinner, 2010; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013).

As Warner, Newland, and Green (2011) noted, there is a need to develop new ways to study the volunteer experience. The application of social exchange theory in a qualitative approach has provided a new opportunity to further explore the SME volunteer experience as well as its consequent influence, one that current quantitative measures do not adequately capture. Specifically, the purpose of this study is to better understand the perceptions of volunteers towards their SME experience in terms of benefits and costs, and its lasting influence on their (future) volunteer behavior by understanding how volunteers negotiate the dynamic benefits and costs in an exchange relationship. The 2008 Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games are the case for this study.

Literature Review

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory is a sociological, economic, and psychological perspective that explains the intention to engage or remain engaged in a particular behavior in terms of a favorable exchange of the costs and benefits of that behavior (Homans, 1958; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). The theory has been used to examine residents' perceptions towards the hosting of SME, for example, in studies conducted before and after the Olympic and Paralympic Games in Beijing and London (e.g., Boo, Wang, & Yu, 2011; Jin, Zhang, Ma, & Connaughton, 2011;

Pappas, 2017). Similarly, volunteers' perceptions are influenced by their SME involvement, especially when they directly participate as a member of the workforce. Social exchange theory has been identified to understand sport event volunteering in different studies and contexts (e.g., Bang, Ross, & Reio, 2012; Doherty, 2009; Hallmann & Zehrer, 2016). Musick and Wilson (2008) highlighted that although some might feel uncomfortable citing the cost-benefit approach, it is common to present this analysis to understand volunteerism.

The interaction of benefits and costs is inherently an ongoing relational phenomenon (Lawler, Thye, & Yoon, 2014). This dynamic exchange relationship has been originally described through five testable propositions, structuring individuals' decisions in volunteering based on their perceptions of benefits and costs: 1) success proposition, 2) stimulus proposition, 3) value proposition, 4) deprivation-satiation proposition, and 5) approval-aggression proposition (Homans, 1958). The first three propositions have been combined into one rationality proposition as individuals, in choosing between alternative actions, will choose the action that provides the greatest benefit for the individual (Homans, 1974). To enhance the involvement in voluntary groups and to improve the retention of volunteers following their SME experience, it is necessary to understand conceptually what benefits and costs volunteers face (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999; Handy & Mook, 2011). The following sections elaborate upon the benefits and costs associated with volunteering in general, as well as volunteering in a sport event context, as described in the literature.

Benefits Associated With Volunteering

Volunteers may serve in a particular organization to directly or indirectly benefit themselves (Silverberg, Ellis, Backman, & Backman, 1999). Emphasizing the benefits to the individual volunteer might promote sustained volunteering, and therefore, it is useful to explore what benefits can be experienced (Hallmann & Zehrer, 2016; Nichols & Ralston, 2012a; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Often cited benefits are the enhancement of skills that make individuals more employable, the stimulation of social interactions that may develop into friendships, and

the improvement of psychology and physique that promote a healthy lifestyle (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999; Handy & Mook, 2011). In general, these benefits not only take many forms, they also differ in terms of the personal significance, as well as the type of volunteering work participated in (Handy & Mook, 2011; Y. J. Lee & Brudney, 2009; Wicker, 2017; Wicker & Hallmann, 2013). In the specific context of sport events, Chanavat and Ferrand (2010) interviewed four volunteers during the 2006 Torino Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games and identified two main types of anticipated benefits, namely socioemotional benefits and functional benefits. For instance, through the involvement of SME volunteering, volunteers can meet people from all over the world and can see behind the scenes of an international event. According to the Torino 2006 volunteer program, the authors also concluded that the benefits that volunteers could receive before, during, and after the Games included training, free transport, and meals during working times and an official certification of participation. Ferrand and Skirstad (2015) further developed this classification to cover social, functional, experiential, and psychological benefits, covering 29 benefits sought by volunteers. Doherty (2009) measured experienced functional benefits via a motivation scale 1 month after the 2001 Canadian Summer Games, identifying them as community contribution, skill enrichment, connection with sport, privileges of volunteering, positive life experience, and social enrichment. Given the variety of sport events and time periods that have been examined and the theoretical frameworks that have been applied, there is no agreement on the experienced benefits received from SME volunteering. Moreover, these benefits may be lost as a result of an unwillingness to continue to volunteer (Bladen, 2010). Hence, it is not clear how impactful these benefits acquired from short-term SEM volunteer experience are and can be in the long term.

Costs Associated With Volunteering

In addition to understanding benefits, it is important to explore the costs associated with volunteering because, as Doherty (2009) noted, costs are a more prevalent factor in predicting volunteers' future intentions when compared to benefits. The

costs of volunteering to the individual range from direct costs to opportunity cost (Handy & Mook, 2011). Volunteers may experience substantial direct costs on travel and/or meals (Lockstone-Binney, Holmes, Smith, & Baum, 2010). When evaluating costs, volunteering should be considered against the opportunity cost of undertaking the activity as well (Lockstone-Binney et al., 2010). The opportunity cost of volunteering refers to the benefits that have been lost by not choosing alternative uses of time, such as foregone wages and leisure time (Emrich, Pitsch, Flatau, & Pierdzioch, 2014; Handy & Mook, 2011). Volunteering carries costs for the individual volunteers and these are regarded as barriers to get involved in and continue volunteering (Holmes, Smith, Lockstone-Binney, & Baum, 2010). Doherty (2009) measured costs on volunteers' concerns, expectations, and dissatisfaction regarding their event volunteer experience, identifying them as task overload and underload, personal ability, and inconvenience. Yet, costs were also measured as demotivators related to negative impacts to the host community and the usefulness of the projects, direct expenses, as well as stress (e.g., Hallmann & Zehrer, 2016). Indeed, costs are borne by individual volunteers in different contexts and may differ from one individual to another (Y. J. Lee & Brudney, 2009).

