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School of Social &
Political Sciences

A comparative study of the motivations of
volunteers who support refugees in the
United Kingdom and in Sweden

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A dissertation submitted in part for the degree in MSc Sociology

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the motivations of volunteers that are involved in supporting refugees in the United Kingdom and in Sweden. In addition to explore the motivations, the concepts of active citizenship and social capital was used to unpack what volunteering is and what the outcomes might be from volunteering. Semi-structured interviews were used to interview nine volunteers in total: five in the United Kingdom and four in Sweden. The volunteers in both countries said that the political refugee crisis in 2015 was important for them to start volunteering in supporting refugees. In addition to this reason, The British volunteers also expressed that they wanted to volunteer in general. The motivations of the Swedish volunteers were expressed as altruism, while the British volunteers expressed their motivations as potential résumé-building experiences for their future careers in addition to altruism. Social capital is tightly linked with volunteering, and a few of the British volunteers had access to social, cultural, and economic capital. This link was not as strong with the Swedish volunteers due to how the data collection was done. The difference in how the volunteers frame their motivations in regard to their volunteering, could be traced to the two countries' political and social policies. The United Kingdom have a long tradition to promote volunteering in social services, while in Sweden, volunteering in leisure-like activities was privileged to promote active citizenship. These policies have probably informed how the volunteers in this study think, and act, in regard to volunteering.

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1. Introduction

This dissertation will explore how volunteers choose to frame their motivations for volunteering in the United Kingdom and in Sweden. Volunteering is often characterised as lending your time to help people with whom you do not know personally. But what makes people willing to volunteer? Previous research on the motivations of volunteers have found that there are three main reasons for volunteering, all of which are interlinked: altruism, egotism, and social reasons (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Dolnicar and Randle, 2007; Treuren, 2014). There is also a possibility that state policies and politics have influenced volunteering opportunities that are available. Howlett (2008) suggests that volunteering in the United Kingdom is integrated with the work of the state, and that volunteering can be a way of the state to exert social control and fostering social cohesion. In Sweden, volunteering in social services have instead been incorporated into the state and volunteering of a leisure-type was encouraged (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). This difference in policies regarding the use of volunteers in the United Kingdom and Sweden might have had an impact on what an ‘active citizen’ is and what motivates people to volunteer.

Another factor that has been shown to be related to volunteering is social capital. While on the one hand, volunteering can increase a person’s social capital (Bekkers, 2005; Stanley, 2004), on the other hand, it excludes those without social capital from volunteering (Storr and Spaaij, 2017). Volunteering and social capital also relate to the concept of citizenship and the ‘active citizen’ and the reciprocal relationship between them and the state. However, this also prompts questions like what constitutes being a citizen, and who is able, or permitted, to be a citizen. Marshall (1992) defines citizenship as a reciprocal relationship. His viewpoint assumes that there is a homogeneity amongst citizens. Young (1989) would rather see a heterogeneous conceptualisation of citizenship that celebrates difference.

To explore differences in volunteering patterns between the United Kingdom and Sweden, nine volunteers were interviewed, five in the United Kingdom and four in Sweden. All volunteers are involved with supporting refugees. This further adds to the concept of citizenship and the ‘active citizen’ as these concepts have often before been framed in relation to national identity. By comparing the motivation of the volunteer with the history and politics surrounding it, it is possible to both distinguish any differences between the countries, and also *why* these differences might exist.

These are the questions that this dissertation will address:

- What motivates people to volunteer, and in particular, in supporting refugees?
- What relationship does the volunteer have with volunteering, for example, in terms of family history?
- What is the history of volunteering in the United Kingdom and Sweden, and how has this shaped the volunteering that occurs today?

This dissertation consists of a literature review, where the concepts of active citizenship, social capital, and the different politics and policies in relation to volunteering in the United Kingdom and in Sweden are discussed. The methodology chapter provides an in-depth description of the research that has been carried out, in addition to how the data was analysed. The findings chapter consists of dominant themes found in the data combined with analysis. The final chapter presents a conclusion in relation to the findings, considers the limitations of this study, and offers suggestions for future research.

2. Literature review

The first section of this chapter provides an overview of theories regarding citizenship and how these theories relate to the concept of active citizenship and volunteering. This will be followed by a brief historic overview of how active citizenship and volunteering has been shaped through state policies and political ideologies in the United Kingdom and in Sweden. Social capital is related to the concept of active citizenship. This connection which will be unpacked in relation to volunteering. The last section provides an overview of previous research on the motivations of volunteers, this will work as a bridge between the concepts of active citizenship and social capital, and the individuals who are involved in volunteering.

2.1. Active citizenship

The most prominent conceptualisation of citizenship is Marshall (1992), which describes citizenship as framed by the nation state and the rights and duties the individual has toward the nation-state. According to Marshall, there are three parts of citizenship: civil, the right to justice and freedom; social, the right to education and social rights; political, the right to participate on the political scene. Citizenship is thus defined in the mutual recognition between the nation and the individual that he¹ is a citizen. This ‘contract’ is constituted by a reciprocity: the citizen pays taxes to the nation-state and receives, for example, health-care in return.

However, Marshall’s definition of citizenship is of a universalist kind that presupposes that the nation-state is a homogenous group with shared values, rights, and duties. The nation-state thus becomes not just a membership that the individual has earned, it also becomes an identity that the citizen has. This adds a cultural dimension to citizenship and creates an ‘other’ in those who do not share the dominant political and cultural background. Citizenship then becomes less about the geographical boundaries of the nation, and more about the individual’s culture (Painter and Philo, 1995). Building citizenship around a cultural identity has the consequence that it can exclude people from claiming citizenship by not actively base it on a nationality. Instead, by using language tests or similar means as a basis to acquire citizenship, overt racism can be circumvented (Cole, 2010). For a refugee with the ‘wrong’ cultural background, this means that they might feel like they have to prove their worth as a

¹ A feminist critique of Marshall’s concept of citizenship claims that it excludes women, as they have historically been excluded from the public sphere and have been relegated to the private and have thus not been able to claim citizenship as men has (Dietz, 1998).

citizen and they contribute to the society's resources. To circumvent this, Yin Yap, Byrne and Davidson (2010) found that refugees use volunteering as a way to 'prove' that they are good citizens and are worthy of being citizens. They argue that through volunteering the refugee evades the stereotype of the lazy and costly refugee, and is instead seen as a contributor.

An alternative would be the differentialist model of citizenship, where instead the plethora of different cultural perspectives are put first, and no one perspective would be held above the others, like the one Young (1989) have presented. According to her, every individual would from their 'situated positions' work together to find a solution that benefits everyone and not only those who conform to the majority culture. However, such a conceptualisation of citizenship has been criticised of focusing too much on difference and thus losing the integrative elements of what citizenship brings (Carens, 2000). This critique claims that the very strength of citizenship is the very homogeneity, which could also present to be the problematic part of citizenship.

Regardless of how citizenship is conceptualised, the benefits that it brings appears to be lessening in the contemporary society. The welfare state on which both conceptualisations of citizen is based on, does not give the same security that it once did (Turner, 2001). Nowadays, the job market is defined by flexibility, taking risks, and uncertainty. From a society where class determines the fate, there has been a shift towards a society where 'the individual must produce, stage and cobble together their biographies themselves' (Beck, 1994:13). This change can also be seen through the World Values Survey (n.d.) where there is an increase of individualisation in the western world. Studies have shown that young people who volunteer can counteract this, as it increases the levels of trust, and they feel that they can influence the political sphere (Verba, Scholzman and Brady, 1995; Fennema and Tillie, 2001). Because of increased individualisation, the function of the welfare-state as a benefactor ever-present in the background have diminished, Instead, they have started to promote 'active citizenship' as a way of investing in human capital to counteract the problems of a fragmented job market and the economic uncertainty (Soysal, 2012). This change can clearly be seen in British politics, see section below.

While there has been in increased interest in activities that would increase active citizenship due to the positive outcomes of it, not all types of volunteering enable active citizenship and the positive benefits of it. In Australia, schools make use of volunteer-like activities to mimic

the above-mentioned benefits of volunteering, with the hope that this will instil active citizenship with the students. The results have shown to be the opposite. Due to the lack of choice by the participants, this type of programmes is not conducive of active citizenship, and rather, promotes a decrease in participation in the society as the students are not fully invested in the programme's outcome (Warburton and Smith, 2003). Thus, active citizenship cannot be taught in a one-fits-all manner. Davies and Evans (2002) suggest that for active citizenship to succeed, the project must be relevant to the people participating and the project must be created with a participatory approach.

In the two sections below are accounts of how politics and policies did, or did not, facilitate active citizenship in the United Kingdom and Sweden.

