



Social Capital Among Volunteers

A case study on the collective action of international volunteers during Europe's refugee crisis

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Author: Emma Södergren Wall

Supervisor: Frederike Albrecht

Development Studies

Department of Government, Uppsala University

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Abstract

This study is based on theories on how social capital can lead to collective action in the case of the international volunteers active during Europe's refugee crisis. The purpose of the study is to investigate if previous research on social capital can explain why people came together from different countries to support the people seeking refuge in Europe in late year 2015 and early year 2016. Thus, the study is based on a theory-consuming method, using triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis to determine if the volunteers' levels of social networks or social trust can explain the action that was taken in this specific case. The results show that the volunteers studied in this paper have high levels of social capital, in regards to both social trust and social networks through the quantitative analysis. The high levels of activity in social networks were furthermore confirmed through the qualitative analysis of the volunteers' own comments to why they decided to volunteer. The conclusions are that the volunteers are showing signs of creating bridging social capital between them through the activity in their social networks, that the higher levels of trust in other people shown in the results can help them to over-come collective action problems, and that the hypothesis of that high levels of social capital should have facilitated collective action also in this specific case is considered confirmed for the volunteers responding to the survey.

Key words: Collective action, volunteer, social capital, social networks, social trust

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1. Introduction

Understanding why individuals act in certain ways has been a driver for much of the research undertaken within the field of social science (Teorell & Svensson 2007:10). In situations where a group of people are seeking a common interest, we can begin to talk of theories related to collective action, and the social dilemmas that can appear in these situations (Ostrom 2010:155). For example, according to rational choice theory, where individuals weigh the costs and the benefits of their actions, actors will not contribute unless they have something to gain (Ostrom 1997:2; Wilson 2000:222f). However, there are situations when these ideas could be considered challenged. Volunteerism is one phenomenon where individuals choose to contribute to a cause, although, without receiving financial or material profit (ibid.:215). Thus, the definition of the term *volunteer* refers to a person who offers to perform a service, without receiving financial gain for doing so. Charitable giving is nothing unusual, in essence not in states with high socioeconomic standard (Wang & Graddy 2008:25), and volunteering to support the local community or other groups and initiatives that the individual at some point might benefit from herself (including paying taxes) has been researched thoroughly. I argue that more studies of volunteering as collective action could still be undertaken for the sake of continued possibilities for generalisation, and an integrated theory on volunteering has still not developed (Cnaan, Handy & Hustinx 2010:410).

Nonetheless, the past year we have seen a rise in a volunteer movement that has stretched beyond the regional borders that we would normally benefit within, as previously described. The international reaction to the flow of people seeking refuge in Europe, here referred to as *the refugee crisis* as described by Human Rights Watch (2015), has gone beyond local, regional, or national action. Before many of the organisations had mobilised, volunteers started coming in from countries all over the world to support the basic needs of the refugees. The reaction developed into an international civic movement for humanitarian action. Leading to the question: Why did this movement come to occur? There are different theories which could explain this reaction. One example, which I have heard several times, is the one clearly explained by Carmen Fishwick for The Guardian (2016):

“When three-year-old Alan Kurdi’s lifeless body washed up on a Turkish beach not far from holidaymakers, Europe’s refugee crisis took on a new urgency. For those not already close to the growing disaster, this tragic image propelled people into action. Frustrated by a lack of effective government response, ordinary people filled cars and transit vans with supplies, tents and secondhand clothes and set out to Europe’s borders, determined to help.”

Many people took action, before the death of Alan Kurdi, and even more so afterwards. However, many others who also saw the picture chose not to act, leading me to think that there has to be other, underlying factors that could explain the motivation to help. Some decided to help in their local communities, and others decided to support the refugees in the way described by Fishwick. This paper will focus on the ordinary people, mentioned by Fishwick. The volunteers who went a step further, who went outside their local communities and their social context to help. It aims to investigate why this action was taken, and what the difference is between those who decided to act in this way and those who did not. The theoretical lens used in this paper will be the one of social capital theory, since it already has strong connections to other cases of voluntary work and charitable giving. This connection will be described and more thoroughly investigated further on.

The research question of this paper will thus be in two parts, with a main question (1), and a sub-question (2) which will be investigated to provide deeper understanding for the differences between people who volunteer internationally in comparison to the general public:

- 1. To what extent can social capital theory explain why individuals decided to undertake volunteer work away from their own local context during the refugee crisis?*
- 2. In what ways can social capital help explain why some people choose to volunteer, whilst others do not?*

1.1 Purpose of the Study

While volunteering with refugees arriving to Europe myself, I noticed a question often raised between the volunteers, which was: Why did you decide to volunteer with refugees coming to Europe? The answers vary to a great extent. This made me curious, in regards to why certain individuals decided to come and volunteer, and what differentiate these people from others who did not go. This study aims to find out why individuals decide to volunteer internationally in

the case of Europe's refugee crisis, and if there is a distinction between the international volunteers who were active during that crisis and the general public in their countries of origin. This study is undertaken in order to understand the occurrence of this humanitarian movement to a greater extent. The survey created for this study furthermore investigates motives for volunteering, through structured questions related to social capital, and open questions where the respondents were given the chance to explain their view of why they decided to volunteer during the refugee crisis. Studying theories on volunteering led to finding strong connections between volunteerism and social capital (Uslaner 1999:33; Uslaner 2004:228; Putnam 2001:7). It made me think of who the people that created this movement of humanitarian action are and what made them go to volunteer.

The purpose of this study is three-fold: Firstly, it aims to consume former theories on social capital, stating that individuals need social ties to a situation for them to act collectively without obvious gain. Secondly, to understand what differentiate the individuals who decided to volunteer internationally during the refugee crisis from the general population in their countries of origin, and thirdly, to find out if social capital was part of what motivated the individuals to volunteer. The reason for studying the international volunteer movement during the refugee crisis through the lens of social capital theory is due to it being a reoccurring theory consumed in several studies on collective action and volunteering (Uslaner & Brown 2005; Putnam 2000; Aldrich 2011a). The studies have shown that trust has a greater effect on civic engagement than the other way around (Uslaner & Brown 2005:890), that social networks encourage recruitment for doing good and norms of reciprocity (Putnam 2000:117), and that social capital is a strong indicator for self-organisation for community recovery (Aldrich 2011a:606). However, the difference between this case and previous research is that there is not much research undertaken on international volunteer work during an on-going crisis, which is why this study aims to investigate whether findings from previous research apply to this new case. Thus, making this case relevant from the perspective of empirical relevance, when aiming to gain greater knowledge on the underlying motivations for this type of international collective action. The scientific contribution is to make an in-depth study of a recent, empirical case of collective action. As explained by Ostrom (1997:3), there are several active research programs investigating how problems of collective action have overcome.

The goal with this research is to gain greater knowledge of who the volunteers are, hence investigating what differentiates them from people in general in their countries of origin, and what motivates them to achieve collective action, studied through the lens of social capital theory. Thus, to understand if different indicators for social capital can be explanatory factors of why some individuals chose to volunteer in this case, when the general population did not make the same choice.

1.2 Disposition

This paper first describes the background to the case study, and moves on to relevant research on social capital. Furthermore, the study goes deeper into the areas of social networks and social trust, and demonstrates the connection between social capital and voluntary work as collective action. After presenting the theoretical argument, the methods used for collection of data and analysis are described, where the survey created for this study is presented and explained. It investigates motives for volunteering among the respondents, and aims to see if social capital variables can explain why collective action came to occur, and the difference between those who went to volunteer during the refugee crisis and the overall population in their home-countries. The results are discussed and analysed, and the study concludes with confirming the hypothesis and giving suggestions on further research.