Research Method

Volunteer Program at the 2008 Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games

More than 1.3 million individuals applied for an Olympic volunteer position in Beijing, while only 100,000 individuals were selected (Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games [BOCOG], 2010). More than 97% of the volunteers at the 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games were under the age of 35 (Wei, 2010). In contrast, volunteers in 2004 and 2012 were much older, with 62% and 41% under 35, respectively (Dickson & Benson, 2013). In China, students were encouraged to participate in SME volunteering, and thus a total of 83% of the volunteers were university students (BOCOG, 2010; Hustinx, Cnaan, & Handy, 2010; Wei, 2010). A university–stadium docking system—one university was a provider of

most volunteer labor for one or more venues—was adopted to recruit students as Olympic volunteers, and to establish corresponding training, organization, and management systems set by BOCOG (Zhuang & Girginov, 2012).

Prior to the 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games, these 100,000 volunteers took part in the mandatory volunteer training program, which covered three sections: general training, operational training, and on-site training (BOCOG, 2010). By doing so, young volunteers could learn particular event-related knowledge and skills that could not only be implemented during the Games, but could potentially be transferred to volunteering elsewhere in the postevent period. However, although BOCOG claimed to make such sustained impact on volunteering as demonstrated by the following quote, no evidence of this impact is available:

The Olympic volunteer services provided prior to and during the Games will be continued and transferred into regular services for the city. . . . The 500 city volunteer service stations will be maintained and over 1,000 municipal welfare service programs and over 1,000 grass roots welfare service programs will be continued. (BOCOG, 2010, p. 247)

Participants and Data Collection

Participants were Chinese volunteers from the 2008 Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games. When conducting research shortly before or after the SME, it is possible to collaborate with the local organizing committee to connect with SME volunteers. However, SME are liminal (Gellweiler, Wise, & Fletcher, 2018), and the local organizing committee dissolves after the event and with that, also the opportunity to connect to volunteers. Therefore, we adopted convenient sampling via an existing online chat group. This group is a multiuser social network in which users can communicate without geographical restrictions (Zhang, Dong, Sun, & Li, 2013). Some studies have successfully harnessed social networks to target and recruit research participants in a short time at little cost (e.g., Child, Mentis, Pavlish, & Phillips, 2014; Hibino & Shimazono, 2013; Trier-Bieniek, 2012). A similar recruitment strategy via a preexisting Olympic volunteer group has been used by Fairley et al. (2016),

when studying volunteers 10 years after the 2000 Sydney Olympic and Paralympic Games.

The research procedures were approved by the Research Ethics Board of Vrije Universiteit Brussel. The leading author was a volunteer at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and thus a member of an online chat group, which was formed by volunteers themselves in 2015. Around 400 volunteers were members of this chat group during the time of data collection, representing volunteers from host and cohost cities including Beijing, Qingdao (sailing), Hong Kong (equestrian), Qinhuangdao (soccer), Shanghai (soccer), Shenyang (soccer), and Tianjin (soccer). As a means of recruiting potential participants, the leading author reintroduced herself in the chat group as a researcher conducting a study on volunteers. To solicit participants, a brief message explaining the purpose of the study was posted in the group. A total of 33 volunteers who showed interest to participate were sent a detailed cover letter explaining the research in a personal message. When participants agreed to take part in the study, they were sent the main interview questions ahead of the interview. By doing so, participants could think deeper about their experiences in the past 8 years, which would increase the validity of the research. In total, 15 participants (mean age = 29.8 years) were interviewed in Chinese, and the interviews were tape recorded with consent. The interviews were conducted between September and December 2016, until no additional insights emerged from the data. The average duration of the interviews was 51 min (ranging in length between 30 and 83 min).

A semistructured interview guide that provided a generic framework for discussion was developed (see Appendix A). In the first phase, interviewees were asked to describe their volunteer experience during the Olympic Games (e.g., What was your role during the event? What has been the impact of being an Olympic volunteer for you?). The second phase was composed of questions mainly concerning their volunteer involvement beyond the Games (e.g., Why did you continue to volunteer, if any? Is there any difference/similarity between volunteering at the Games and elsewhere?). In the third phase, interviewees were asked to comment on the Olympic volunteer program and their future volunteer intention (e.g., regarding the 2022 Beijing

Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games). Within the framework of the last phase, the interviewees were invited to discuss any issues that may have been overlooked. After the interview, participants received a thank you letter and a copy of the transcript on which they were able to comment to improve the validity of the research. Only some minor changes (e.g., replacing “MMC” with “Main Media Center”) were made, and some supplementary information was added.

Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim, resulting in more than 160,000 words of Chinese text (129 pages of single-spaced text). Personal signifiers have been deleted to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. The transcripts were analyzed using NVivo software (version 11). We adopted the six-phase thematic analysis and 15-point checklist to ensure the quality of the analysis (Braun, Clarke, & Weate, 2016). After transcribing the data, the leading author (native Chinese speaker) carefully read the entire dataset and noted initial ideas. Deductively, codes from the existing literature served as initial orienting concepts to guide the first-round coding on benefits and costs regardless of experienced or anticipated during or after the SME experience (e.g., contributing to the staging of an international sports event, meeting people from all over the world, developing one’s resume, transportation, and food) (Chanavat & Ferrand, 2010; Doherty, 2009; Ferrand & Skirstad, 2015; Handy & Mook, 2011). When a new element emerged, a new code was assigned using inductive reasoning (e.g., feelings of pride, potential risks). Many extracts contained multiple meanings and were highlighted accordingly. To assist data analysis, tables consisting of interviewee quotes were created. Next, all coded sentences were translated into English using the back-translation process as described elsewhere (Chen & Boore, 2010) by two native Chinese speakers (including the leading author). Then, the leading author discussed the codes with other authors, which facilitated further development of the data analysis. Until the agreement was reached, we thematically sorted these codes into three topics: experienced benefits perceived from Olympic volunteering as well as costs, and the negotiation

of dynamic benefits and costs. Inductively, six key themes for experienced benefits (social, career-related, training, Olympic-related, psychological, and extrinsic benefits) and two themes for experienced costs (direct costs, opportunity costs) were generated. What followed was an interpretation of volunteer behavior in the postevent period, which was completed by a deductive reasoning process based on three key propositions of social exchange theory (Homans, 1974). Related benefits and costs quotes were sorted into these propositions. In a further step, the third author examined methodological procedures, discussed, and debated the authors' interpretations of the overall findings. This process increased the validity and reliability of the findings (Creswell, 1998). What follows is an explanation of the themes and propositions, supported by illustrative quotations from the interviews.