2.1.1. Active citizenship and volunteering in the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, the architect of the welfare state after the second world war, William Beveridge, acknowledged that voluntary action is necessary for a healthy democracy (Sheard, 1986). Volunteering was seen as a good way to make people to participate in the public life, especially young people as they were seen as being 'disconnected' from society, which volunteering could remedy (Deakin, 1995). Volunteering, especially in healthcare, were encouraged by the government, which resulted in the first paid volunteer coordinator being appointed in the 1960s. The 'Seebohm report' (Great Britain, Home Office, 1968) and the 'Aves report' (Aves, 1969) was commissioned by the government to explore how the social services should be run. These reports encouraged and promoted the use of volunteers in the social services. Around the same time, volunteering gradually became a less exclusive activity for the middle classes, and instead it became a way to get young people without qualifications into work by getting working experience (Howlett, 2008:3). In 1978, the Labour government initiated the *Good Neighbour* scheme which encouraged people to volunteer in their community. A year later, the Conservatives came to power and changed the social policies so that volunteering organisations took over some of the work that previously had been provided by the state. The reasoning was that that the use of volunteers would break the monopoly that the state had on service provision. From 1997, Tony Blair's Labour government continued on the path that the Conservatives had previously laid, but framed it as having benefits for the community. The *Millennium Volunteers Programme* and the *Make a Difference* campaigns was launched to enhance young people's and people from minority groups participating in volunteering, and in extension, the public life (Howlett, 2008:4-5).

A potential problem with having volunteers carrying out social services is that the volunteers still worked in the same way and capacity as if it was paid work. This excluded those who would benefit from volunteering experience, i.e. the unemployed and young people because they could not afford to give up their time for free (Scott and Russel, 2001). This could suggest that using volunteers as a way to include citizens to participate in society, volunteers are used to save money (Whelan, 1999). Howlett (2008) emphasises that although this might be true, volunteering does still have a positive social impact. The ‘social breakdown’ of society was believed to be remedied by rebuilding the civic pride.

2.1.2. Active citizenship and volunteering in Sweden

In Sweden, between 1930s and 1960s, voluntary organisations were incorporated into the state apparatus instead of continuing to work as a voluntary organisation (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). From this, the Scandinavian democracies are believed to hail from a combination of active citizenship that is membership-based, where the individual is involved in organisations and mass-movements, and a strong welfare state (Henriksen and Bundesen, 2004). From the 1960s onwards, the nature of civic involvement shifted from religious organisations and the prohibition movement, to activities of a leisure character. With a larger disposable income and more time on their hands, the citizens were encouraged to engage with leisure activities as this was believed to be an integral part of public life. The state understood that the people wanted to engage with something that gave individual fulfilment. Particularly children were encouraged to engage with these activities as it was believed to foster national integration (Tranvik and Selle, 2007). The Scandinavian model thus changed from political active citizenship, to an active citizenship that was built around the individual’s leisure time and hobbies. This changed the patterns of active citizenship.

At the turn of the millennium, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, became worried that their democracy was threatened by globalisation, regionalisation, multiculturalism and financial unrest (Amnå, 2006). They separately decided to launch democracy audits. The findings suggested that there is a change underway in the Scandinavian active citizenship, just as in the rest of Europe. The change was that the individuals felt more *apart* from the state, in opposition to the previously feeling *together* with the state. This change also applies to the nature of the civic participation in the Scandinavian countries, and in extension, the nature of voluntary work (Amnå, 2006). A possible reason for this change is when the government encouraged activities around leisure and hobbies, this also meant that the people got involved with smaller organisations. This is also evident from the creation of Volontärbyrå, an

agency where individuals can find specific volunteering roles with specific organisation, which enables people to find volunteering opportunities based on interest in specific roles in a specific organisation, rather than engaging with an organisation that they ideologically believe in (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). This individualising process sets the volunteers further away from the decision-making positions as they do not engage with the politics of the society such as political parties or trade unions. Instead, they engage with their own immediate surroundings and interests. This shift from a strong active citizenship to a more individualised ethos, changes the individuals' democratic involvement. Where before they had power in numbers (Amnå, 2006), today's issues-based politics have the possibility to instead lessen political parties' influence due to a decrease in involvement (Gauja, 2015).

Volunteering in social services has always been lower in Sweden than in other countries (Svedberg and Jeppsson Grassman, 2001). However, volunteering does still exist, but is instead prominent in areas where the public sector has not been active, such as sports based organisations, cultural activities, and trade unions (Lundström & Wijkström, 1997). The nature of Swedish volunteering is changing, where the membership based volunteering is becoming less frequent and the individualised types of volunteering.

The policies regarding volunteering and how active citizenship has been framed have taken different approaches in the United Kingdom and in Sweden. In the United Kingdom, engaging the citizens in providing social services has been grounded in ideology and possibly economy. In Sweden, volunteering changed from a mass-movement type to a more personal style of involvement due to the governments conviction that leisure activities were important to enable active citizens.

2.2. Social Capital and volunteering

This section will explore the connection between volunteering and social capital. The most basic conception of social capital can be understood as a network of people and that the relationships that exist have a value as assets. Like any type of capital, be it economic or social, investing in it will (hopefully) give a greater return. In the case of social capital, the more relationships a person have, with whom they share a common world view with, the richer they are (Field, 2003). The three most prominent theorists in regard to social capital are Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam.

Bourdieu's (1997) conceptualisation of social capital is on an individual level, and relies heavily on a Marxist conceptualisation of class. He identified three types of capital: economic, social, and cultural, where the cultural capital was what his studies focused on the most. Important for his theory, is the concept 'habitus' which is the milieu in which the person lives in which informs how they live their life. This also works as a group identity of sorts, where the different types of capital, especially cultural capital, are inherited in what he called the 'domestic transmission of cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1997:107). Thus, growing up in a family with a high degree of the different types of capital, this is transferred to the children, which in turn makes it easier for the children to accumulate their own capital. What sets social capital apart from the other types of capital, is that it can be an important, if not crucial, factor for success, when compared to those with similar amounts of economic and cultural capital. Access to social capital determines whether or not you can mobilise the other types of capital and receive a greater return from it (Bourdieu, 1980 cited in Field, 2013:16), which can take the form of access to information or resources, and also career sponsorship (Seibert, Kraimer and Liden, 2001). In volunteering, especially sports based volunteering, this can be seen through how volunteering reproduces inequalities through not being accessible to those who do not possess the social or cultural capital from the start (Storr and Spaaij, 2017). The act of volunteering could also be seen as an 'ethos' which is part of the cultural capital that is gained through volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997:695-6) which could be transferred from parent to child and would enable the volunteer to accumulate more capital of different kinds.

While Bourdieu describes social capital from a top-down perspective, where the individual is subjected to social capital, Coleman's take on social capital gives the individual more agency to create social capital themselves. For Coleman, social capital is the mutual exchange between people in a community. Thus, his theory is more about community and belonging, which happens through reciprocal exchanges in the group, rather than through access and accumulation, as is the case with Bourdieu. Coleman's conceptualisation relies heavily on the rational choice theory that is prevalent in economics. This entails that a member of a society takes action according to what will benefit him or her the most. He explained this with how the community superimposes certain expectations and norms on the students which helps them to succeed (Field, 2013). He found that schools with a religious affiliation have a higher degree of attendance and greater academic achievement and lowered the drop-out rates, even from those from socio-economically disadvantaged groups (Coleman and Hoffer, 1987). His conclusion was that relying on a network that exists, for

example the religious community in the above example, gives advantages through the networks between people. This is beneficial for the individual *and* the community, as aid is given reciprocally between member of the same community. He likens this to a ‘credit-slips,’ where aid is given ‘quid pro quo’ (Coleman, 1994:306).

Putnam’s iteration of social capital is closely related to active citizenship from the previous section. According to him, engaging with other people through associational settings facilitates social capital, which in turn facilitates a society that everyone benefits from. He distinguishes between two types of social capital: bonding and bridging. Bonding connections keep people together and works as a glue between people. It enhances solidarity and loyalty as it bonds people together over common traits. Bridging connections are instead those bonds with people outside of the closer circle of friends and family, and facilitates wide-ranging connections (Putnam, 2000:22-3). Bridging connections might at first glance seem to be the key to facilitate active citizenship as they bring people together. However, it is also possible that measures in increasing bridging connections only facilitate those who are already rich in social resources and does not help to bring a wider group of people together (Häuberer, 2014).

In Putnam’s book *Bowling Alone* (2000) he uses the example of bowling to show how the civic participation in the USA is dwindling and that people today go and play either alone, or with friends or family, rather than through associational organisations that enabled the bridging connections. When compiling different sources of data, he concluded that Americans in general are participating less in political participation, associational participation, volunteering, and religious activities. Putnam further links the decrease in civic participation to the decrease in trust between citizens, which are due to the lack of bridging connections that associational life brings.