2. Background

2.1 Europe's Refugee Crisis

The refugee crisis in Europe in 2015 has been referred to as “the continent’s worst humanitarian crisis since the second world war” (Jeffery et. al. 2015). In 2015 the European Union had nearly 1.3 million asylum applications, which is more than double the amount of applications from the previous year (Eurostat 2016). However, German officials say that Germany alone received over one million migrants in 2015 (BBC 2016), thus the numbers of arrivals in the European countries were higher than the number of asylum applications. Frontex has estimated the numbers of people crossing into Europe in 2015 to be 1.8 million people (ibid.). Most of the migrants arrived through the Western Balkan route, going from Turkey, across the Aegean Sea to Greece, through the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and continues towards the north-west (Jeffery et. al. 2015). The borders along the route opened and closed during 2015

and the beginning of 2016 and the people seeking refuge got stuck in between. Al Jazeera's Dan McLaughlin (2015) describes the situation in September 2015 as:

“In the ensuing chaos, EU members and other nations in the Balkans have spasmodically opened and closed frontiers and scrapped and tightened border controls. Hungary has built a 13-foot-high fence along its 109-mile border with Serbia and is extending it along the border with Croatia.

Major aid agencies like the Red Cross, Doctors Without Borders and the UNHCR, the United Nations refugee agency, are mounting relief efforts, but some of the quickest responders along the Balkan route have been civilian volunteers.

In addition to locals who have helped out in their cities or areas, young Europeans are venturing across the region to provide urgent, direct and sometimes essential help to struggling refugees.”

The response of volunteers during the refugee crisis in Europe consisted of a wide range of actions, from helping the migrants with food, water, and clothes to medical attention and sea-rescue operations, whilst the European leaders were trying to find solutions for the crisis (Goroya, Dhala & Hayes 2015). The volunteers and smaller aid organisations have gathered both human and financial resources to fill the aid-gaps that have affected the people trying to seek refuge in northern Europe (Human Rights Watch 2015; Löffler & McVeigh 2016).

2.2 A Case Study of the Collective Action of Volunteers during the Refugee Crisis

Human Rights Watch (2015) emphasises the role of the international community in handling refugee crisis, and furthermore argue that several EU governments have not fulfilled their role in regards to ensuring effective protection for asylum seekers and migrants. However, as previously stated, some of the quickest people to respond were the volunteers (McLaughlin 2015).

Understanding why some individuals decided to take action to fill the gaps along the Balkan route is the primary reason for undertaking a case study of the collective action of volunteers during the refugee crisis. The case study design enhances empirical relevance, since the case in this study, the European refugee crisis, is part of the world's largest refugee crisis since World War II (Unicef 2016). Case studies are valuable to explore a specific case in-depth, and is often viewed as a prelude for further studies using other methods (Yin 2012:5). In this paper the case

study design is complemented with a survey, analysed through a theory-consuming method, to investigate if social capital theory can explain the collective action undertaken by the volunteers who were filling the aid-gaps along the Western Balkan route.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Previous Research on Social Capital and Collective Action

The term *social capital* refers to the social norms, social connections and networks, and the social trust that can facilitate action for mutual benefit. This definition derives from definitions from different scholars on the subject (e.g. Woolcock, Uslaner, Coleman, and Bourdieu), which views will be described in this chapter. *Collective action* refers to a joint effort to reach optimal outcomes. Ostrom (2010) describes collective action-problems as social dilemmas. Problems with collective action occur when individuals choose an option, in an interdependent situation, to maximise the benefit of the outcome for the self, rather than choosing the option that would lead to joint benefit. The optimal joint outcome could be reached through cooperation and communication. Putnam (1993:262) writes: “How can one actor know whether another did in fact make a ‘good faith effort’ to keep his word, in the face of multiple uncertainties and countervailing pressures? Both accurate information and reliable enforcement are essential to successful cooperation.”. Nonetheless, in the case of the volunteers during the refugee crisis the collective action has occurred on an international level, and individuals from several countries chose to get involved and engaged to jointly function as a support system for the people seeking refuge in Europe.

Uslaner (1999:33) argues that the values and social relations that are embedded in social capital will facilitate over-coming collective action problems. Social capital is, furthermore, argued by Uslaner to have an impact on people’s decision to volunteer or give to charity within their local communities. This fits well with Woolcock’s (1998:155) definition of social capital, as “a broad term encompassing the norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit.”. This gives an explanation to why people choose to volunteer, however, it does not give more clarity as to why anyone would decide to volunteer away from their local context. Bourdieu (1986:82) defines social capital as capital “made up by social obligations (‘connections’)”, meaning that the network of connections which can be successfully mobilised will determine the volume of social capital for the individual (ibid.:86). The solidarity becomes the profit, or

the gain. Moreover, Coleman (1988:98) explains social capital as productive, “/.../making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible.”. Therefore, social capital is a resource for people taking action. Nonetheless, the question regarding why individuals decided to take action on an international level has not yet been answered. “If we believe that other people act according to ethical principles or are generally trustworthy, we are more likely to cooperate ourselves” – Hardin 1992 (in Uslaner 1999:32). This statement by Hardin led to the thought of how generalised trust could be a factor that functioned as a driver for the volunteers, could it be the generalised trust in people that facilitated the action of the volunteers in this case? This was taken into account when creating the survey, and will be discussed further when analysing the answers.

In this paper the detailed outline of social capital lies close to the one presented by Woolcock (1998:153): “the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one’s social networks”. Thus, the social capital is created through the information we share through our social networks, the social norms inherent in the networks we have, where acts of kindness are expected to generate a return, and the trust we have in other people or in institutions. This definition of social capital will further on function as the basis for operationalising the theory through the survey. Coleman (1988:98) writes that “Social capital is defined by its function”. In this case, the function of social capital would be the social trust and social networks that the volunteers either had before they left for volunteering, gain whilst volunteering, or acquired after leaving the field. These functions can then be utilised in order to facilitate action and the creation of human capital (Coleman 1988:101f). Thus, leading to the idea of that “social capital helps us solve collective action problems” (Uslaner 1999:31). This supports the idea that social capital could have played a role in why people volunteer in general. Furthermore, Uslaner argues that our own interest can be put aside when we have social trust, which will be discussed more thoroughly further on in this paper.

We shall return to Woolcock, and his distinction between different types of social capital. Woolcock describes two key concepts within social capital theory, embeddedness and autonomy (1998:162). He describes both concepts on micro- and macro level, where embeddedness refers to intra-community ties (micro) or state-society relations (macro), and autonomy as extra-community-networks (micro) or institutional capacity and credibility (macro) (ibid.:164). These concepts are often discussed as bonding and bridging social capital

(Putnam 2001:2; Agnitsch, Flora & Ryan 2006; Aldrich 2011b: 83). Bonding social capital (embeddedness) link homogenous people together in dense groups. Bridging social capital (autonomy) connects heterogeneous people, bringing together different types of people and thus encouraging diversity. The volunteers in this case study might be seen as creating more bridging social capital among them, and also between the volunteers and the refugees, as well as the professional aid workers. The social capital is gained through sharing information between different groups, helping one another, and building trust between the different individuals and organisations. The bonding and bridging social capital increases the individual's social networks, whether inwards, within a group or outwards, to other groups or individuals. Therefore, social networks connection to volunteering will be discussed more in depth, and further on leading up to the function of social trust.