Findings

Experienced Benefits Among Volunteers

Social Benefits. The interviewees stated meeting and working with different people from their own university and from other institutions as one of the most rewarding aspects of volunteering. These benefits were also long lasting as some interviewees expressed that they still meet with other volunteers who they got to know 8 years ago because of their shared Olympic experience. The existence of the online chat group that has been used to connect with volunteers in this study can be identified as one example of the social benefits. There appears to be a sense of camaraderie among volunteers, and several interviewees put it this way:

What impacted me was the smooth cooperation among strangers to finish the same task in such a short period. We removed personal tensions to form one team and support and trust each other. We still have contact until now. This kind of friendship is precious. (Interviewee V15)

Career-Related Benefits. The interviewees stated career-related benefits had practical implications for their employment, including specific competencies and knowledge, experience with project and organizational management, and professional networking. These benefits were developed

through volunteering at the Olympic Games, providing volunteers with an optimal environment to observe, learn, and practice. Given the sample of young student volunteers at the 2008 Olympic and Paralympic Games, these benefits were particularly important to expand the resumes of college and university students in the early stages of their careers. To highlight the importance of career-related benefits, one interviewee noted:

From the perspective of experience, anyone who could catch the opportunity of the Games should choose to participate without hesitation. It was not a waste of our time, and it was of significance. It not only increased my job experience, but also broadened my horizon. . . . The experience as an Olympic volunteer at that time and the Media and Communication major, laid a solid foundation for my career. First, when I worked in the media center for other events such as the Guangzhou 2010 Asian Games, the working process was similar. Second, I still collaborate with volunteers I met during the Olympic Games, although we all started our own careers after 2008. (Interviewee V12)

Training Benefits. The interviewees frequently mentioned Olympic education, certain sport knowledge and values, local culture, and first-aid training that were required to successfully deliver the Games. Other training benefits were public etiquette, international customs, and foreign languages. For example, one interviewee mentioned:

There were icebreaking activities during the training, which encouraged us to communicate with strangers and to cooperate with each other to finish some tasks. In my position as an audience service volunteer, I would have acted differently without the training. I also learned how to smile in order to break barriers between me and the audience. For me, I needed some time to practice this. (Interviewee V8)

Olympic-Related Benefits. All the interviewees readily expressed that it was an honor to volunteer at such an important and historic event. Their positions as an Olympic volunteer were less important than the involvement in the event and the opportunity to make the Games successful. One of the interviewees noted:

I had a strong sense of serving the Olympic Games, no matter what kind of role I played,

because my major [in university] was sport management. I hoped to do something worthwhile, for example, doing something for the Olympic Games. . . . I thought that the Games would be a remarkable aspect in my life. Sometimes, we flip through photos and share the Olympic experience with others, and these photos still have an impact on others today. (Interviewee V9)

Symbolic words such as honor, reputation, fame, and prestige were often used to describe the individual relationship of the volunteers with the Olympic experience. Volunteering at the Games was believed to exemplify high moral values because volunteers acted as ambassadors for their country. In elaborating upon the Olympic-related benefits, interviewees described the Olympic Games benefited themselves as well as Chinese society as displayed in the following quote:

I believe it would be great if volunteerism becomes regular social conduct in China. The Olympic Games have helped us to establish the concept of volunteering, as well as the philosophy of making contributions to society and giving back to the country. (Interviewee V12)

Psychological Benefits. The Olympic experience provided volunteers with significant psychological benefits 8 years after the event, situated at the collective level as well as the individual level. At the collective level, volunteers expressed common feelings of pride and national identity as a result of their Olympic experience. It was evident from the interviews that volunteers developed a strong sense of ownership and a feeling of belonging. At the individual level, almost all the interviewees expressed achievement, encouragement, excitement, and enrichment in the postevent period. It is noteworthy that, harnessed from the Olympic experience, volunteers could be inspired to actively participate in sport. As one of the interviewees expressed:

I was inspired by athletes at the Paralympic Games. Their fighting spirit has continued to bring me great encouragement. . . . After the Olympic Games, I developed a profound interest in sport, and now I often work out. (Interviewee V13)

Extrinsic Benefits. These include all the materialistic things that volunteers received in exchange for their volunteering efforts. In this study, these

benefits included uniforms, souvenirs, admission tickets, pins, and so forth. Interviewees often talked about these extrinsic benefits as memorabilia and important personal souvenirs that they use to create and maintain a sense of the past and to tell the story of their Olympic experience to others. As one of the interviewees noted:

I have collected everything for a souvenir, including the certification, the uniform, the pins and so on. I feel they are significant. (Interviewee V5)

Experienced Costs Among Volunteers

Although volunteers perceived valued benefits even 8 years after the Games, the incurred costs seem to fade away. Volunteers appeared to underestimate or even ignore the costs of volunteering at the Beijing 2008 Games. This phenomenon is known as the halo effect, which means that volunteers only recollect the positive elements of their experiences as time passes (Warner et al., 2011). This effect is also reinforced directly or indirectly by the external support from the government and the universities to individual volunteers in terms of free transportation, food, insurance, and sufficient volunteering opportunities in China. One respondent put it this way:

When I think about it now, I feel it was a meaningful activity that cost me nothing. I dressed up as the mascot and I sweated quite a lot because it was a hot summer. But this is not what you remember, you remember the festival atmosphere. Although I only rested around 10 days in that summer holiday, compared to two months normally. (Interviewee V3)

When further asked about the costs, some respondents described that volunteering at the Games might diminish other possible uses of their leisure time, resulting in a negative opportunity cost. When volunteers spent their summer holiday volunteering at the Olympic and Paralympic Games, benefits were lost elsewhere; for example, in alternative behaviors such as preparing an entrance exam for a graduate study or conducting an internship. One interviewee described the following:

The biggest sacrifice is time. However, when you were a college student, you had enough

time, especially in the summer holidays when the Olympic Games were hosted. The only alternative option was to travel, to earn some money via a part-time job, or to meet up with friends in your hometown. (Interviewee V1)

Negotiating Benefits and Costs

Following Musick and Wilson (2008), volunteering is, in essence, an exchange behavior because respondents clearly do weigh benefits and costs when they consider volunteering. Previous SME experience helps volunteers to judge the magnitude of current occurrences in light of how benefits and costs have unfolded in the past, which provides a means for volunteers to assess if they should participate in volunteering or not. Volunteers were asked to compare the difference and similarity between volunteering at the Games and elsewhere postevent. The propositions of social exchange theory, as set out by Homans (1974), allow for a better understanding of volunteers' assessment. The negotiation of benefits and costs in the postevent period is discussed according to the 1) rationality proposition, 2) deprivation-satiation proposition, and 3) approval-aggression proposition.

Rationality Proposition. The findings of this study support the rational choice approach, assuming that individuals calculate the overall worth of their volunteer behavior by subtracting the costs from the benefits it provides (Y. J. Lee & Brudney, 2009; Smith, 1994). Specifically, if the total benefits exceed the costs, the behavior may be more likely to continue. However, a negative ratio indicates that they are more likely to give up volunteering. From the interviews, we found that volunteers sensitively compared the situation between volunteering at previous SME and elsewhere, especially with regard to increased costs, while anticipated benefits decreased. There are many narratives that explain how the cost-benefit ratio led them to decline or even to withdraw from volunteering.

Firstly, the rationality proposition was negatively influenced by the decreased benefits of volunteering beyond the SME. Interviewees mentioned that volunteering elsewhere has not been able to (re) create the same benefits as those provided by the Olympic and Paralympic Games. For example,

Olympic-related benefits are more difficult to imitate at other volunteering activities in the postevent period (Fairley et al., 2016), making these benefits less meaningful. Meanwhile, the perceived career-related benefits have diminished once the SME volunteers started their career and thus had more opportunities to acquire these benefits outside of volunteering. In comparison, the SME experience helped to build qualifications and job-related experience, sending positive signals to the labor market when they just graduated.

Secondly, the rationality proposition was negatively impacted by the increased costs of volunteering following the SME. The additional costs included direct financial expense (e.g., transportation, food) once leaving the education system. As mentioned previously, universities carried some of the direct costs for student volunteers. One interviewee stated how these costs changed:

When you were a student, and you were volunteering in a sport event, you were supported by the university. They would manage the logistical support, such as transportation, water, and food. However, you cannot receive this kind of care and support when you are just an employee at a company. (Interviewee V2)

The considerable time to search for volunteer opportunities significantly impacted the opportunity cost as well. The interviewees touched upon a lack of information and disorganization when they described volunteering possibilities. In particular, the interviewees reported that they did not know where and how to provide their volunteer services without the assistance of the college/university after their graduation. In contrast, there were numerous volunteer opportunities through programs initiated by their alma universities, making it much easier and quicker to engage in volunteering. Hence, the lack of time as a barrier to volunteering was commonly cited, as one interviewee mentioned:

Since starting my career, I have never engaged in any volunteering again. My company does not organize any voluntary activities as my (alma) university did before. I have to invest my time and energy into raising my family. Most former volunteers are now around the age of 30, and it is a peak time to start a family. You now have to share the responsibilities of your family. (Interviewee V10)

Similarly, opportunity costs sharply increase among these young adult volunteers who entered a new stage in their early personal and professional lives, especially on career pressures and family responsibilities. The leisure time and foregone wages as main forms of opportunity cost were found in the narratives when they committed to volunteer service. As some interviewees mentioned, most volunteers were born in the 1980s and continue to be impacted by the one-child policy in China. These individuals are now devoted to setting up a home, raising a family, and working to support their family. Changes, pressures, and demands within personal and professional relationships can have a major influence on voluntary involvement, particularly the withdrawal. Further, the strategy, the almost exclusive involvement of the particular population (student volunteer) and corresponding support, has also produced a stereotype that volunteering in China is the business of students. Negative implications for the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympic Games have been described as follows:

We will be around 34 in 2022, and most of us will get married and start our career and we will not be college students anymore. To be honest, housing prices in Beijing are up about 10 times since 2008. In 2022, the financial pressures will be more and more serious for us. This is the reality. I am convinced that there are more younger college students who will take part in the next Winter Olympic Games. (Interviewee V13)

Deprivation–Satiation Proposition. This proposition assumes that when a person has received a particular benefit for an action in the recent past, the less valuable any additional unit of that benefit becomes in the future (Cook, Cheshire, Rice, & Nakagawa, 2013). This also explains why organizations might be less successful in retaining volunteer members, especially after the completion of a specific project such as the Olympic Games (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999). This is problematic when, for example, the marginal utility of career-related benefits has decreased. Once these are acquired with regard to the Olympic and Paralympic Games and once these are on the individual's resume, they become less valuable to obtain more, according to this

proposition. Another satiation is evident in the following quote as well:

Because I have already experienced the Olympic Games, the biggest event on the planet, I achieved my goal as a volunteer. Therefore, I do not want to and do not need to experience any other voluntary activities. (Interviewee V14)

Approval–Aggression Proposition. The proposition specifies that when an action does not receive the expected and anticipated benefit or receives an unexpected cost or punishment, it causes anger and aggressive behavior. To some extent, the Olympic volunteer experience increases the expectation of subsequent volunteering and the difficulty in fulfilling in the postevent period. For instance, one of the interviewees explained that the training benefits in other volunteer activities were experienced as weak:

There are not many standard training programs at other volunteer services. Other training opportunities are simpler and fewer. In contrast, it is such a systematic training process for the Olympic volunteers. It is not possible to find such professional training that includes cultural, social, and other elements. (Interviewee V4)

When an action receives the expected or even a greater than expected benefits and no expected punishment, it will more than likely be approved, vice versa (Cook et al., 2013; Homans, 1974). In reality, volunteers could experience some form of unexpected punishment in volunteering elsewhere, other than what they received at the Games. When dealing with psychological benefits, this is further highlighted in the following quote:

It has been the happiest period in my life as an Olympic volunteer. During the delivery of the Games, people would smile when you were volunteering. However, after the Games, when you did other kinds of volunteering, the others would question your motivation. It appeared to be inappropriate when you smile to others too much. It is a bit sad. (Interviewee V8)

The potential risk in volunteering elsewhere is another kind of unexpected punishment when compared to the officially organized volunteer

activities (e.g., the Olympic Games). As some interviewees mentioned, in recent years, some incidents have had a negative effect on volunteering in China. For instance, the Peng Yu incident in 2006 when Good Samaritans—who helped people who were injured in an accident—were accused of having injured the victims themselves¹. As a result, many prefer to be a bystander because they are afraid of getting into trouble and receiving an unexpected punishment when doing good, leading to the so-called “volunteer’s dilemma.” Nonetheless, volunteer programs and organizations increased rapidly both in number and in scope following the 2008 Beijing Games, demanding laws and regulations. China’s regulation on volunteer services only took effect in December 2017, protecting volunteers’ legitimate rights such as purchasing personal accident insurance. However, people appeal to provide more legal protection for volunteer service from cost or punishment, as one volunteer described:

I did not attend any unofficial voluntary activities after Beijing 2008. Because some bad cases happened in recent years, the Chinese public is vulnerable to civil liability for lending help due to the lack of any Good Samaritan laws. (Interviewee V8)

Discussion

By adopting social exchange theory in the current study, qualitative data offered a rich and contextualized view to understand the SME volunteer experience as well as its consequent influence. The long-term impact includes not only the perceptions of volunteer experience in terms of benefits and costs but also its influence on volunteering elsewhere in the postevent period. Moreover, the results have highlighted that volunteers tend to glorify their experienced benefits and underestimate or even ignore their costs.

Following Zhuang (2010), the findings revealed that the influence of the Olympic and Paralympic Games experience on the individual could be prolonged after the event, via positive benefits as well as negative costs. Specifically, our findings have shown that volunteers continue to garner benefits from their earlier Olympic experience, mainly in the form of social, career-related, training,

Olympic-related, psychological, and extrinsic benefits. The perceptions of long-lasting benefits support previous research by Nichols and Ralston (2012b), who noted that volunteers continued to strive for benefits from volunteerism 7 years after their event experiences. Previous research has suggested that the benefits experienced by individual volunteers can be treated as an event legacy (Bladen, 2010). It is also interesting to note that some experienced benefits are situated at the collective level, which are underexplored in the current literature but highly valued in China. Volunteers appear to internalize the publicly endorsed discourse promoting volunteerism during the event.

Further, some of the benefits that have been identified in this study are congruent with previous research on Olympic volunteer motivation (e.g., Dickson et al., 2015). It perhaps means that, to some extent, volunteers’ motivation was fulfilled. For example, Olympic factors that motivated individuals to volunteer in the first place have transferred into Olympic-related benefits that continued to be perceived long after the actual event experience. This is particularly important among young volunteers in their twenties who seek a valuable lifetime experience (Fairley, Kellett, & Green, 2007; Giannoulakis, Wang, & Gray, 2007; Wei, 2010). Moreover, as an individual interacts with an activity or an organization (e.g., volunteering at the Olympic Games), it is likely that this individual may be socialized to value different benefits or even discover new benefits (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Warner et al., 2011). Consequently, some of the benefits could transfer to motivation, promoting subsequent volunteering. Some of the benefits could increase the expectation with future volunteer activities; however, when failing to meet the expectation can lead to a volunteering withdrawal (Ralston, Lumsdon, & Downward, 2004).

Another finding of this study is that costs fade away over time. Although some interviewees mentioned giving up time to contribute to the Games, they appeared to ignore this biggest cost afterwards. In contrast, a lack of time was commonly cited as a reason when asked about subsequent volunteering. This issue is not uncommon because previous research indicated that people,

especially young adults who are working full time, commonly mentioned lack of time as a reason for not volunteering (Hall, McKeown, & Roberts, 2001; Koutrou, Pappous, & Johnson, 2016). However, it has been suggested that this substantial cost might mask a fear of voluntary involvement (Musick & Wilson, 2008). The current findings have addressed this fear, coming from the individual trajectories and the diversity of volunteer activities in the postevent period. It provides contextual evidence that volunteers encounter additional social situations and go through more changes.

The discussion that follows theoretically illustrates the impact of past SME experiences on voluntary involvement postevent by volunteers' narratives. The amount of support varied in strength, providing mixed evidence in the scope of Homans' (1974) three social exchange theory propositions. In this study, more evidence has been found to explain the phenomenon shown in previous studies that the SME can lead to a decrease in the voluntary involvement in other contexts (e.g., Koutrou & Downward, 2015; Neufeind, Güntert, & Wehner, 2013). Previous SME experience is crucial to the cost-benefit determination, leading volunteers to evaluate the volunteer activity more favorably, strengthening their expectation, influencing their attitude and perspective. Hence, it results in a negative impact on (future) voluntary behavior in Beijing's case in the long term. By contrast, a study conducted by Wei (2010) showed that almost 70% of the surveyed venue volunteers were willing to join other voluntary service activities 1 year after the 2008 Beijing Games. We have to notice that there is strong evidence of intention to continue volunteering immediately after volunteers' SME experience, but little evidence to support the correlation between intention and actual action. Although early studies focus on the positive role of previous SME volunteering to future intention, they may have underestimated its influence on behavior change, especially the negative part.

The cost-benefit approach extends our understanding of the SME volunteer experience and captures the complex lasting influence by a guiding framework of social exchange theory. The findings are consistent with previous research as volunteering is the result of a reflexive dynamic process informed by the volunteers' pragmatism and past

lived experiences (Tomazos & Luke, 2015). In doing so, this study confirmed that social exchange theory, which has been developed in Western countries could also be applied to volunteering in the Chinese context.