According to his conceptualisation of social capital, an increase of social capital does also increase trust and empathy for others, which other studies have confirmed (Glanville, 2016). An increase of social capital could also improve health, reduce crime, and improve the academic performance of students (Bekkers, 2005). One way of increasing social capital is through volunteering, as the connection between volunteering and social capital is greater than the connection between social capital to gender, age, and language (Harvey, Lévesque and Donnelly, 2007). Especially youth volunteering has the potential to bring these advantages, in addition to community safety and the enablement of public service-outlets to

engage in communities that have previously been hard to reach (Stanley, 2004). Social capital has also been shown to increase wages (Day and Devlin, 1998) and better job opportunities, both for natives and refugees (Behtoui, 2007).

These three theorists are the backbone of research on social capital today. The next section is a summary of the research in relation to the motivations of volunteers.

2.3. Motivations of volunteers

Many studies about volunteers and their engagement have focused on the quantitative data such as prevalence of volunteering in regard to age, academic merits, religion and nationality (Bussell and Forbes, 2002; Ballard *et al.*, 2015). Although these studies have indeed found differences in volunteering in relation to these factors, they do not take into account the heterogeneity among volunteers that might share these factors. If instead studying the motivations of the volunteers it is possible to further discriminate between different types of volunteers (Schlesinger and Gubler, 2016:1420), information which can be more helpful for volunteer organisations to retain and find new volunteers (Borzaga and Tortia, 2006). In the case of this dissertation, the motivations will be used to understand the connection between active citizenship and volunteering.

An important aspect of volunteering and motivations is where the decision to volunteer stems from, and why people are willing to give up their time for no financial remuneration. Volunteering could be viewed as altruism, but the motivations to volunteer are more complex. Altruism shares many characteristics with volunteering practices, as both can be defined as helping someone without receiving monetary compensation. However, there is no agreed upon definition of what it is. Contemporary definitions of altruism are divided into two: those who use it in the everyday use of the word, 'self-less' and not wanting anything in return, and those who claim that the altruism that is self-less does not exist. A definition of the 'self-less' kind is Batson who describe it as 'a motivational state with the ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare' (Batson, 1991:6) and Hoffman describes it as 'behavior such as helping or sharing that promotes the welfare of others without conscious regard for one's own self interest' (Hoffman, 1978:2). Sigmund and Hauert (2002) and Monroe (1996), on the other hand, claims that true altruism is when the helper is harmed, or there is a potential for the helper to be harmed. If both gain from the act, then it should be called cooperation instead of altruism. A definition of altruism which focuses on the outcome rather than the motivation cannot account for cases where greater sacrifices also mean an

increase of the benefits for the helper (Batson, 1991). This feeds into the idea that Schein (1980) put forward on human nature, that motivations and actions are informed by economic incentives. Utilising this view disregards the helping and voluntary aspects of volunteering, and instead only focuses on how volunteering benefits the individual, which leaves out the emotional and empathic aspects of volunteering. Categorising motivations as either altruistic or egotistical is difficult. Instead, placing volunteering on a continuum between 'the maximum enhancement of the self to behaviours exclusively directed toward the maximum enhancement of others' (Krebs and Van Hesteren, 1994:104) can be useful. Research also shows that in most cases, the motivation to volunteer is a mix of altruistic, egotistical and social reasons (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Dolnicar and Randle, 2007; Treuren, 2014). Different types of volunteering also have different sets of motivations linked to them. Event volunteering, in comparison to other types of volunteering, differ significantly, as the efforts of event volunteering is only for a short and well-defined amount of time. This kind of volunteering, called episodic volunteering, is less informed by altruistic reasons and more of self-serving motivations (Handy, Brodeur and Cnaan, 2006).

The benefits for the volunteer have been discussed in previous sections of this literature review in terms of what the society as a whole benefit from volunteering. As individuals, there are also benefits. Young people have been encouraged to volunteer because they accumulate experience that is useful for the future careers, but mostly from a political and labour market view as Tony Blair (1996) Gordon Brown (2000) and David Blunkett (2001) have expressed. Looking into the motivations of students specifically, Handy's *et al.* (2010) compared the motivations of undergraduate students in 12 countries. They categorized the motivations into three categories: altruism, résumé, and social. They hypothesised that undergraduate students are keen to create social bonds with others, have an idealistic view of the world, and that they need the experience to find a job. This suggests there are multiple reasons to volunteer. The results showed that if the primary reason for volunteering was for social and altruistic reasons, participants were more likely to volunteer and to do so for an extended period of time. However, according to Handy *et al.* (2010), those who volunteered to enhance future career possibilities did not engage in it for a prolonged period of time. They also found that volunteers whose motivations were of a social and altruistic character, accepted the 'costs' of volunteering, such as time commitment, to a greater degree than those who have egotistical motivations.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the concept of citizenship and the problems it may come with, and set out an alternative conception of citizenship. Active citizenship was discussed in relation to how the United Kingdom and Sweden has cultivated, or not cultivated, it, through politics and social policy. Subsequently, the connection between social capital and volunteering was accounted for, in addition to different conceptualisations of social capital and studies on social capital in relation to volunteering. The last section indicated that although volunteering and altruism are closely related, there is not only one reason that people choose to volunteer, but a combination of altruism, egotism, economic, and social reasons. Based on the studies on social capital and altruism, the act of volunteering in of itself is not enough to promote active citizenship. The intentions and motivations of the individual are just as important.

3. Methodology

The last chapter sought to explore the theoretical concepts that underpin this dissertation and consider the findings of previous research in this area. The concepts of active citizenship and social capital was deemed sufficient to answer my research questions around the involvement of volunteers in supporting refugees in Sweden and in the United Kingdom. This chapter will describe how the research questions were operationalised. This includes the justification of the research paradigm, how the study was designed, the ethical considerations, describing the sample, and how the analysis was carried out.

3.1. Research paradigm

The epistemological and ontological approach underpinning this dissertation is a constructivist one, as this study is interested in how volunteers view their involvement. Because this dissertation is concerned with how participants construct their motivation, this dissertation is of a qualitative nature. Their reasons for volunteering is a product of the volunteers own subjective reality. The ‘reality’ of the participants is constructed in their own subjective reality. As such, there is not one truth to be discovered, but many truths. An analogy would be that each person is looking at the world from different rooms in a house. As such, they would see different views depending on what the windows are looking out of – or if their windows are in fact just showing projections of a reality. It is not possible to leave their rooms, so there is no way for them to see if what they see is true or not (Braun and Clarke, 2013:28). The only way to understand why people engage in voluntary activities is to ask them and those answers are only valid in their specific context. The knowledge that is created is a mediated reality (one of many possible) between the perception of reality of the participant and the researcher. This relativist approach to research cannot claim to find universal truths, only truths that are applicable to the specific time and context in which the research took place. Unlike positivistic sciences that can be generalised over a big sample, qualitative studies cannot be generalised in such a manner, but instead, it can generalise to theory (Bryman, 2015:399).

Although the accounts of the participants will be treated as accounts of subjective reality, the research process still involves realist and quantitative data, such as the dwindling numbers of volunteers in some fields and the tangible benefits of volunteering. There is no way of looking at a tangible and real foundation of reality through people’s experiences and motivations, but it is possible to try to get a glimpse of an objective truth through the ‘prisms’ of the subjective accounts (Braun and Clarke, 2013:28).

3.2. Research design

In order to capture the subjective experiences and really *understand* the rationale behind the decision to volunteer, a qualitative approach was used in choosing the methods of data collection. The motivation to volunteer could be measured in absolutes as quantitative data. However, as this dissertation is interested in the nuances and rationales to understand the connection between active citizenship and volunteering, a qualitative approach is needed. The flexibility of a semi-structured approach enables the exploration of the nuances and the personal perspectives on their motivations to volunteer. By adopting a semi-structured approach to the interviews, the data was easier to compare, as the participants talked about the same topics, but were still allowing room to explore topics that were not anticipated. This also enabled the interviewee to speak freely about their experiences. This quality of semi-structured interviews gave the opportunity to delve deeper into how the participants understood their own motivations and their attitude to volunteering as a concept. This ensured that the data collected was rich in details and content (Bryman, 2015).