3.2 The Impact of Social Networks and Social Trust on Volunteering

McPherson, Popielarz and Drobnic (1992) have investigated the social composition of voluntary groups. They explain that people with existing connections to others have better chances of joining new groups, since the network they already have might be connected to other networks (ibid.:157). This relates back to the concept of bridging social capital and the extra-community networks, explained by Woolcock (1998). Moreover, McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook (2001) discuss social networks and homophily, described as “/.../the principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than among dissimilar people.” (ibid.:416). Thus meaning that, according to them, the social networks are likely to consist of people with similar characteristics. Here we return to bonding social capital, when people create stronger ties with those who are more similar to them. Social norms of returning favours (norms of reciprocity), sharing information between groups and individuals, and creating ties through social relations will also contribute to one's social networks, and thus increase the social capital (Woolcock 1998:153). It is of interest to investigate the social networks within the population of volunteers, in order to understand if their existing social networks is part of what differentiates them from the greater population in their countries of origin. Some individuals might have been recruited to volunteer, by friends, family or other networks, meaning that their social relations had an effect on why they volunteered. Others could have decided to volunteer without being recruited, where social networks could have played a role in providing the information about the situation, or the feeling of returning a favour you were once given –

which is an action of reciprocity, even if it is not directed towards the person who did you the favour.

Lin (1999:32) explains that it is easier to maintain collective capital within a dense or closed network. Thus, leading to the thought that social capital might decrease the likeliness of volunteering internationally. Leaving one's social network could be seen as a high risk action. On the other hand, the risk might be seen as lower if the social networks contributed to the decision to volunteer. Furthermore, Lin mention trust as an essential factor in producing and maintaining the collective asset (ibid.). Trust is a matter of values, whilst networks come out of the social ties that can be created within a community (Uslaner 1999:36). Trust within the group could make it more likely for individuals to want to stay close to their existing network. Nonetheless, generalised trust in people, as measured in the survey, could increase the likeliness of the trusting individuals to decide to act collectively, in this case to volunteer internationally. The trust the volunteers put in the people they meet along the way can produce more asset. They get to know more people, hence they expand their social networks through the already obtained generalised trust and thus, gain more social capital.

Uslaner (2000:570) reasons that if people are trusting they are more likely to connect with others, and the extended bonds they create will also reinforce moral obligations encompassing more people. However, Uslaner also argues that social interaction will not increase trust, hence the trust was already acquired by the truster prior to the interaction. Hardin (1993:506f) argues that trust involves A to trust B to do X, meaning that you do not simply trust someone, you trust them to do something. For example, you might trust the police to catch criminals, or the government to run the country, or your friend to listen to your problems. Furthermore, he argues that there lies a bigger potential gain in trusting, than in distrusting. Distrust can lead to lost opportunities of gain, and even if trust can lead to substantial loss, great gain weighs heavier than great loss (Hardin 1993:507).

The reason for studying social trust in the case of the volunteers' active in the refugee crisis can be explained through a statement by Coleman (1988:101): “/.../group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish much more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness and trust.”. The volunteers in this particular case accomplished to together create a large international humanitarian movement across several countries, where social trust could have been an explanatory factor as to why the movement

occurred. This refers back to the idea that social capital will increase likelihood of collective action. Uslaner & Brown (2005:872) explain that there is little evidence that civic engagement would lead to increased trust, meaning that the volunteer work itself is not likely to have affected the volunteers' levels of trust. Thus, if this differs from the trust levels within the general population, the conclusion can be drawn that the work itself has not created the difference. Additionally, according to theories by Uslaner (2000), Sturgis et. al. (2009), and Oskarsson et. al. (2012) the levels of trust within individuals is a factor which does not tend to increase or decrease much throughout life. Hence, if the volunteers were to be more trusting than the population in their countries of origin it is most likely a value they already had, rather than something they gained through their volunteer work.

Uslaner & Brown (2005:875) explains that trust is related to civic engagement, but that it will not have a positive effect on political participation, if any effect at all. Volunteering during the so called refugee crisis can be viewed as civic engagement or political action, since the volunteer work revolves around a social issue, we can expect some to have joined on the basis of civic engagement and trust, whilst others will have joined as a political action due to mistrust in regards to action (not) being taken (ibid.). These differences are considered when analysing the survey further on in this paper, regarding the questions measuring levels of trust. However, according to Rothstein & Uslaner (2005), there is a correlation between trust and other desirable variables related to civic engagement and solidarity, which leads me to believe that there will be a similar connection between the volunteers who participated in the survey and their levels of trust.

3.3 Theoretical Argument

Theories on social capital, here in essence social trust and social networks, explains how the likelihood of participating in collective action increase when individuals have social capital. Willingness to repay favours, sharing of information, and connecting to other people are the components which builds social networks, and thus, the assets people produce through these actions are what will encourage them to act collectively. High levels of social trust significantly increase inclination to act collectively, which has been shown through previous research on social capital and collective action. Thus, the hypothesis is that activity in social networks, high social trust, and norms of reciprocity should lead to increased likelihood of collective action.

Hence the theoretical argument is that people would be more prone to volunteer during the refugee crisis if they have high levels of social capital.

4. Research Design and Methods

4.1 Collection of Data and Methods

The design applied is a case study design, connecting the specific case to the applied theory, which is furthermore analysed with a theory-consuming method. Thus, the aim is to explain the described social phenomenon through applying an already existing theory (Esaiasson et. al. 2012:42). A quantitative analysis on my survey has been combined with a smaller qualitative analysis of the open questions in the survey. I am using a method called triangulation, where the chosen strategy is to combine different methods to reach the result (Höglund & Öberg, 2011:191). The base for analysing the results is made up of previous research on social capital, where the main focus is on social networks and social trust. The previously described theories were used both in creating the survey questions, and furthermore for analysing the results, and comparing the results from my survey with the ones from the World Values Survey (WVS).

4.2 Case Study Design

The reason for using a case study design is to gain in-depth understanding of one specific case (Yin, 2012:4). To apply a theory on a real-life case gives the study empirical value, and opens up for continued studies on the chosen case. This study aims to gain greater understanding as to why individuals chose to volunteer during the refugee crisis, which makes the case study design an appropriate choice (ibid.:5). The case of the international volunteers active during Europe's refugee crisis is here described as a social phenomenon, as outlined through the theoretical framework chapter. Using a theory-consuming approach to a case study can limit the findings, however, this also allows for a deeper understanding of if the theory can explain the "why" in the particular case, or not. Furthermore, the case study design limits possibilities for generalisation, due to that the findings will be specific for the case. Thus, the intention of this study is not to statistically generalise the results. Through consuming the case with the theory, a clear framework has been put in place, which is furthermore emphasised through looking at specific theoretical aspects when undertaking the research.

4.3 Survey

The main reason for using a survey as a tool in this study is to gain a greater understanding for the actors themselves, which in this case are the volunteers. Surveys are useful when studying a case from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives (Trost, 2012:18f). I will, through this survey, investigate whether theories on social capital can explain why volunteers participate in collective action during the refugee crisis. Consequently, I will look at levels of social capital among the volunteers, and at what differentiates the volunteers active in the refugee crisis from the general public.