Practical Implications

The results of this study have practical implications for organizers who are working with volunteers. Event volunteering is a way to recruit potential volunteers for positions in and outside the sport context, particularly when a lack of volunteers has been reported by local organizations (Neufeind et al., 2013). However, the transfer from volunteering at the SME to volunteering elsewhere does not happen automatically postevent without further endeavor (Holmes, Hughes, Mair, & Carlsen, 2015). The one-off intervention (e.g., the Olympic Games) is not sufficient to create a long-term positive impact on maintaining their involvement as volunteers, as our findings have shown. Paying attention to SME volunteer experiences in terms of benefits and costs can help to understand its influence on future volunteer behavior and, as such, help to retain SME volunteers within the local community. SME organizing committees should not only manage volunteer programs during the events, they should also network with reliable organizations within the host community where volunteers can find meaningful and diversified benefits and avoiding costs or punishments, as this can promote volunteer involvement following their SME experience.

In addition, Beijing is a unique case as the city has hosted the Summer Games in 2008 and will host the Winter Games in 2022. The host nation will invest again in organizing a SME and training SME volunteers within a relatively short period. Therefore, it is the second opportunity to benefit the local community by providing a larger pool of experienced volunteers. However, this opportunity can be lost as a result of an unwillingness to revoluteer, if this is not addressed at the planning stage with an effective recruitment strategy. Young student volunteers were encouraged to volunteer supported by the government, large-scale volunteer organizations, or the universities in 2008 (Hustinx et al., 2010). However,

this homogeneous population faced a lot of barriers in subsequent volunteering once they left the educational system. It also produced a stereotype that volunteering in China is the responsibility of students only. If the final aim is to build volunteer infrastructure following the Games, rather than merely deliver the volunteers at the event, the organizer should adjust its recruitment strategy on volunteer composition (e.g., a more heterogeneous group) and a coherent strategy to facilitate the created volunteer pool to maximize positive impact in the long term.

Limitations and Future Research

One of the limitations of this study is that one selected case on the 2008 Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games may limit the generalizability of the results. Nonetheless, social exchange theory offers a framework to identify different statements of volunteers based on the parameters of benefits and costs at different events in different contexts. Also, a common limitation of many studies on SME volunteering is the point of data collection in reference to the event. The data for this research were collected 8 years after the hosting of the SME. The perceptions of benefits and costs attached to SME volunteer experience may vary, and the ongoing cost–benefit exchange may differ when another point of data collection had been selected (Hallmann & Zehrer, 2016). To better understand the link between SME volunteer experiences and future volunteering, it is recommended to track volunteers' perceptions in terms of benefits and costs at different points during the postevent period, which has also been noted in previous research (e.g., Doherty, 2009; Koutrou & Pappous, 2016). Lastly, one of the major criticisms of social exchange theory is that it assumes that actors make decisions in isolation without assessing their environments (Wilson, 2000). Adopting a qualitative approach that helped to understand fluid and layered context-dependent knowledge (Burke, 2016), we found some evidence that volunteers encounter new environments after their graduation, which impact the benefits and costs and thus regulate the exchange relationship. Future research is needed to provide further insight into the macro impacts on volunteer behavior (e.g., policy and regulation).

Conclusion

By investigating the insightful personal experiences and perceptions of a sample of volunteers from the 2008 Beijing Olympic and Paralympic Games 8 years after the event, the study has found that volunteers continue to perceive benefits as well as costs, influenced by their previous SME experience. Furthermore, the past is constantly brought forward and renegotiated into the present by volunteers. This study illustrates how dynamic benefits and costs have been negotiated to determine subsequent volunteer involvement by applying three key propositions of social exchange theory to the salient social context of China. As our findings suggest, social exchange theory is a theoretical explanation and prediction for volunteer behavior, scoping in not only the most used rational proposition, but also the deprivation–satiation and the approval–aggression proposition. The qualitative approach has been helpful to further understand volunteer behavior as an exchange relationship. Practical implications were put forward, especially for Beijing, the first-ever city hosting two Olympic Games in a short interval. Future research would benefit from social exchange theory and qualitative approach among more diverse events in different times and contexts.

Note

¹In 2006, Peng Yu encountered Xu Shoulan after she had fallen and broken her femur. Peng Yu assisted Xu Shoulan and brought her to a local hospital for further care. Xu Shoulan accused Peng Yu of having caused her to fall and demanded that he paid her medical expenses. The court decided in favor of the plaintiff and held Peng liable for damages, reasoning that despite the lack of concrete evidence, “no one would in good conscience help someone unless they felt guilty.” The verdict received widespread media coverage and engendered a public outcry against the decision. Good Samaritan laws offer legal protection to people who give reasonable assistance to those who are, or who they believe to be, injured, ill, in peril, or otherwise incapacitated (Bu, 2017).

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Section A: Volunteer Experience at the Beijing 2008

1. Thinking back to 2008, could you please describe your volunteer experience during the Olympic Games? What was your role/what were your responsibilities during the event? What type of training have you received prior to the event? What was the difficulty of volunteering at the Games? What has been the impact of being an Olympic volunteer for you? What new experiences and/or knowledge did you gain during the event? As a volunteer, what has been your best memory of the 2008 Olympic Games?

Section B: Volunteer Experience Beyond Beijing 2008

2. Did you do any volunteering following Beijing 2008 (not limited to the sport sector)? Is there any difference/similarity between volunteering at the Games and elsewhere? If yes, please describe your role/responsibilities as a volunteer and why did you continue to volunteer? If no, please elaborate upon why you did not continue your engagement as a volunteer. What was the difficulty?
3. How have you been informed about volunteering opportunities that might interest you?
4. In what way has the local organizing committee of the 2008 Olympic Games promoted sustained volunteering following the event?
5. Did you do any volunteering before Beijing 2008? If yes, please tell me something about your previous volunteer experience. How did your previous experience help you as an Olympic volunteer? If no, what influenced you to start volunteering and become an Olympic volunteer?

Section C: Volunteering in the Future

6. In what way can being an Olympic volunteer impact future volunteering behavior or intentions?
7. What are your intentions to volunteer in the future (perhaps for Beijing 2022)?
8. What main recommendations do you have to promote sustained volunteering following the Olympic Games?