A potential problem with self-reported motivations is that the participants might not be willing to express their true motivations, if this motivation is seen as being a less desirable trait (Paulhaus, 1991). In the case of volunteering, there maybe is a perceived notion that the volunteer should help out of compassion. This might lead the volunteers to give the 'expected' answer if their motivation does not conform to this compassionate stance. To circumvent this problem, the questions in the topic guide (see Appendix B) were asked in such a way that the participants had the opportunity to answer directly to the question of their own motivations, but also, of motivations detached from themselves, imparted on an unknown 'other' and societal norms in general.

All interviews were recorded with a portable voice recorder. The duration of the interviews were between 15 and 30 minutes. The participant first read the Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix C and D), from which the interview would start. The interviews of the British volunteers were carried out in English, and two of the Swedish interviews were in English because they felt more comfortable speaking English than Swedish. The other two interviews in Sweden were in Swedish. The interviews took place in an environment which the participants knew well; the British participants were interviewed in group study rooms in the university library. The Swedish participants were interviewed in Individuell Människohjälps (see next section) office-space, either in a meeting room on the ground

floor, or an open space on the basement floor that was used as a gathering point during some activities.

3.3. Sample

The recruitment processes for the two groups were of two different kinds, which also had an effect on how the two groups were constituted. The British volunteers were recruited through extended friendship networks at the University of Glasgow. Two students in my class were involved in volunteering in supporting refugees. Through one of them, who also was interviewed for this study, asked people she knew from her volunteering at the Govan Community Project if they were interested in participating in this study. Two expressed their interest. The other class-mate did not know any other people volunteering with refugees, and volunteered at Dungavel House Removal Centre in a befriending role. The last interview in the United Kingdom was recruited through an informal talk with a student in a different discipline who had a flat-mate in yet another discipline who was involved in supporting refugees through a sports based organisation. The sampling criteria was that they had to be British citizens and were students at the University of Glasgow. The participants were all British: one from England, two from Scotland, and two from Northern Ireland. Email addresses or phone numbers were exchanged in order to set the interview schedule.

All British volunteers were white and were within the age range of 20 and 30. Although no questions were asked in regard to their class and background (in some interviews this was discernible, see findings chapter), it should be noted that the University of Glasgow is regarded as a prestigious university which could indicate that many students might come from a middle-class background. Because of this, it is possible to assume that the British volunteers were all middle class.

Due to my lack of contacts in Sweden who are involved with volunteering in supporting refugees, I decided to contact Swedish organisations through email in hope to be able to interview their volunteers. Individuell Människohjälpen runs several different groups that supports refugees. They were the first organisation to be contacted. Amanda Windolf, business developer at Individuell Människohjälpen in Stockholm, became my contact person with them. She was willing to help and act as a intermediary between myself and the volunteers. Five of their volunteers were willing to be interviewed, two from their befriending groups called Duo, one from their support group for women, and one from one of their after-school homework groups. Amanda Windolf gave me the volunteers email addresses, to which

invitations were sent to the volunteers, asking them when during the week I was in Stockholm they were available for an interview. Due to the lack of response from two volunteers, where two reminders were sent to those not responding after a week, three of the volunteers originally contacted were interviewed. Amanda Windolf managed to find one other volunteer with short notice, which brought the total numbers of interviews in Sweden to four.

Table 1: Demographics of participants.

Participant	Country	Sex	Age-range	Origin
Sinead	United Kingdom	F	20-29	Northern Ireland
Sheila	United Kingdom	F	20-29	Scotland
George	United Kingdom	M	20-29	England
Shaun	United Kingdom	M	20-29	Northern Ireland
Eve	United Kingdom	F	20-29	Scotland
Britta	Sweden	F	50-59	Sweden
Siv	Sweden	F	18-25	Mixed
Axel	Sweden	M	30-39	Brazil
Jonas	Sweden	M	25-34	Unknown

A potential problem with this approach was that there was no control over who was contacted, as this was under Individuell Människohjälps control. I told them that I wanted to interview Swedish volunteers and that age did not matter as long as the group did not only exist of people from the older generation. A problem with not speaking to the person directly over the phone or face-to-face is how to gauge the situation. I did not want to be too demanding over the selection criteria as they were kindly giving up their time to find volunteers for me to interview. Thus, the Swedish participants ended up being a heterogeneous group of volunteers of mixed background and ages, ranging from late teens to late fifties.

In hindsight, to ensure that both groups were more similar, it would have been beneficial to contact a Swedish university to find the Swedish participants instead of contacting an organisation with a heterogeneous group of volunteers. This would ensure that the two groups would be more similar to each other. With two groups that are similar but situated in two different cultures, it would have been easier to distinguish whether the differences are due to the culture itself or because of other variables, such as age or educational background. Despite of this, it is possible to infer that all participants are informed by the country and culture they live in. As both groups have made a decision to engage in voluntary activities in regard to asylum seekers, they do it through the lens of their local culture. The responses

that each group gives could thus be seen as being representative of that country as a whole, but still take the heterogeneity of the Swedish sample into consideration.

3.4. Ethical considerations

Before data-collection began, the University of Glasgow's ethics committee approved the study, ensuring that it follows the set standards of the university (see Appendix A). To ensure that the participants understood what the participation entailed, the information was explained verbally in addition to a Participant Information Sheet that was read by the participants before the interview. The Participant Information Sheet was translated to Swedish for the participants in Sweden (see Appendix C and D). The participants were also required to sign a consent form, which was also translated to Swedish for the Swedish participants (see Appendix E and F), agreeing to participate in the study and that the interviews were to be recorded. To ensure the protection of the participants' identities, the transcribed interviews were given a pseudonym and the code was stored on a password protected computer at the University of Glasgow.

3.5. Researchers position

As a Swedish national who has never volunteered before, and having grown up in a society where volunteers in social services are rare, this might have affected the way in which I think of volunteering in the United Kingdom. My lack of knowledge the British society and my familiarity with the Swedish society might have influenced the kind of questions asked, and assumptions that volunteering works in a certain way. This is likely to have influenced how this dissertation is framed. It is possible that the research design and findings would be different if the researcher was British.

It is not possible to disregard the researchers own biases in research. The only possibility is to try to work around them. The fact that I have not volunteered in supporting refugees myself is both a source of advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that the participant must explain their work to a greater extent and that their subjective experiences can speak, rather than the researcher assuming that their experiences are the same as mine (Finlay, 2002). A familiarity with the subject might, on the other hand, prove valuable as it is possible to delve deeper into the subject as the researcher would know what questions to ask.

As my first language is Swedish, and my second language is English, this might have an effect on the interviews and how I interpret them. There might be nuances to the answers that the British volunteers give that I am not able to pick up on, which a British person would be better equipped to identify. The Swedish interviews will go through an extra ‘filter’ than the British interviews. The British interviews will be interpreted through the participants and my subjective world. The Swedish participants will in addition to be translated through their own and my subjectivity, also be literally translated. Word usage and syntax does differ, in addition to social conventions about how language is used.

3.6. Analysis

This dissertation will make use of a ‘lighter’ version of the grounded theory approach that Glaser and Strauss (1968) developed, this is an inductive method. What characterises their approach is that the researcher should not engage with previous research on the same topic to avoid being influenced by it, a strong emphasis on coding *all* the data, and make use of theoretical sampling. This methodology might be too laborious for a dissertation, and is a hard feat even for larger projects, as most research is informed by previous research. Instead, something that is more manageable to do in research, which still is conducive with inductive research, is to keep an open mind and not rely too much on the conclusions from previous research (Braun and Clarke, 2013:187). Due to this, the collected data informed the theory, instead of confirming a theory through a hypothesis.

The interviews were transcribed and a familiarisation process was undertaken. In a true grounded theory approach, all of the data would have been coded individually where the codes would have been created organically. Here, only parts of the interviews that were deemed to be of interest or of relevance to the research questions were coded. The two interviews that were in Swedish was transcribed and only the parts that were deemed interesting for the research questions were translated into English. A process was undertaken where parts of the transcripts were coded with a brief conceptual description, also called researcher-derived or latent codes, of what was said in the interviews (Braun and Clarke, 2013:206-7). The themes that emerges from the data could be put into three categories: background, where the participants talk about their relationship to volunteering; motivations, where they talk about why they have chosen to engage in voluntary activities; and supporting refugees, where motivations of why they volunteer with that particular type of organisations. For example, when the participants talked about their family having volunteered in the past,

that would go under the code ‘family and volunteering.’ These could later be categorised as either biographical information or in relation to social capital.

The results in relation to altruism and egotism should not be understood as definitive true or false statements. Instead, they should be seen as two ends of a continuum. As such, altruism and egotism should not, and cannot, be seen as real divisions. They should be thought of as ideal types, as defined by Weber (1949), where the ends of the spectrum are mere extreme states that reality can be measured against.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter has described the research paradigm which this dissertation will use and how this study was designed. An in-depth discussion about the sample and potential problems with this was set out. How the participants’ safety and anonymity was ensured was discussed and how the researcher’s biases and language might have had an impact on the results was also discussed. The process of analysing the findings through a lighter version of grounded theory. How the transcriptions were analysed and coded was also described. This chapter described the research process; the next chapter will discuss the findings in relation to previous literature and research outlined in chapter 2.