The questionnaire was answered by one hundred respondents, and has been limited to demographics and core questions related to social capital. The questions include an extract of some of the questions asked in the WVS, in order to compare results. Additionally, a qualitative analysis will be undertaken of the results from the open questions included, since quantitative methods and numbers will make a good base, whilst the qualitative part will complement the results from the quantitative analysis. This pilot study could open up for continued research on this case.

When sending out the link for the questionnaire I chose to emphasise that I myself have been a volunteer in the context studied, in order for the respondents to feel like they have a positive relation to me when they answer the questions. This strategy is thought to give more accurate and thought-through replies (Trost, 2012:44ff). The anonymity is kept for the respondents with an electronic questionnaire, which also eliminates the risk for interviewer effect (Esaiasson et al. 2012:235). The operationalisation chart outlined in section 4.7 explains how the questions relates to the variables for social capital.

The survey has been answered by volunteers who are or have been volunteering with refugees in Europe between September 2015 (when the numbers of refugees coming to Europe started to drastically increase) and April 2016 (when the survey was sent out via social media). The survey questions related to social trust are questions which are hand-picked from the WVS, and will be used for a comparison between the volunteers and the population in their countries of origin, which are the respondents of the WVS. Social trust was chosen as a variable for comparison due to theory of it being a variable with low variation throughout life, and is therefore a variable less likely to have been affected by the volunteer work itself. The

comparison is made with the purpose of studying whether the results in the two surveys differ – does the respondents in my survey show higher or lower levels of social trust, in comparison to the larger population who responded to WVS?

The survey in full will be shown in attachment 1, with the call-out for participants sent out through social media presented in attachment 2.

4.3.1 Sample

The respondents have been chosen through a sample of volunteers who use Facebook, within the theoretical population of people who have volunteered in Europe since the beginning of the increased influx of refugees in September 2015. The survey was sent out through social media, which leads to limitations of the sample, since the survey was only seen by those using social media. Facebook had just over 1,7 billion active users in year 2016 (Statista 2016) out of the world's roughly 7,5 billion people (Worldometers 2016), meaning that this social media platform reaches about 23 percent of the global population. However, many of the volunteers who were active in Europe during the refugee crisis were using Facebook as a source for communication and information. Furthermore, sending out the survey through Facebook groups used by volunteers facilitated in targeting respondents who had volunteered during the refugee crisis. Sending the survey out in the way described created the frame for the sample, since the ones who use social media were the most accessible population for this study. It was thus considered a good platform for reaching out to a varied, larger part of the volunteer population, which is the population I aim to study in this paper. The survey was sent out within specific groups and communities on Facebook, where it was random who (within those groups) chose to fill out the survey. Additionally, the members were encouraged to share the survey in their own networks, in order for the online survey to be accessible to more people within the volunteer population. The survey was open for two weeks, and all of the one hundred respondents had volunteered with helping refugees in Europe after September 2015. The survey results give value to this pilot study, through testing theories on social capital on this specific case of collective action. The results can therefore bring value through being seen as a guideline towards further studies on international volunteers and volunteering during Europe's refugee crisis, even though the results of my survey cannot be used for generalisation.

4.3.2 Quantitative Analysis

A quantitative analysis of the survey will facilitate comparing it with larger surveys (Alreck & Settle 1995:23), which in this case will be the World Values Survey. The questions based on the WVS are ones related to social capital, in essence social trust. To work in a cumulative way through using an already existing operationalisation facilitates comparison between different studies (Esaiasson et. al. 2012:60). This comparison is undertaken in order to understand whether it is possible (or not) to differentiate between the actions of the volunteers and the general public, through using the selected variables, and thus operationalise the social capital theory.

The first question used for comparison between the respondents in my survey and the respondents in the WVS is: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?” with the variables (1) Most people can be trusted, and (2) Need to be very careful. This question measures generalised trust, trust not only in the people you know, but also in strangers.

Furthermore, questions related to trust in specific people, groups of people, and institutions were also used for the comparison. The first one investigates trust in groups of people: “I’d like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?” with the variables (1) Your family, (2) Your neighbourhood, (3) People you know personally, (4) People you meet for the first time, (5) People of another religion, and (6) People of another nationality. As stated in the theory part of this paper, trust in people can facilitate collective action according to social capital theory. Thus, leading to the assumption that the volunteers should be *over-all more trusting in people* than the general public. The comparison aims to explore if this theory also applies to this case.

The respondents were, furthermore, presented with a WVS question regarding trust in different institutions: “I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?”, where the different variables were (1) Religious institutions, (2) The police, (3) The courts, (4) The government (in your nation’s capital), (5) Political parties, (6) Parliament, (7) Charitable or humanitarian organizations, and

(8) The United Nations. These variables, related to the variable of social trust, were chosen due to previous mentioned theories on social capital where *mistrust* can lead to action through political participation (Uslaner & Brown 2005:875). If the volunteers trust institutions less than the general public, then that could have been a reason for them to act themselves.

In order to examine whether the social networks of the volunteers play a role in their decision to act, the role of social networks is being measured in the survey. There are questions that investigate openness to creating ties with others, and other questions relating to networks that could have been created whilst volunteering. For instance, “According to yourself, how would you rate the sense of community among the volunteers in the field?”. Information sharing among the volunteers and through their previous social networks was investigated through questions such as “Through which source did you find out about volunteering with refugees in the Balkans?”, and “How did you get in contact with other volunteers or organisations before going?”. Furthermore, the respondents were asked a question related to social norms: “If someone does you a favour, how would you react? (pick the one that you recognise the most)”, where they had four different options to choose from: (1) I feel obligated to re-pay them with another favour, (2) If I cannot give back to them, I will give back to someone else, (3) I say “Thank you” and move on, and (4) None of the above.

How the theory of social capital will be operationalised for the survey, and how the results will be analysed is further explained in section 4.7.

4.3.3 Qualitative Analysis of the Open Questions

The qualitative analysis consists of analysing the answers to the open and/or attitude related questions in the questionnaire, to understand more about what the volunteers themselves think it was that motivated them to volunteer (Neuman 2006:157). It aims to find out if social capital related motives can be found in the answers to the open questions, to compare it with findings from the quantitative analysis. Moreover, it can function as an opening for further studies on this case regarding what affected the decision to volunteer abroad, with other variables than the indicators for social capital used here. I created open questions for the respondents to answer, to receive input from the volunteers’ view regarding why they decided to volunteer in this context. The core question here is “What made you decide to volunteer, in your own words?”. The comments on this question are analysed through what is referred to as *qualitative content*

analysis. The purpose of analysing the question in this way is to find the essential meaning in the comments (Esaiasson et. al. 2012:210), and furthermore to categorise them (ibid.:211; Bergström & Boréus 2000:158f) under the variables for social capital (social trust and social networks) or under the label “Other Reasons”, when not related to the social capital theory. This will be shown in the chart for operationalising social capital theory in section 4.7, which outlines the definitions of social trust and social networks. The chart was used as themes for the qualitative analysis of the open questions, to see if the answers written by the volunteers themselves would confirm the findings from the quantitative analysis. The themes create a clear framework for the qualitative content analysis (Neuman 2006:157), which aims to strengthen the internal validity of the study through clear operationalisation (Esaiasson et. al. 2012:57ff).