Section D: Conclude the Interview

9. Are there any other things that we did not discuss that you would like to add to the interview?

References

- Bang, H., Ross, S., & Reio, T. G. (2012). From motivation to organizational commitment of volunteers in non-profit sport organizations: The role of job satisfaction. *Journal of Management Development*, 32(1), 96–112.
- Beijing Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games. (2010). *Official report of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games* (Vol. 3). Retrieved from <https://www.olympic.org/beijing-2008>
- Bladen, C. R. (2010). Media representation of volunteers at the Beijing Olympic Games. *Sport in Society*, 13(5), 784–796.
- Boo, S., Wang, Q., & Yu, L. (2011). Residents' support of mega-events: A reexamination. *Event Management*, 15(3), 215–232.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., & Weate, P. (2016). Using thematic analysis in sport and exercise research. In B. Smith & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise* (pp. 195–205). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Bu, Q. (2017). The good Samaritan in the Chinese society: Morality vis-à-vis law. *Liverpool Law Review*, 38(2), 135–157.
- Burke, S. (2016). Rethinking “validity” and “trustworthiness” in qualitative inquiry: How might we judge the quality of qualitative research in sport and exercise sciences? In B. Smith & A. C. Sparkes (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of qualitative research in sport and exercise* (pp. 352–362). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Bussell, H., & Forbes, D. (2002). Understanding the volunteer market: the what, where, who and why of volunteering. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 7(3), 244–257.
- Chalip, L., Green, B. C., Taks, M., & Misener, L. (2017). Creating sport participation from sport events: Making it happen. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 9(2), 257–276.
- Chanavat, N., & Ferrand, A. (2010). Volunteer programme in mega sport events: The case of the Olympic Winter

- Games, Torino 2006. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*, 7(3/4), 241–266.
- Chen, H. Y., & Boore, J. R. (2010). Translation and back-translation in qualitative nursing research: Methodological review. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 19(1–2), 234–239.
- Child, R. J. H., Mentis, J. C., Pavlish, C., & Phillips, L. R. (2014). Using Facebook and participant information clips to recruit emergency nurses for research. *Nurse Researcher*, 21(6), 16–21.
- Chinman, M. J., & Wandersman, A. (1999). The benefits and costs of volunteering in community organizations: Review and practical implications. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 28(1), 46–64.
- Cook, K. S., Cheshire, C., Rice, E. R., & Nakagawa, S. (2013). *Social exchange theory: Handbook of sociology and social research*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Springer.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dickson, T. J., & Benson, A. M. (2013). *London 2012 Games Makers: Towards redefining legacy*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/17375115/London_2012_Games_Makers_London_2012_Games_Makers_Towards_Redefining_Legacy
- Dickson, T. J., Darcy, S., Edwards, D., & Terwiel, F. A. (2015). Sport mega-event volunteers' motivations and post event intention to volunteer: The Sydney World Masters Games, 2009. *Event Management*, 19(2), 227–245.
- Doherty, A. (2009). The volunteer legacy of a major sport event. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 1(3), 185–207.
- Downward, P. M., & Ralston, R. (2006). The sports development potential of sports event volunteering: Insights from the XVII Manchester Commonwealth Games. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 6(4), 333–351.
- Edwards, A., & Skinner, J. (2010). *Qualitative research in sport management*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier.
- Emrich, E., Pitsch, W., Flatau, J., & Pierdzioch, C. (2014). Voluntary engagement in sports clubs: A behavioral model and some empirical evidence. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 49(2), 227–240.
- Fairley, S., Gardiner, S., & Filo, K. (2016). The spirit lives on: The legacy of volunteering at the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. *Event Management*, 20(2), 201–215.
- Fairley, S., Green, B. C., O'Brien, D., & Chalip, L. (2015). Pioneer volunteers: The role identity of continuous volunteers at sport events. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 19(3–4), 233–255.
- Fairley, S., Kellett, P., & Green, B. C. (2007). Volunteering abroad: Motives for travel to volunteer at the Athens Olympic Games. *Journal of Sport Management*, 21(1), 41–57.
- Ferrand, A., & Skirstad, B. (2015). The volunteers' perspective. In M. M. Parent & J. L. Chappelet (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of sports event management* (pp. 65–88). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gellweiler, S., Wise, N., & Fletcher, T. (2018). Understanding the “lived experience” of sport event volunteers: Using the hermeneutic circle as a guiding conceptual framework. *Event Management*, 22(4), 629–641.
- Giannoulakis, C., Wang, C. H., & Gray, D. (2007). Measuring volunteer motivation in mega-sporting events. *Event Management*, 11(4), 191–200.
- Hall, M. H., McKeown, L., & Roberts, K. (2001). *Caring Canadians, involved Canadians: Highlights from the 2000 national survey of giving, volunteering and participating*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada (Report No. 71-542-XIE). Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/71-542-x/71-542-x2000001-eng.pdf>
- Hallmann, K., & Zehrer, A. (2016). How do perceived benefits and costs predict volunteers' satisfaction? *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 27(2), 746–767.
- Handy, F., & Mook, L. (2011). Volunteering and volunteers: Benefit-cost analyses. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 21(4), 412–420.
- Hibino, Y., & Shimazono, Y. (2013). Becoming a surrogate online: “Message board” surrogacy in Thailand. *Asian Bioethics Review*, 5(1), 56–72.
- Holmes, K., Hughes, M., Mair, J., & Carlsen, J. (2015). *Events and sustainability*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Holmes, K., Smith, K. A., Lockstone-Binney, L., & Baum, T. (2010). Developing the dimensions of tourism volunteering. *Leisure Sciences*, 32(3), 255–269.
- Homans, G. C. (1958). Social behavior as exchange. *American Journal of Sociology*, 63(6), 597–606.
- Homans, G. C. (1974). *Social behavior: Its elementary forms*. Oxford, UK: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Hustinx, L., Cnaan, R. A., & Handy, F. (2010). Navigating theories of volunteering: A hybrid map for a complex phenomenon. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, 40(4), 410–434.
- Jiang, K., Potwarka, L. R., & Xiao, H. (2017). Predicting intention to volunteer for mega-sport events in China: The case of Universiade event volunteers. *Event Management*, 21(6), 713–728.
- Jin, L., Zhang, J. J., Ma, X., & Connaughton, D. P. (2011). Residents' perceptions of environmental impacts of the 2008 Beijing Green Olympic Games. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 11(3), 275–300.
- Kaplan, R., & Kaplan, S. (1989). *The experience of nature: A psychological perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, E., & Cuskelly, G. (2017). A systematic quantitative review of volunteer management in events. *Event Management*, 21(1), 83–100.
- Koutrou, N., & Downward, P. (2015). Event and club volunteer potential: The case of women's rugby in England. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 8(2), 207–230.
- Koutrou, N., & Pappous, A. S. (2016). Towards an Olympic volunteering legacy: Motivating volunteers to serve and remain, a case study of London 2012 Olympic Games volunteers. *Voluntary Sector Review*, 7(3), 269–291.