4. Findings

The purpose of this dissertation is to compare the volunteers in the United Kingdom and in Sweden to each other. This chapter will explore and compare them to each other in relation to the concept of active citizenship and social capital. The first section (section 4.1) aims to introduce and set the context for the subsequent sections. It will explore how the volunteer's frame their involvement in supporting refugees specifically. The second section (section 4.2) will explore the volunteers' attitudes and motivations to engage in society in general. The third section (section 4.3) will explore who the volunteers are and explore the concept of social capital, as there is a strong relationship between volunteering and social capital. The last section is a concluding section.

4.1. Supporting refugees

This section will be a short introduction to how the volunteers have chosen to frame their involvement in supporting refugees. This is to set out the background of what the subsequent sections will explore in depth in terms of citizenship, active citizenship, and social capital.

In terms of why they chose to volunteer with refugees specifically, all volunteers advised that it was after the refugee crisis in 2015 that they decided to volunteer, or as in Axel's case, a change from supporting Amnesty to instead support people directly through an organisation like Individuell Människohjälp. Britta said that when the refugee crisis hit, she saw on the news people greeting the refugees at train stations, and decided to take another approach:

Britta: I wanted to help out in a way that was more substantial. I read in the newspapers about befriending groups, and decided that that was what I was going to do!

George is involved in a sports-based organisation that has the aim of integrating refugees in the society. He described his motivations as both his interest in sports *and* to help those in need.

Sheila, Sinead, and Shaun are all involved in the Govan Community Project, while Eve is volunteering through a befriending group at Dungavel Detention Centre. A common theme through the responses on why the volunteers have chosen to volunteer in supporting refugees, is the perceived deficits in state provision. The support that charities and voluntary organisations give can fill a gap where the state would not give any service at all, or that a

volunteering organisation can give something that is different from the state, which Sheila and Eve also voiced:

Sheila: They do homework classes, they do football as well, so some of that stuff are sort of like... not a necessity but it's just like a broader programme to try encourage integration or to try and help people's lives because their lives can be very difficult.

Eve: Communicating to the people in detention that the society outside is supporting them, because I think in their situation, they have the home office sending them letters telling them that their have their flights booked so they can leave, but saying that the community does not feel that way.

In regard to why they have chosen to support refugees specifically, they mostly framed it as helping out as:

Sheila: I think I probably do it in a sense of helping out because that's the most immediate, sort of, reaction you can see that we as a society can do.

George: It's a very concrete form of integration. You don't necessarily become best friends with everybody, but it is a regular activity that they can get involved so that they can meet people from their new home country whom they otherwise wouldn't have met, and that gives them a whole network of support which they otherwise wouldn't have had.

Shaun: Coming from London, which is such a multi-cultural city, to come to Glasgow which is a very white city. That made me think that I needed to do something.

The above quotes show how the refugees are seen as the 'other.' Sheila talks about what 'we as a society' are doing; George takes on a benevolent stance in which 'we' help 'them' out. In how they frame their motivation to help out, the concept of the active citizen does not include everyone. The 'othering' stems from how the concept of citizenship is based on a culture rather than about the boundaries of the nation state (Painter and Philo, 1995) rather than one where the individuals unique position is taken into consideration (Young, 1989).

Jonas motivations differed from the other Swedish volunteers due to him being an immigrant to Sweden. He expressed his motivations to volunteer in terms of integration, both for himself and for others, and to increase his social network:

Jonas: I was also looking to integrate myself into society, so I was looking for an opportunity where I could get involved and to do something and work locally. As a foreigner, I have seen it is very hard for me to get a job. Because my

Swedish is not very good so when I have applied for jobs, I don't even get a response from most places. I only got a job through personal contacts.

Jonas: I am open to any type of volunteering experience because it is also very useful for me because I get to do things that I don't have any experience of. It is also a good learning experience for me to meet a lot of people. I also want my exposure in life to new experiences.

For Jonas, the motivation to volunteer was closely related to integrate in society, and are thus an investment in his own well-being. This is in line with Yin Yap, Byrne and Davidson's (2010) findings.

The sections below will explore the concepts of active citizenship and social capital in relation to both the volunteers' motivations, and their own socio-economical background and social capital.

4.2. Active citizenship and motivations

The section will cover the participant's views on active citizenship, what motivates them to volunteer with supporting refugees, and the duality between the benefits to the society and the benefits for themselves.

The British volunteers' answers about their attitude about active citizenship and motivations had two sides to it: the willingness to help out as a society, and the tangible benefits they themselves get from it. Most of the volunteers in the United Kingdom expressed their motivation to volunteer as 'dual.' On the one hand they enjoy the work they do because it is the 'right' action, but on the other hand, it gives them tangible benefits in the form of social capital as described above, but also in the form of RÉSUMÉ-enhancing experiences.

George, through his involvement in a sports-based organisation, did not see how his involvement in this organisation would make it easier for him to advance his career. Shaun expressively said he was not a careerist. George could though see how universities wants their students to engage with volunteering:

George: My problem with the volunteering that is pushed through universities, is that it is obviously pushed as RÉSUMÉ-building stuff, and not that we as privileged people should give our time.

Two things about this statement are interesting. The first is related to social capital in the previous section in how he described his own situation as a privileged one. The other

interesting point he makes is how universities promote volunteering as way to get work experience and skills training. From this statement, it seems that he does not think that volunteering should be about personal gain. Instead, it should come from a benevolent place where he as a privileged individual should help those who are in need, which shows his own perceived position in society as well, as a person who is privileged. This type of involvement in volunteering do give the student's the benefits of having work-place like experience, but it does not necessarily promote active citizenship (Warburton and Smith, 2003).

A common theme throughout the interviews when talking about their volunteering, was to emphasise the difference between volunteering and paid work. Although the work that is being done within this kind of organisations could be a paid position, there are still benefits from it being voluntary. Sinead said:

Sinead: If [the third sector] had the money to pay everyone and it had this corporate nature to it, then it wouldn't be the same sector.

Sinead's perception is that volunteering and the third sector are detached from the corporate world. Regardless of how bigger third sector organisations work on a higher level, her *perception* is that volunteering is different from paid work in big corporations.

In addition to giving an alternative from the government responds to the situation for refugees, Sinead also expressed her sense of 'giving back' to the society through volunteering:

Sinead: I'm a believer in giving back when you can and sort of if you have a certain amount of privilege that you can share with other people, so I think that very blessed that I am in this situation where I can study and live without needing to work right now. Because I have free time, I think that it just makes sense to give back to the society that you have grown up in that you are very lucky to have grown up in a system where that is your reality.

From what the British volunteers have said about their views on participating in voluntary activities, there seems to be a connection between civic participation and social capital. Having the time to volunteer, instead of earning money, is a class issue as not everyone is in the position to give up their time freely. It almost suggests that active citizenship is something that only those who are rich in economic capital can engage in.

When speaking about tangible benefits from volunteering, the British volunteers were fully aware of the benefits volunteering gives such as RÉSUMÉ-building or acquiring skills that are useful in a work environment:

George: I helped organise a fund-raiser and I used that as an example in a job interview. Undeniably, that will come up, but that never figured in the motivation to get involved.

Despite of George saying earlier that volunteering is a task that only those who are privileged can engage in, he does benefit from it. He can, through his access to different types of capital, mobilise it to gain more capital (Bourdieu, 1980 in Field, 2013:16). The participation in voluntary activities are classed and those from a background rich in social capital benefit from it.

Further, Eve and Sinead framed their motivations and reasons for volunteering in general as:

Eve: I think it's helpful to have different kind of experiences and through volunteering you can demonstrate that. Probably in a more in an accessible way than through different kind of jobs. When you're just out of uni, it's difficult to gain the experiences that employers are looking for.

Sinead: Especially in the next couple of years, so it's definitely something that is about grabbing all the skills you can get, and by volunteering you can get a lot of skills for free.

The motivations of the Swedish volunteers were less inclined to speak about volunteering as having personal benefits and more about their personal convictions. When asked about their personal benefits from volunteering, they all talked about the rewards of volunteering in terms of 'feeling good' for helping out. Siv's answer to the question if she thinks volunteering will look good on her résumé, was:

Siv: I guess so. I know this will sound cheesy, but I just love volunteering!