4.3.4 Using Mixed Methods: Triangulation

Finding out if the results between the quantitative and the qualitative data will confirm each other is the reason for using mixed methods through triangulation in this paper, as described by Bryman (2016:643). Can social capital theory help explain why volunteers decided to act, both through qualitative and quantitative findings? The aim is also to have a study which is more complete, where the measurements from the quantitative data is discussed in relation to the respondents self-explained motivations in the open survey questions. The qualitative analysis of the open questions is an addition to the quantitative data-collection, in order investigate if they are connected to the theory of social capital (Bergström & Boréus 2000:158f).

4.4 Alternative Explanatory Factors

Social trust and social networks are potentially not the only variables when explaining the difference between the group of volunteers active during the refugee crisis and the population in their countries of origin. This is not something which could be determined through this paper, where I have consumed theories on social capital in order to see *if* social capital is an explanatory factor for why people decided to volunteer in this case. Another explanatory factor, which also relate to social capital but is not explored here, could be that people who decide to volunteer abroad have spent more time abroad, living and/or travelling. That would relate to theories on social capital presented by Uslaner (1999:33), where strong social relations increase the chance of engaging more in your local community. The same idea could theoretically be applicable for the international volunteers; they might just have broadened their “local

community” to a community with a global scope. Nonetheless, a more extensive study could be undertaken in order to understand which other factors that could have either effected the volunteers’ choice to engage internationally, and other explanations to the difference between the individuals who made this choice and the larger population who chose not to volunteer internationally.

4.5 Demarcations and Source Criticism

The sample of respondents for the survey was made up by those who randomly chose to respond to the survey. It was sent out through internet and spread by social media, thus the result cannot be generalised to the population (volunteers in Europe during the refugee crisis), since all volunteers might not have had access to internet and social media, and there is no knowledge of how representative this sample is for the theoretical population. To generalise is not the aim of this study, which will be taken into account when discussing conclusions. However, much of the communication between the volunteers is done through social media, which implies that this source is being used by many within the population. A random sample would have been desirable for the survey, since it is the way to get the most representative sample for the population (Alreck & Settle 1995:70), and thus open up for possibilities of generalisation. However, to find an accurate listing of the population of volunteers was not possible, due to the limited time frame for writing the paper, and also due to the fluidity of the population, with an on-going stream of more individuals deciding to volunteer.

Furthermore, even though social capital has strong ties to collective action and volunteering, it should be pointed out that there could have been several other variables which affected the volunteers’ choice to volunteer during the refugee crisis in Europe, as discussed in the previous section. This will be discussed more when analysing the results from the open survey questions. The aim of this study is to investigate if theories on social capital can explain why people chose to volunteer internationally in Europe during the refugee crisis. Everyone who answered the survey have in common that they were volunteering in this particular case. One aspect that needs to be considered though is that the respondents had already volunteered in the refugee crisis when they filled out the survey. Therefore, this study can show the similarities among the volunteers who had already volunteered, but not among them before they went. The exception is the variable of social trust, which I have argued to be more consistent throughout life. Thus, this is the only variable around which conclusions can be discussed regarding traits that the

volunteers had before they went to volunteer, hence could have had an impact on why they decided to go in the first place.

The results from WVS are from different years, Sweden and the US are from 2011, Germany from 2013 and the UK from 2005, while the results from my survey was from 2016. Different factors could have affected the respondents answers differently over the years, and ideally the surveys used for comparison should have been undertaken during the same time period. However, there are only a few years' difference, and the results between the respondents in my survey and the respondents in the WVS surveys still differs greatly.

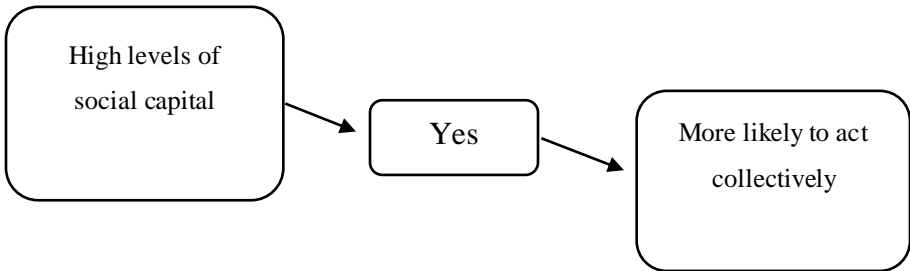
4.6 Reliability and Validity

The reliability of a study is determined through how meticulous the researcher has been (Esaiasson et. al. 2012:63). Hence, the reliability is higher if we are more precise when measuring our results, to avoid careless mistakes. The question to ask here is if another researcher could use the same methods as have been used here, and come to the same results? The reliability is high in the part where the self-administered survey is compared to the WVS, since comparing numbers does not require interpretation. The reliability is, however, effected when analysing the open questions, which require certain interpretation of the responses. Hence, it is important to have a clear analytical framework, to minimise the risk of results varying due to different interpretations. The data from my survey has been collected and, furthermore, every answer from each respondent has been double-checked with the original survey results. This should minimise the mistakes in regards to coding the answers for the quantitative part (ibid.:207). Another risk with using a web survey is that the respondents might have misunderstood the questions, which would lead to random errors (Fowler, Jr. 2009:106). The questions in the WVS are made by professionals and the ones that were hand-picked for my survey have been acknowledged as reliable measurements for levels of trust, thus reducing the risk of the questions being confusing for the respondents. Furthermore, when creating my own questions, particularly in regards to operationalising social networks, I have formed multiple choice questions, where one of the alternatives consisted of choosing options such as "None of the above" or "I don't know". The reason for having those options was to not force the respondents to pick a choice if they could not relate to it, and thus further avoid errors (ibid.:108).

The question to consider in regards to validity is if what I measure is what I intend to study. The questions measuring social trust are widely recognised in previous research as measurements for trust, as explained by Ostrom and Ahn (2003:17), which creates a strong argument to use these questions for measuring the variable of social trust in this study. In regards to the self-administered questions, which operationalise the social networks variable, the operationalisation is made through questions directly connected to the theories and definitions described in section 3. This gives the study good internal validity, with the operationalisation through the survey questions being closely connected to the consumed theories (Esaiasson et. al. 2012:57ff). Aside from having an appropriate framework for operationalising the theory, another issue to consider that the respondents might have understood the concepts differently to one another. Risks of the respondents being dishonest should be consider minimal with the use of a web survey, due to the anonymity of the respondents being ensured (Fowler, Jr. 2009:109). The intention is to investigate why people volunteered in this case. Regarding external validity, this study does not aim to generalise to the entire population of international volunteers, due to its limitations. Generalisation in that sense is often not the purpose for theory-consuming case studies, as explained by Esaiasson et. al. (2012:154f). It rather aims to be a pilot study, where a smaller sample of the active volunteers are studied. Internal validity will be discussed again in section 4.7, where the importance of the operationalisation corresponding with the applied theoretical definitions is further emphasised.

4.7 Analytical Framework and Operationalisation

To apply the theories on the chosen case a clear analytical framework need to be in place. The analytical framework builds on how theories on social capital explains collective action, and aims to provide a structure for how to conduct an analysis of the results following the survey. High levels of social capital include activity in social networks, norms of reciprocity, and high social trust. Acting collectively, in this case study, refers to participating as a volunteer during the refugee crisis. The approach to analysing the survey is clarified through the flow chart.