- Koutrou, N., Pappous, A. S., & Johnson, A. (2016). Post-Event volunteering legacy: Did the London 2012 Games induce a sustainable volunteer engagement? *Sustainability*, 8(12), 1221–1233.
- Lawler, E. J., Thye, S. R., & Yoon, J. (2014). The emergence of collective emotions in social exchange. In C. von Scheve & M. Salmela (Eds.), *Collective emotions: Perspectives from psychology, philosophy, and sociology* (pp. 189–203). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, J. J., Capella, M. L., Taylor, C. R., & Gabler, C. B. (2014). The financial impact of loyalty programs in the hotel industry: A social exchange theory perspective. *Journal of Business Research*, 67(10), 2139–2146.
- Lee, Y. J., & Brudney, J. L. (2009). Rational volunteering: A benefit–cost approach. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 29(9/10), 512–530.
- Lockstone-Binney, L., Holmes, K., Smith, K., & Baum, T. (2010). Volunteers and volunteering in leisure: Social science perspectives. *Leisure Studies*, 29(4), 435–455.
- Musick, M. A., & Wilson, J. (2008). *Volunteers: A social profile*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- National Audit Office of the People's Republic of China. (2009). *Follow-up audit findings on the revenues and expenditures of the Beijing Olympics and the construction of Olympics venues* (No. 8 of 2009, Serial No. 40). Retrieved from http://www.gov.cn/zw/gk/2009-06/19/content_1344706.htm
- Neufeind, M., Güntert, S. T., & Wehner, T. (2013). The impact of job design on event volunteers' future engagement: Insights from the European Football Championship 2008. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 13(5), 537–556.
- Nichols, G., & Ralston, R. (2012a). The rewards of individual engagement in volunteering: A missing dimension of the Big Society. *Environment and Planning*, 44(12), 2974–2987.
- Nichols, G., & Ralston, R. (2012b). Lessons from the volunteering legacy of the 2002 Commonwealth Games. *Urban Studies*, 49(1), 169–184.
- Omoto, A. M., & Snyder, M. (1995). Sustained helping without obligation: Motivation, longevity of service, and perceived attitude change among AIDS volunteers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(4), 671–686.
- Pappas, N. (2017). Pre-and post-evaluation of residents' participation and support of the 2012 London Olympics. *Event Management*, 21(6), 747–770.
- Ralston, R., Lumsdon, L., & Downward, P. (2004, September). *An evaluation of volunteers' reflections on the experience of volunteering at the XVII Commonwealth Games, Manchester, UK, 25th July–4th August 2002*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/2022378/Evaluation_of_volunteers_reflections_on_the_experience_of_volunteering_at_the_XVII_Commonwealth_Games_Manchester_UK_25th_July_4th_August_2002_Report_3_Qualitative_and_Quantitative_Analysis
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. London, UK: Sage.
- Schnitzer, M., Kristiansen, E., & Hanstad, D. V. (2018). Comparing the expectations, experiences and legacies of volunteers at the FIS Nordic World Ski Championships in Oslo 2011 and Val di Fiemme 2013. *Current Issues in Sport Science*, 3, 1–11.
- Silverberg, K., Ellis, G., Backman, K., & Backman, S. (1999). An identification and explication of a typology of public parks and recreation volunteers. *World Leisure & Recreation*, 41(2), 30–34.
- Smith, D. H. (1994). Determinants of voluntary association participation and volunteering: A literature review. *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 23, 243–263.
- Thibaut, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). *Social psychology of groups*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Tomazos, K., & Luke, S. (2015). Mega-sports events volunteering: Journeys with a past, a present and a future. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 26(4), 1337–1359.
- Trier-Bieniek, A. (2012). Framing the telephone interview as a participant-centred tool for qualitative research: A methodological discussion. *Qualitative Research*, 12(6), 630–644.
- Warner, S., Newland, B. L., & Green, B. C. (2011). More than motivation: Reconsidering volunteer management tools. *Journal of Sport Management*, 25(5), 391–407.
- Wei, N. (2010). *Experience value influence: A research report on the volunteer work legacy transformation of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games and Paralympic Games*. Beijing, China: China Renmin University.
- Wicker, P. (2017). Volunteerism and volunteer management in sport. *Sport Management Review*, 20(4), 325–337.
- Wicker, P., & Hallmann, K. (2013). A multi-level framework for investigating the engagement of sport volunteers. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 13(1), 110–139.
- Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 215–240.
- Zhang, H. F., Dong, L. G., Sun, J. W., & Li, Y. (2013). Research on effectiveness modeling of the online chat group. *Mathematical Problems in Engineering*, 21, 5002–5058.
- Zhuang, J. (2010). Beijing 2008: Volunteerism in Chinese culture and its Olympic interpretation and influence. *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27(16/18), 2842–2862.
- Zhuang, J., & Girginov, V. (2012). Volunteer selection and social, human and political capital: A case study of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games. *Managing Leisure*, 17(2–3), 239–256.

Copyright of Event Management is the property of Cognizant, LLC and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.