She does acknowledge that she will gain skills from it, such as speaking in front of people. After this, she said that since she was seven years old, she had wanted to work for the United Nations. As such, there has been an interest from her part in questions regarding international matters, but she did not disclose or make the connection herself that volunteering would be a way to foster such a career path, or, she did not admit that she had.

Britta, on the question of what she benefits from volunteering, answered:

Britta: I get enriched! I don't give, I *receive* so much! This is a win-win situation, my friend gets to take part in the Swedish society and I get so much knowledge about the world and the problems my friend has. I become more erudite!

When asked if there were any tangible benefits, like résumé building experiences, she said she did not have any thoughts like that at all. Because of her executive position at work she is involved in recruitment processes, which means that she often reads applicant's résumés. When asked about what she would think if she read a résumé of a person that had volunteering experiences, she answered that she would see that as a positive. She would not privilege that fact over professional qualifications, but if the choice was between two people with the same qualifications level, she would prioritise the person with volunteering experience. This shows how volunteering can have the function of a type of capital that could potentially be beneficial for finding a job, just as how volunteering enables the individual to accumulate capital in the form of experience.

Axel expressed that for him it is important to participate directly with people, rather than donating money or engaging with organisations who do their work abroad. Axel elaborated on this and said:

Axel: It's important that we create a society where people feel a responsibility to help out. If you need to pay people, that means that they have failed to make people feel responsible to help out and to make a better society. The money is not the problem, the money is just a result of the failure in making people to feel an urge to contribute [to society].

Axel elaborated further on this:

Axel: Integration is something that we all have to do together. That is something that has to do with our attitude towards refugees, and everybody has a responsibility to help them to integrate with society. It won't work that we isolate themselves from us and think that the state will take care of the integration. That won't work.

For him, being an active citizen and not letting the state take care of the integration process, as he thinks that the integration is something that happens between people, and not through a document or passport. His view on integration is more in line with Young's (1989) view on integration: seeing people for who they are is better than through arbitrary cultural conceptions around citizenship.

Swedish volunteering has been characterised in the literature as membership-based (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003; Amnå, 2014; Tranvik and Selle, 2007). This was confirmed when Amanda Windolf at Individuell Människohjälp expressed that they prefer that their volunteers also become members of the organisation. Britta mentioned that she also was a paying member of Individuell Människohjälp, and gave them an extra bit of money on occasion.

4.3. Volunteering and social capital

This section will discuss what the participants revealed about themselves in more detail, and especially how their background and family may have had an impact on their involvement in voluntary activities. This will also be analysed through a perspective of the different types of capital.

The purpose of this study is to explore what the relationship between society and the individual's motivations to volunteer. One way of exploring this is through the social situation the individual is located in, and more specifically, how family and friend groups might affect behaviour through social capital, as outlined in chapter 2, section 2.2. The volunteers in Sweden and those in the United Kingdom are different from each other when it comes to their relationship to volunteering, which will be shown below.

The British volunteers all expressed a direct connection to volunteering, either through a perceived overall societal pressure to volunteer or through direct affiliation with it through their family. For some of them, their involvement with refugees was their first volunteering engagement, although that they felt that volunteering was present in their life. Sinead expressed that she never volunteered before, but felt that pressure to do so from both a perceived 'society' and her family:

Sinead: I think with society, if you got free time then you should be doing something productive. I think that there's that expectation. I think I remember when I finished university and I had six months off, my dad would constantly say to me that I should do volunteering, that I should look into opportunities that are nearby, just do something with your time, be productive, add it to your CV.

She also said that neither of her parents had done volunteering themselves, but that her mother had a charity who probably had volunteers in it. This might suggest that her family had access to cultural capital. Her father had always worked and as far as she knew, he had not volunteered himself. Her father telling her to volunteer was thus not informed of his own

personal conviction to volunteer, but rather from a place of societal conviction that informed him to say this. This also suggest that she comes from a family with economical capital that enabled her to take six months off without being required to find a job during that time.

George had previously been a youth leader for camping trips organized by a summer camp that he had himself attended as a child, which also suggested a fair amount of social and cultural capital. He also acknowledged that the fact that both his parents had previously worked abroad with foreign aid as medical doctors, might have informed his choice, or rather, his 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1997), to volunteer:

George: It's part of an outlook on life, perhaps, that obviously they have influenced me and my brothers in terms of what you should be doing with your life, as opposed of just making money and instead do things for social good.

Even though they were not volunteers, they were paid, it shares the characteristic and ethos of volunteering of helping out where need be.

Shaun had a similar experience from his family, where his father was a local politician and his mother was involved in the Irish language movement in Northern Ireland. He also said that they sometimes went to protests for certain causes, which has probably influenced him:

Shaun: I was never told to do it, but you see it, you see people around you giving up time to support a cause, and that will probably rub off on you.

Shaun is probably a person who is rich in social capital and social resources, which can be explained by his parent's involvement in politics and culture, which in turn can explain his own involvement with volunteering (Häuberer, 2014).

In the cases of George and Shaun, there is a connection between social capital and volunteering. Both of them assume that their parents have informed their choices to volunteer. The 'ethos' of helping out seems to have been passed down from George's and Shaun's parents to themselves through the 'domestic transmission' of capital (Bourdieu 1997:107). The willingness to volunteer can in their case be that it is part of their 'habitus.' It is normal (and perhaps expected) for them to volunteer, and they have received the tools and ethos to volunteer, or in some other capacity to be involved in the society (Wilson and Musick, 1997:695-6).

George and Shaun thus had a familial link to be engaged with their community and to volunteer, which has been imbued in this tradition through their parents. Eve and Sheila did not have such a direct and tangible link to volunteering like George and Shaun had. Sheila's grandmother used to work in social services and volunteered after retirement. No one in Eve's family had volunteered before that she knew of.

One interesting comment was how George described the sports based organisation he volunteers for having overcome the class divide, despite that previous research have found that especially sports related organisations exclude those without access to social and cultural capital (Storr and Spaaij, 2017). He said:

George: I was pleasantly surprised to see how many working class Glaswegians that are involved in the club, because often with these things, for whatever reason, it tends to be well-meaning middle-class people, like myself, who get involved, but this organisation seems to have attracted people across the class division in Glasgow.

Perhaps sports based organisations that are involved with refugees are fundamentally different in that many of the volunteers' focus is more on the act of playing football. By engaging with an activity that the volunteers would have engaged with anyway, and that is a popular pastime, it bypasses the usual social capital threshold that many volunteering opportunities create. The refugees are also on the same level as the British volunteers, and as such, there is no benevolence directed towards the refugees. In this organisation, all participants are the same.

Due to the sampling, all British volunteers in this study are postgraduate students at the University of Glasgow. Engaging with academic studies might be indicative of a middle-class background, but this does not in any way reflect on their past or upbringing, only on their current position. It is feasible that that they are the first ones in their family to attend university. Whatever their background is, gaining access to university studies does increase the accumulation of social and cultural capital (Archer, 2003). Sinead and Shaun both credited a volunteering meeting at the university as the starting point for them to start volunteering. Thus, the access to the university itself was the important factor for them to volunteer. As such, the university might work as a gateway into volunteering through creating connections, and as such, enabling students to gain more social capital.

The Swedish volunteers are a more diverse group than the British volunteers in regard to ethnicity and age. They also do not have the same experiences with volunteering and family members who volunteers. None of the Swedish volunteers expressed that their family have been involved with voluntary activities when they grew up. But three of them probably have a high degree of social capital due to other factors. Britta have an executive position at her workplace. A career, and especially those in executive positions are probably richer in social resources than those who do not, because they have access to information and resources, and possibly career sponsorship, through their social capital (Seibert, Kraimer and Liden, 2001). This is in line with Bourdieu's thesis that social capital is the mobiliser for other types of capital, and those with social capital are more successful (Bourdieu, 1980 cited in Field, 2013:16). Further, Britta also said that volunteering in a befriending group was a way for her to meet new people, and 'get enriched' from it. It is possible that she volunteers because she is rich in social resources (Häuberer, 2014).

Although Siv's family did not volunteer when she grew up, she did share, anecdotally, that her family volunteer now:

Siv: None of us knew really that we were all volunteering, then we sat down at the dinner table. We have very different schedules so we rarely eat together. I said something about my volunteering with refugees, and then my sister said: 'I'm doing the same kind of thing!' and then my mom said: 'I also started volunteering' and my dad had also started! So, everybody had started but no one had said anything!

She also described her family as always discussing politics and current affairs at the dinner table when growing up. This might suggest that her parents, in extension her as well, have an inclination towards involvement in current affairs and, as seen in the quote above, volunteering. She also said that her sister is attending university, and was previously on exchange studies at the London School of Economics, which further suggest that her family have access to different types of capital.