Levels of social capital will be measured through the operationalisation of the two indicators social trust and social networks. This will be presented in a table further on in this section. To gain knowledge regarding potential differences between the volunteers and the general public, a comparison between my survey and the WVS will be made through comparing percentage of respondents replying to each alternative. This will show differences or similarities in levels of trust between the respondents on each survey. The theoretical argument is confirmed for this case if the respondents to my survey show high levels of social capital.

The operationalisation of the variables social trust and social networks makes it possible to measure what is intended through the analytical framework. The two concepts are described through one category each, from which the survey questions have been created, and furthermore providing a framework for analysing the answers to the open question.

<i>Variables</i>	Social Trust	Social Networks
<i>Definition</i>	Generalised or particularised trust in other people and institutions	Networks created out of social ties, information sharing, and norms of reciprocity
<i>Operationalisation</i>	Questions related to generalised trust in people, trust in specific groups and trust in institutions, and a comparison with trust-related survey questions from the WVS responded to by the general public	Questions regarding sense of community amongst volunteers, willingness to create ties with those different to yourself, knowing others who volunteered, information and communication shared before volunteering, and on how to repay favours

This chart explains how the theories of social capital has been operationalised, and the aim of providing a clear framework is to avoid systematic errors. It is important for the operational indicator to correspond with the theoretical definition, in order to measure what is intended, and to not have systematic errors derailing the result from the original purpose. Considering these aspects is crucial to ensure good validity (Esaiaasson et. al. 2012:57ff).

If answers to the open questions relate to the variables for social trust and social networks in the way described in the operationalisation table, assumptions complementing the quantitative data can be drawn. Assumptions cannot be drawn within the framework of this study if the answers are not related to social capital theory.

5. Results and Analysis

5.1 Demographics and Control Questions

The data from my survey was extracted and coded, following which the results have been further analysed. Firstly, a control question was constructed, asking the respondents if they had volunteered with refugees in Europe (including Turkey, since it is part of the previously described Western Balkan route) since September 2015. All of the respondents answered “Yes” to this question. Furthermore, 98 percent of the respondents had volunteered in a country which they did not have family connections to¹. This is relevant for ensuring that the people responding to the survey are relevant as respondents for answering to what extent social capital theory can explain why individuals decided to undertake volunteer work internationally during the refugee crisis.

Secondly, the results from the demographic questions were that 82 percent of the respondents were women, all respondents were between 20-79 years old, they originate from 26 different countries (European and non-European), 67 percent were working through various forms of employment, and the remaining 33 percent were mainly students, retired, or unemployed.

5.2 Quantitative Analysis of Social Network Activity

In this section the questions relating to social networks will be described, the ones connected to social trust will be gone through in section 5.2, when comparing those results with the ones from the WVS. Social networks constructed by social ties, norms of reciprocity, and information sharing are expected to increase the likeliness for collective action (Coleman 1988:101f; Woolcock 1998:155). Therefore, the volunteers are expected to show high levels of

¹ One of the respondents had only volunteered in their country of residence, and the other had only volunteered in a country which they had family connections to.

social capital through their response to these questions. These indicators refer to the social networks the respondents formed in preparation of going or whilst volunteering².

Norms of Reciprocity	
If someone does you a favour, how would you react?	I feel obligated to re-pay them with another favour: 18 %
	If I cannot give back to them, I will give back to someone else: 64 %
	I say "Thank you" and move on: 12 %

Most of the respondents shows that they adhere to norms of reciprocity, through wanting to repay favours, in one way or the other.

Information Sharing	57 % got in contact with other volunteers through social media before volunteering. 20 % contacted an organisation directly as point of contact.
	57 % found out about volunteering along the Balkan route through social media. 13 % found out through a friend.

Information regarding the volunteer work has been shared mainly through social media. However, it should be considered that the survey was sent out through social media as well, thus the respondents to this survey are all social media users. The results could have varied more if the survey had been distributed through different channels.

² The aim is not to measure the social capital they had through social networks before deciding to volunteer.

Sense of Community among the Volunteers	In the field: 61 % answered that it was very good. 28 % said that it was good. No one rated it as "Bad" or "Very bad"
	In social media: 54 % said that it was very good. 35 % said that it was good. No one rated it as "Bad" or "Very bad"

The respondents recognise that there is a sense of community among the volunteers. To be part of a community will contribute to a person's social networks. It can be through bonding or bridging social capital, depending on how homogeneous or heterogeneous the community is (Aldrich 2011b:83).

I create ties with the people I volunteer with, regardless of...	...ethnicity: 97 % agreed, 1 % disagreed
	...religion: 96 % agreed, 1 % disagreed
	...class: 97 % agreed, 1 % disagreed
	...political stand-point: 78 % agreed, 19 % disagreed
	...age: 96 % agreed, 2 % disagreed
	...gender: 95 % agreed, 3 % disagreed
	...occupation: 96 % agreed, 2 % disagreed

In general, the respondents show that they would create social ties with others regardless of homogeneity. The only sub-variable with results deviating from the others is the one of political stand-point.

To summarise, a majority of the volunteers wants to repay favours, they mainly use social media as their source of information sharing in regards to their volunteer work, most feel like there is a good sense of community among the volunteers, and they are open to people who are different to them. They are in general showing high levels of social capital in regards to their social network activity.

5.3 Quantitative Comparison of the Surveys

In order to further investigate to what extent theories on social capital can explain why people decided to volunteer during the refugee crisis a comparison will be made between responses to my self-administered survey and the results from the World Values Survey. Therefore, survey questions from the WVS was inserted to my survey to enable comparison between the respondents from the general public and the volunteers who responded to the self-administered survey. The questions relate to social trust, and the analysis aims to give more knowledge in regards to the research question for this paper.

Most of the respondents originated from four countries: the United States (US), Sweden, the United Kingdom (UK), and Germany, both as their native country (53 percent) and current country of residency (52 percent). Therefore, the comparison between the surveys will be made through looking at the WVS results from these four countries. The results from the WVS are the most recent ones available online for each country (World Values Survey 2014; World Values Survey 2016). Additionally, there were respondents from another 22 countries participating in my survey, however, in these cases there were very few respondents per country.

Response to the question “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?”.

Most people can be trusted	WVS results per wave (year)	Survey respondents (%)
United States	Wave 6 (2011)	34.8 %
Sweden	Wave 6 (2011)	60.1 %
United Kingdom	Wave 5 (2005)	30.0 %
Germany	Wave 6 (2013)	44.6 %

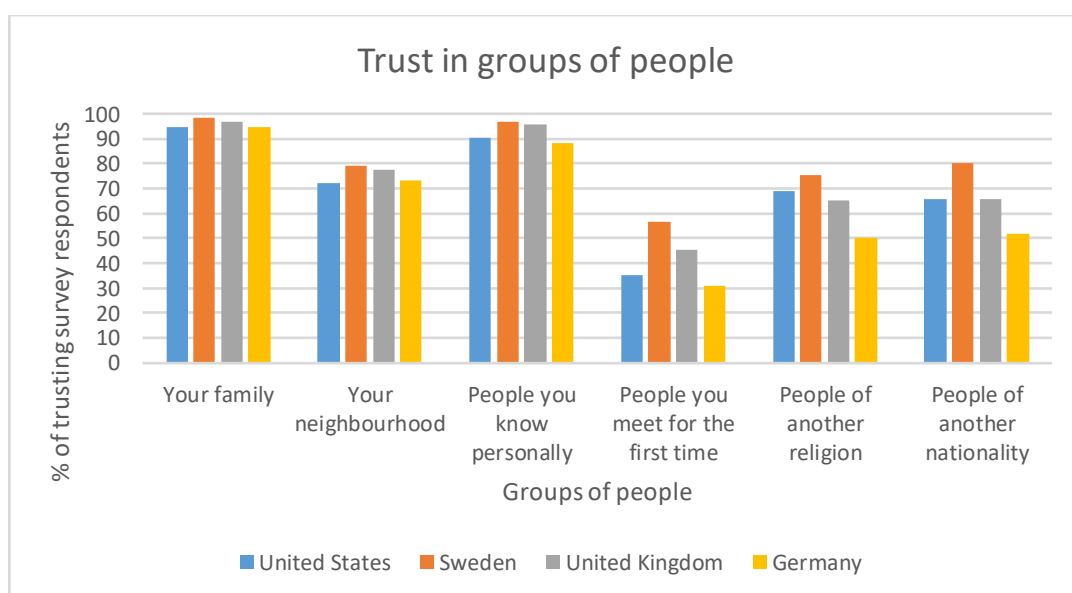
World Values Survey results measured in 2005, 2011, and 2013.

Most people can be trusted	Survey respondents (%)
United States	81.3 %
Sweden	85.7 %
United Kingdom	100 %
Germany	91.7 %

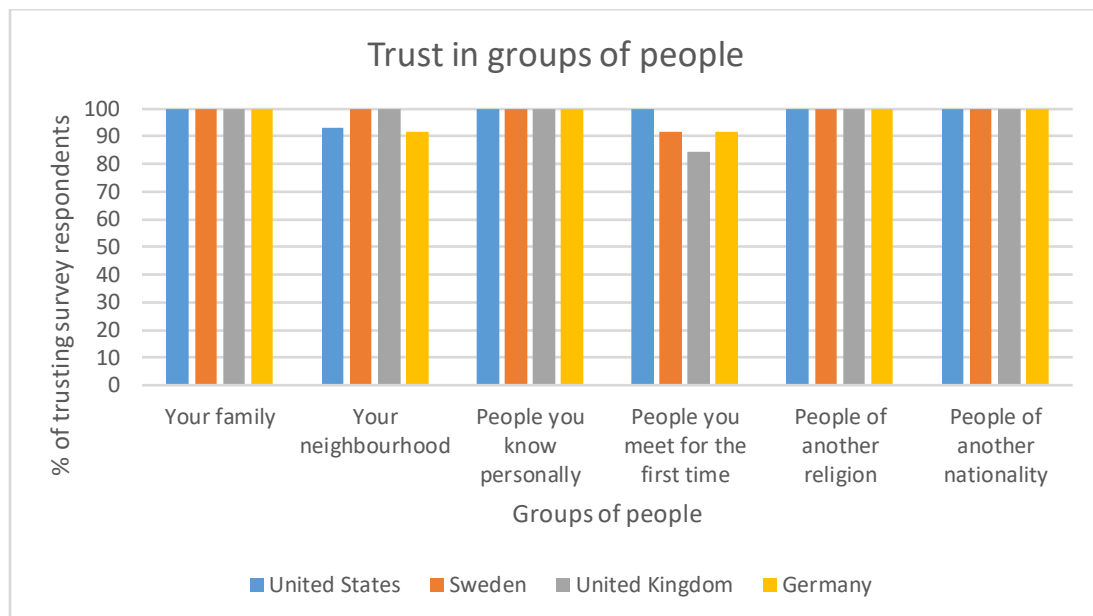
Self-administered survey results measured per country of residency in 2016.

The levels of trust vary between the different countries on both surveys. In the self-administered survey there were fewer respondents, which could affect the results. However, what we can see from the two tables is that the respondents to the self-administered survey generally showed higher levels of trust than those responding to the WVS from the same countries. Following the analytical framework this means that the respondents in the second table should be more likely to participate in collective action than the respondents in the first table. Thus, the volunteers were more likely to act collectively than the general public in this case.

We shall look at the questions relating to the indicators for particularised trust as well. The question asked in both surveys was: “I’d like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?” The first diagram show the results as presented from the WVS:



The next diagram will show the results on the same question from the respondents in the self-administered survey:



Through the two diagrams we can see a difference between the respondents' levels of trust, where the volunteers who replied to the self-administered survey show significantly higher levels of trust in all categories, and in particular in those measuring the trust in people of different religions and nationalities. These results further support the hypothesis of that people with high levels of social capital (in this case high social trust) would be more likely to undertake collective action through participating in volunteer work.

By contrast, there are the results from the question "I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?" These results show that the volunteers who responded to my survey express lower levels of confidence than the general public in regards to religious institutions, the police, the courts, the governments, political parties, and the parliament. On the other hand, the volunteers show significantly higher levels of confidence in charitable and humanitarian organisation, and slightly more confidence in the United Nations, compared to the general public. I have previously argued that some could have decided to volunteer due to mistrust, and thus volunteered as political participation, rather than as civic engagement. The low levels of confidence in political, state, and religious institutions in this case could be explored through

further research, to find out if there is a connection between the results shown in the comparison in this paper's and the volunteers who participated during the refugee crisis. It will not be analysed further here, since the question asks about confidence, and not trust, and therefore it does not necessarily provide further insight regarding if the chosen indicators for social capital (social trust and social networks) can explain why people decided to volunteer in the refugee crisis.

5.4 Qualitative Analysis of the Open Questions

Studying theories on collective action, social capital, and volunteering led to an idea that there would be a connection between the action of volunteering and social capital as a resource. A qualitative analysis has been made to complement the quantitative analysis, in order to see if the answers from the open questions can confirm the results from the structured questions. The volunteers who filled out the survey had many similarities in regards to social trust and social networks, and the result of quantitative study shows that the answers from the volunteers differs from the results from the WVS results.

Several of the answers to the open question have altruistic motivations: "I just like to help people who need it". Others expressed that they wanted to see the reality of the situation or was moved by what they saw in the media. Some were outraged, and others just felt the need to do something. "Could not sit home and watch one of the largest humanitarian crises of our time unfold before my eyes and not do anything." Several respondents answered that they did not know what to do when they decided to go, they just needed to act, "I felt sick to the core watching the news back home and figured it would be better to at least do something, no matter how insignificant my contribution." Others chose to volunteer out of political reasons regarding the crisis, and some were moved by the in-action of others: "The reality on the ground - total lack of support from governments and large NGO's like the e.g. UNHCR". The volunteers who responded to the survey brought up many different views on why they decided to volunteer. The responses were in general emotional, rather than strategical, and the ones accounted for so far would fall under the category "Other Reasons", rather than the categories for social trust or social networks.

A few respondents mentioned that they wanted to give back due to their own privilege, or that they had experienced the Syrians hospitality and wanted to return the favour. This relates to

theories on social networks through norms of reciprocity, where the operationalisation was willingness to repay a favour. Others had been told about the situation by friends or family, or had relations to people who were directly affected by a conflict people were fleeing from. Thus, information sharing through the volunteers' social networks could have affected their decision to volunteer, and additionally, their social relations functioned as motivation to go. This is expressed through comments such as "Seeing the little boy washed up in Bodrum. I cried my heart out. 4-6 weeks later I went to Kos/...'", or "I have close friends from conflict areas like Syria and Afghanistan.", and "/.../I have refugees and migrants in my family history and feel strongly in the provision of safe and compassionate havens and a fresh start for people who are struggling adversity.". These comments fall under the "Social Networks" category.