Bridging connections, as defined by Putnam (2000) where connections outside of your family and close friend-circles are made, are achieved through volunteering, would seem like one way of accumulating more social capital. But, as Häuberer (2014) points out, volunteering and creating bridging connections are most prevalent with those who are already rich in social resources. This could suggest that the Swedish volunteers are rich in

social resources, due to the very fact that they do volunteer. Thus, coming from a background with rich stocks of social capital *enables* volunteering.

Jonas's situation is different from Britta's and Siv's. He migrated to Sweden from his home country and had difficulties with the Swedish language. In line with the other Swedish volunteers, he said that the main reason for him to volunteers is:

Jonas: It is also a good learning experience for me to meet a lot of people. I also want exposure in life to new experiences.

This is in line with what Yin Yap, Byrne and Davidson's (2010) study where refugees use volunteering as a way of learning about their new country and to get working experience. Of course, he will also benefit from the bridging connections that, hopefully, will be made through his volunteering.

The lack of family members for Axel, Britta, and Jonas, who are involved in voluntary activities in the Swedish volunteers, can be attributed to how Swedish politics have not historically endorsed volunteering (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). Another variable to consider for the Swedish volunteers is how the demography of Stockholm impacted on the sample. If the sample would have been from a post-industrial city, like Gothenburg or Malmö, or from a rural area, the education levels and professions might have differed. However, it is possible that the sample would be similar as the type of person who volunteers are those already rich in social resources (Häuberer, 2014).

Even within this small sample, more British volunteers had family involved in volunteering than the Swedish participants. One possible factor for this difference between the British and the Swedish volunteers, is the politics surrounding social services that started in the 1960s, where the Seebom and Aves reports concluded that volunteering was beneficial for society as it could help people into the work (Howlett, 2008), but also to save money (Whelan, 1999). This continued in the 1990s, the Labour party further endorsed volunteering as a way to engage younger generations in the society through different programs to increase their engagement and foster an inclusive society (Blair, 1996).

4.4. Discussion

When speaking about the personal benefits that the participants get from volunteering, there were definitive differences between the British and the Swedish volunteers. The British

participants did say that it was rewarding to ‘help out’ and to feel needed. A few of them said that volunteering was a way to improve their résumé. Even those participants who did not see how it could help their résumé, understood how it can work as a way to improve people’s chances to find a job. Other who were interested in careers that are closely linked to welfare, policies, and equality and human rights, so their engagement in supporting refugees might have a tangible impact on their future careers.

The Swedish volunteers does not think of their engagement as a way to improve their résumé or their chances to find a job. This is not to say that the British volunteers are *only* interested in the career-building elements of volunteering. As Handy *et al.* (2010) pointed out, those who are interested in volunteering because of egotistical reasons are less likely to stay in volunteering, which in turn would minimise individuals with such views in voluntary organisations. Instead, the motivations to volunteer should be understood as a combination of altruistic, egotistical, and social reasons (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Dolnicar and Randle, 2007; Treuren, 2014). However, it seems that the Swedish and the British volunteers overall are on different places on these spectrums.

Even though the present political refugee crisis is a relatively new phenomenon, the organisation Individuell Människohjälp was founded back in 1936 (Individuell Människohjälp, n.d.), which is just at the start of the period where volunteering organisations in Sweden started to integrate into the state apparatus (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). This explains how a new phenomenon, as the refugee crisis, takes the form of the traditional types of volunteering that exists in Sweden at Individuell Människohjälp, because they are such an old organisation. None of the British volunteers mentioned any types of memberships in the organisations they volunteer at.

An overall theme when the participants have been talking about why they have chosen to engage with supporting refugees, had been in reference to the political refugee crisis in 2015. Axel, as stated in the section above, believes that integration can only be done through participation of the individuals rather than relying on the state to take care of integration. In terms of people helping out because of the refugee crisis, he referred to a news article he had read that said that the Swedish engagement peaked during 2015 but had dropped significantly a year later. Inizio, the company in charge of the study, states that those who think Sweden should allow entry for more refugees to Sweden has decreased from 31% to 13%, and those who think Sweden should allow entry to fewer refugees have risen from 34%

to 60% (Inizio, 2016). However, this study does not show whether or not people are less engaged in supporting refugees, it only shows people's attitudes.

There is also a slight difference in how the volunteers in the two countries choose to frame their motivation. In Sweden, Britta, Axel, and Siv, all said that they think it is important for them *personally* to become involved to help out after the refugee crisis. With the British volunteers, the conversations were more about how it is important for *everyone* to become involved in helping out after the refugee crisis. The British volunteers' focus was thus more from the perspective of what the society should do as a whole, rather than what they as individuals should do. The Swedish volunteers' motivations come from a place of the individual in the centre, and the British volunteers express their motivation from a collectivistic point of view. Although, the difference in how the volunteers chose to frame their motivation might be due to language norms and usage. It is possible that the British volunteers share the view of the Swedish volunteers on their motivations, but being modest in their intentions are the norm, or that the Swedish volunteers feel that they cannot speak for a whole community.

A person from Sweden would possibly choose to volunteer because it is in congruence with their personal values and beliefs. A person from the United Kingdom would perhaps engage in voluntary activities because they do feel it is the 'right' thing to do, but also because it has tangible benefits, as résumé-building and work experience.

5. Conclusion

The findings suggest that most volunteers framed their volunteering in supporting refugees in relation to the political refugee crisis in 2015. This relation was clearer for the Swedish volunteers, while the British volunteers framed their motivations in relation to a general desire to help out. In a broader perspective, the British volunteers were aware of the tangible benefits that volunteering had, like acquiring skills and experiences that would be beneficial for their future careers. The Swedish volunteers did not express that they would benefit from volunteering in their career.

There was a strong relationship between having social capital and volunteering, which was most clearly demonstrated by the British volunteers. Two of the British volunteers explicitly said that their parents' involvement in politics and relief work had probably influenced their volunteering. The other British volunteers had family members who volunteer as well. Other factors, such as being able to take six months off and not work, might suggest that at least some of the British volunteers have access to different types of capital. Of the Swedish volunteers, only one participant had family members who also volunteered. It has been suggested that having social capital is a prerequisite to volunteer, because the individual has knowledge and the ability to mobilise other types of capital. Thus, volunteers might be volunteering because they are already rich in social resources.

The differences between the two countries can be attributed to how the countries have framed the concept of active citizenship. The Swedish state chose to incorporate volunteering organisations into the state apparatus or promote leisure activities (Lundström and Svedberg, 2003). If the Swedish social services have always been carried out through the state, then there has never been an opportunity, or need, to volunteer to the same degree as it seems to have been in the United Kingdom. British politics have instead encouraged volunteering because it is believed to foster active citizenship, which in turn has positive effects on the wider community.

5.1. Limitations

As the two groups of volunteers in this study constituted of people from different demographics, the comparison between the two is difficult to make. It would have been beneficial if the two groups were more homogenous so that the differences could more easily be attributed to the countries, rather than the differences between the two groups.

The difference in how the volunteers chose to frame their motivations and views on the political refugee crisis could also be reduced to language, reflecting the way that Swedish and English is spoken. It is possible that Swedish is more often spoken from a first-person perspective, while English is perhaps spoken from a collective 'we.' Also, the fact that some interviews have been translated might also infer on the ability to make comparisons between them, as translation adds a second layer of subjectivity in which the researcher's subjectivity might influence the translation.

At the onset of this dissertation, social capital and the socio-economic background of the volunteers were of less interest. However, over the course of the analysis of the data, it became apparent that social capital was in fact a strong variable in terms of volunteering. In hindsight, more questions regarding the background of the volunteers might have given this dissertation more depth.

5.2. Future research

Future studies in this area could capture information related to the socio-economic background of participants. This could be done using a quantitative methodological element and would allow conclusions to be drawn in relation to this potential relationship.

For future studies, in terms of the British volunteers, it would be interesting to do a comparison of the levels of volunteering between young volunteers and their parents' generation. The parents of participants were probably born around the 1960s or 1970s, when the volunteering culture started to emerge in the United Kingdom, and as such, would have been part of that culture. They would have entered their professional lives before the late 1990s, though, where the second increase of volunteering was promoted by the Labour government. Perhaps a future study could consider the short and medium term impact of New Labour's renewed interest and promotion of civic participation on volunteering levels.

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Appendices

Appendix A

CSS/REV2/MAY13



Ethics Committee for Non Clinical Research Involving Human Subjects

NOTIFICATION OF ETHICS APPLICATION OUTCOME – UG and PGT Applications

Application Type: New **Date Application Reviewed:** 11/5/17
Application Number: SPS/2017/7/SOCIAL SCIENCE
Applicant's Name: David Bomark
Project Title: volunteers in migration, Sweden and Scotland

APPLICATION OUTCOME

(A) Fully Approved *Start Date of Approval: 5/6/17* *End Date of Approval: 30/9/17*

(B) Approved subject to amendments
If the applicant has been given approval subject to amendments this means they can proceed with their data collection with effect from the date of approval, however they should note the following applies to their application:

Approved Subject to Amendments without the need to submit amendments to the Supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>
Approved Subject to Amendments made to the satisfaction of the applicant's Supervisor	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

The College Ethics Committee expects the applicant to act responsibly in addressing the recommended amendments.

(C) Application is Not Approved at this Time

Amendments must be made to the satisfaction of the School Ethics Forum (SEF)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Complete resubmission required. Discuss the application with supervisor before resubmitting.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please note the comments in the section below and provide further information where requested.

If you have been asked to resubmit your application in full, send it to your supervisor who will forward it to your local School Ethics Forum admin support staff.

Where resubmissions only need to be submitted to an applicant's supervisor.

This will apply to essential items that an applicant must address prior to ethics approval being granted. As the associated research ethics risks are considered to be low, the applicant's response need only be reviewed and cleared by the applicant's supervisor before the research can properly begin. For any application processed under this outcome, it is the Supervisor's responsibility to email socpol-ug-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk with confirmation of their approval of the re-submitted application.

APPLICATION COMMENTS

Major Recommendations:

Please supply evidence of permission from the Scottish organisation from whom you will be interviewing volunteers.

Minor Recommendations:

University of Glasgow
College of Social Sciences Research Office
Florentine House, 53 Hillhead Street, Glasgow G12 8QF
The University of Glasgow, charity number SC004401

Appendix B

Interview Topic Guide

The introduction part has the function of both creating rapport with the participant. The questions then move towards questions regarding volunteering with migrants, to conclude with questions regarding volunteering and society.

As the interviews will be semi-structured interviews, the questions are indicative of the questions that will be asked, and as such, they might not be expressed as written here or in this order. Italics indicate prompts for the interviewer depending on the answer that the participant gives.

Introduction

- Greet and welcome the participant
- Explain the study and ensure that the Participant Information Sheet has been read and understood
- Explain that the participant can choose to not partake in this study at any time, without any questions asked
- Ensure that the Consent Form has been signed and seek consent to record the interview

Introductory questions

- Name
- What kind of volunteering do you do? *What organisation(s)?*
- Any other volunteering commitments?
- What do you do when you are not volunteering? *Working, studies?*

Volunteering with migrants

- Why did you choose to volunteer with migrants specifically?
- What was your expectations on volunteering with migrants, comparing to the reality of it?

The personal

- What are your thoughts about what you contribute when volunteering, to the organisation and society?
- What are the **personal** or **practical** benefits that *you* get from volunteering? *What does it give you? Status? Make you feel good about yourself? To increase job opportunities?*

Volunteering and society

- Do you have friends and family who are engaged in volunteering? *What kind of volunteering do they do?*
- Do you feel there is an expectation to volunteer, from e.g. friends, family, or society?
- Do you think volunteering has an important role in society? *If so, what is that role? If it is important, should volunteers be paid?*

Conclusion

- Is there anything you want to add that you feel is important that we have not spoken about?
- Do you have any questions?



College of Social
Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

Name of Project: The Motivations of volunteers in Migration in Scotland and Sweden

Researcher: David Bomark (MSc Sociology)

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

The purpose of this study is to look into if there are any differences in motivations for volunteering in Scotland and Sweden, and to understand why these differ, if they differ at all. Working with migrants have been chosen because it is topical and a relatively new phenomenon.

For this study, five to six participants in each country will be interviewed about their motivations, and in particular, why they chose to volunteer for an organisation working with migrants.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. To do so, contact details can be found at the bottom of this document.

The interview will be held at a secure location and will be recorded to later be transcribed. Audio recordings will only be used when transcribing the interview and will after that be deleted. The interview will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes.

Your identity will be kept confidential, your name will not be present in the results, instead, pseudonyms will be used. The transcribed interviews will not contain your real name. After this study is over, all source-material will be destroyed, only the dissertation, where the interview has been anonymised, will be present. The dissertation will be available at the University of Glasgow, online and in physical form.

Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies. Also, please note that confidentiality may not be guaranteed; due to the limited size of the participant sample.

The study has been approved by the College of Social Science Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow.

For further information, contact David Bomark at 2280345B@student.gla.ac.uk, Dr. Teresa Piacentini (supervisor) at Teresa.Piacentini@glasgow.ac.uk.

If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of this research project, you can contact the School of Social and Political Sciences Ethics Officer Professor Keith Kintrea, email: socpol-pgt-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk.



College of Social
Sciences

Informationsblad för deltagare

Projektets namn: Motivationen hos volontärer i Skottland och i Sverige

Forskare: David Bomark (MSc Sociology)

Du har blivit inbjuden att delta i en studie. Innan du bestämmer dig för att delta så är det viktigt att du förstår varför denna forskning görs och vad det involverar. Var vänlig och läs följande information noggrant och diskutera det med andra om du så önskar. Fråga mig om det är något som inte är tydligt eller om du vill ha mer information. Ta tid på dig att bestämma om du vill delta eller inte.

Tack för att du läser detta.

Syftet med denna studie är att undersöka om det finns några skillnader i motivationen för volontärbete i Skottland och i Sverige, och att förstå varför dessa kanske skiljer sig åt. Volontärbete inom migration och integration har valts då det är ett aktuellt ämne och är ett relativt nytt fenomen.

För denna studie kommer fem till sex deltagare i varje land att intervjuas om deras motivation varför de valt att engagera sig i en organisation som arbetar med migranter och integration.

Det är upp till dig om du vill delta eller ej. Om du bestämmer dig för att delta så är du fri att dra dig ur när du vill utan att motivera detta beslut. Om du vill göra detta, mina kontaktuppgifter finns i nedkant på detta dokument.

Intervjun kommer att hållas på en säker plats och kommer att spelas in för att sedan bli transkriberad. Ljudinspelningen kommer bara att användas för transkriberingen och kommer efter detta raderas. Intervjun kommer att ta ungefär 30 minuter.

Din identitet kommer att skyddas, ditt namn kommer inte finnas med i resultaten, en pseudonym kommer istället att användas. Transkriberingen kommer inte att innehålla ditt namn. När studien är över kommer all rådata att raderas, endast uppsatsen kommer att finnas kvar där intervjun har anonymiserats. Uppsatsen kommer att finnas tillgänglig online och i pappersform vid University of Glasgow.

Observera att sekretessen kommer att hållas strikt om inte allvarliga hot eller potentiell fara för andra upptäcks. Om så skulle ske, universitetet kan bli skyldiga att kontakta lämpliga myndigheter. Notera att din identitet inte kan garanteras vara konfidentiell då urvalsgruppen är liten.

Denna studie har blivit godkänd av College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee vid University of Glasgow.

För mer information, kontakta David Bomark på 2280345B@student.gla.ac.uk, Dr. Teresa Piacentini (handledare) på Teresa.Piacentini@glasgow.ac.uk.

Om du har några frågor kring hur denna studie har utförts så kan du kontakta School of Social and Political Sciences Ethics Officer Professor Keith Kintrea, epost: socpol-pgt-ethics@glasgow.ac.uk.

Appendix E



College of Social
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Consent Form

Title of Project: The Motivations of Volunteers in Migration in Scotland and Sweden

Name of Researcher: David Bomark

Name of Supervisor: Dr. Teresa Piacentini

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

I consent to the interview being audio recorded and that interviews will be transcribed and kept in a secure location.

I acknowledge that my name will not be present and that a pseudonym will be used.

I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant Signature

Date

Name of Researcher Signature

Date

Appendix F



College of Social
Sciences

Medgivande

Projektets titel: Motivationen hos volontärer i Skottland och i Sverige

Forskarens namn: David Bomark

Handledarens namn: Dr. Teresa Piacentini

Jag bekräftar att jag har läst och förstått *Informationsblad för deltagare* för ovanstående studie och har haft möjlighet att ställa frågor.

Jag förstår att mitt deltagande är frivillig och att jag fri att dra mig ur studien när jag vill utan att ge någon motivering för detta.

Jag godkänner att intervjun spelas in och att intervjun kommer att transkriberas och kommer att förvaras på ett säkert ställe.

Jag förstår att mitt namn inte kommer vara med i studien, en pseudonym kommer istället att användas.

Jag samtycker / samtycker inte (ringa in det som stämmer) att vara med i denna studie.

Namn på deltagare Signatur

Datum

Namn på forskare Signatur

Datum