Hence, the result from analysing the answers to the open question is that some of the volunteers express that they decided to volunteered due to reasons connected to norms of reciprocity, information sharing, and social ties, in other words, their social networks. However, most of the comments did not fit within the themes for social capital, and none expressed trust as a reason for volunteering.

6. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to understand to what extent theories on social capital can explain why people decided to volunteer internationally during the refugee crisis in Europe. In conclusion, the study shows through the quantitative analysis that the volunteers who responded to the survey have high levels of social capital in regards to social trust and their social networks. This confirms the hypothesis that high social trust, activity in social networks, and norms of reciprocity can explain collective action to certain extent for the volunteers studied in this specific case. The comments to the open question support social networks as an explanation in some aspects, whilst it does not further confirm the hypothesis in regards to the connection to social trust.

Social capital is a broad theory, which encompasses many more indicators than the ones studied here. Therefore, there could be other explanatory factors for this case, also within the chosen theory. Social trust and social networks both have strong connections to collective action, as shown through the previous research on the subject. The group of volunteers who responded to

the survey were different in regards to demographics, although most of them show high levels of social capital when measuring for the chosen indicators.

The volunteers show willingness to repay favours, they are part of a community of volunteers, they use social media as primary source for information regarding their volunteer work, and are generally open to create ties with others who are different to them in several aspects. The volunteers are creating their own community of likeminded people, where the solidarity becomes their gain, as described by Bourdieu (1986:86). This could be one of the factors that led them to take action internationally. It might not be their local community from a traditional aspect, but the like-mindedness makes them feel more homogenous, and this could increase the in-group feeling and facilitate collective action. With this said, the demographic results showed that the volunteers who responded to the survey come from different backgrounds, and yet they feel like it is a good or very good sense of community among the volunteers. This relates back to the theory that the volunteers are creating bridging social capital between them, as outlined in the section on previous research.

Furthermore, the volunteers who responded to my survey showed significantly higher levels of generalised trust and trust in other people than the respondents from the WVS (the general public). This implicates that social trust could have an underlying effect on who decides to volunteer internationally, and that it is surely a factor that differentiates the volunteers who responded to my survey from the WVS respondents from the same countries. The response to the open question varied between different ideas as to why they had initially decided to volunteer. Several comments indicated that social networks had an effect on the decision, in hearing about the crisis, having social ties connected to it, or a desire to repay acts of kindness.

All things considered, theories of social capital could most likely explain why individuals decided to volunteer during Europe's refugee crisis to a certain extent, at least for the respondents to my survey. This confirms previous research on social capital and collective action also for this particular case.

6.1 Suggestions for Further Research

The volunteers showed higher levels of social capital than the general public, therefore, a suggestion for further research is to give the same survey to people who are considering to

volunteer, but who have not travelled yet. The purpose would be to measure if people show similar levels of social capital before volunteering, or which social capital they could have acquired whilst volunteering.

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Attachments

1. Self-Administrated Survey

Motives for Volunteering

Welcome!

This questionnaire is part of a study on why individuals decide to volunteer.

It should not take more than 15 minutes.

Thank you for participating!

/Emma.

Definition of the term *volunteer*:

A person who offers to perform a service, without receiving financial gain for doing so.

1. *How old are you?*

2. *What gender would you classify yourself as?*

- Woman
- Man
- None of the above
- I do not want to answer

3. *In which country were you born?*

4. *Which is your current country of residence?*

5. *Have you volunteered with refugees in Europe (including Turkey) since September 2015?*

Yes

No

6. *If yes (please chose all the options that fits you):*

Did that volunteer work take place in:

Your country of residence

Your native country

A country that you have family ties to

A country that you do **not** have family ties to

7. *What is your current occupation, except volunteering?*

Full-time employee (30 hours a week or more)

Part-time employee (less than 30 hours a week)

Self-employed

Retired/pensioned

Student

Unemployed

Other (please specify)

8. *Through which source did you find out about volunteering with refugees?*

Social media

A family member

A friend

An organisation that I was already part of

An organisation that I was **not** already part of

Another social relation

Other (please specify)

9. *Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?*

Most people can be trusted

Need to be very careful

10. *I'd like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?*

	Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
Your family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your neighborhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust very much	Do not trust at all
People you know personally	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People you meet for the first time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People of another religion	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People of another nationality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all?

	A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all
Religious institutions	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The police	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The courts	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The government (in your nation's capital)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political parties	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Parliament	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Charitable or humanitarian organizations	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The United Nations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. *If someone does you a favour, how would you react? Please pick the option which you can relate to the most.*

- I feel obligated to re-pay them with another favour
- If I cannot give back to them, I will give back to someone else
- I say “Thank you” and move on
- None of the above

13. *Have any of your family or friends gone abroad to volunteer?*

- Yes, family
- Yes, friends
- No

14. *If yes:*

Was their volunteer work related to the current refugee crisis?

- Yes
- No

15. *When you left for volunteering internationally (the first time), did you go...*

- ...independently
- ...with an organisation
- I have not volunteered internationally

Please write a short motivation of your choice:

16. How did you get in contact with other volunteers or organisations before going abroad to volunteer?

- Social media
- I was already involved with the organisation I went with
- They were friends of my family or my friends
- I went together with a friend or a family who had the contacts
- I contacted an organisation directly
- I was not in contact with other volunteers or organisations before I left
- I have not volunteered internationally
- I do not want to answer

17. According to yourself, how would you rate the sense of community among the volunteers in the field?

- Very good
- Good
- Average
- Bad
- Very bad

I do not know

18. *Have you used social media as a source for communication?*

Yes

No

19. *If yes:*

How would you rate the sense of community among the volunteers in social media?

Very good

Good

Average

Bad

Very bad

I do not want to answer

20. *What made you decide to volunteer, in your own words? Please write a short answer.*

21. *Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:*

I create ties with the people I volunteer with, regardless of...

Agree

Disagree

...ethnicity

...ethnicity

...religion

...religion

Agree

Disagree

<input type="radio"/> ...class	<input type="radio"/> ...class
<input type="radio"/> ...political stand-point	<input type="radio"/> ...political stand-point
<input type="radio"/> ...age	<input type="radio"/> ...age
<input type="radio"/> ...gender	<input type="radio"/> ...gender
<input type="radio"/> ...occupation	<input type="radio"/> ...occupation

22. *Do you think that your social relations and/or social networks that you had previous to volunteering abroad had an effect on your decision to go?*

- Yes, my social networks
- Yes, my social relations
- Yes, both had an effect
- No, it was rather the aspect of creating future social relations and/or networks
- No, I do not believe it had anything to do with it
- I have not volunteered internationally

23. *Is there anything you would like to add on why you decided to volunteer?*

2. Call-out for Survey Respondents

RESEARCH/QUESTIONNAIRE (Please share where you find it appropriate)

Hi everyone!

I have previously volunteered in the Balkans and in Turkey, and at the moment I am doing research on why individuals decide to volunteer. If you could please take around 10 minutes to answer this questionnaire for me, that would be of great help :)

Please feel free to contact (PM) me if you have any questions on how the research will be conducted or if you would like to have a look at the final result of the study.

Big thanks and much love!

<https://sv.surveymonkey.com/r/CFGDV2B>