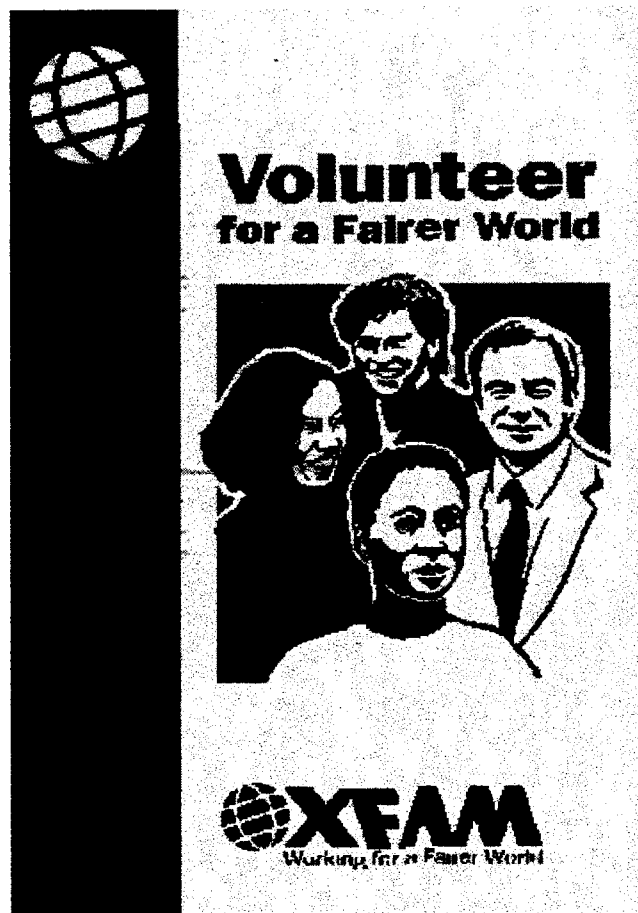


Towards the Cultural Meaning of Volunteering.  
Application of a World View Model in Understanding  
Volunteering in World Shops.



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Työn nimi Towards the Cultural Meaning of Volunteering. The Application of a World View Model in Understanding Volunteering in World Shops (Kohti vapaaehtoisuuden kulttuurista merkitystä. Maailmankuvamallin soveltaminen maailmankaupan vapaaehtoisuuden ymmärtämiseksi)	
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<p>Tiivistelmä - Abstract</p> <p>Pro gradu -työni <i>Kohti vapaaehtoisuuden kulttuurista merkitystä - maailmankuvamallin soveltaminen maailmankaupan vapaaehtoisuuden ymmärtämiseksi</i> tavoite on tutkia vapaaehtoisuutta kulttuurisena ilmiönä, koska se tarjoaa aikaisempaan tutkimukseen nähden erilaisen näkökulman kyseisen ilmiön selittämiseen. Vapaaehtoisuutta on tutkittu Suomessa ja Iso-Britanniassa lähinnä sosiologin, taloustieteiden ja historian piirissä. Antropologisia tutkimuksia ei ole juuri tehty. Tavoitteenani on lähestyä vapaaehtoisuutta antropologisesti, mikä merkitsee kokonaisvaltaista vapaaehtoisuuskulttuurin eri puolien kartoitusta. Käytän maailmankuvamallia ilmiön kokonaisvaltaiseen tarkasteluun. Tieteellisen haasteen ohella vapaaehtoisuus kiinnostaa minua omien vapaaehtoiskokemukseni vuoksi, nimenomaan juuri maailmankaupoilla. Pohdin itereflektiivisesti oman vapaaehtoisuuteni vaikutusta tutkimukseen ja tutkittaviin. Tutkimusaineisto muodostuu maailmankauppa Juuttiputiikin (Oulu) ja maailmankauppa Oxfam Drury Lane'n (Lontoo) vapaaehtoisten haastatteluista. Kyselyt ja osallistuva havainnointi täydentävät haastatteluaineistoa.</p> <p>Vapaaehtoisuus maailmankaupoissa on monitahoinen ilmiö. Taustaoletuksena tutkimukselle on, että siihen vaikuttavat samanaikaisesti yksilö-, kollektiivi- ja maailmantaso. Lisäksi oletan, että sisällyttämällä tutkimukseen kahdesta maasta koottua aiheistoa maailmankaupan vapaaehtoisuudesta, korostan ilmiön sidonnaisuutta niin paikallisiin kuin maailmanlaajuisiinkin tekijöihin. Väitekehys on olennaisesti sama yli rajojen. Soveltamani maailmankuvamallissa (vaikutteita maailmankuvaa käsittelevästä kirjallisuudesta mm. Alan Dundes ja Marja-Liisa Rauste-von Wright) pyrin huomioimaan näiden tasojen yhteisvaikutuksen malliin sisältyvien ulottuvuuksien avulla, jotka ovat biografinen, poliittinen, sosiaalinen, elämäntavallinen ja eettinen ulottuvuus. Malli ei siis erottele yksilöllistä maailmankuvaa kollektiivisesta, vaan limittää ne yhteen yksilön kokemuksen osana. Voidakseni käyttää mallia aineiston analyysissä luon kunkin ulottuvuuden alle kaksinapaisen jatkumon, jonka tavoitteena on kartoittaa ulottuvuuksien keskeiskysymykset ja vapaaehtoisten suhteen niihin. Jatkumolla kokoan vapaaehtoisten näkemyksiä sekä tukemaan että vastustamaan kunkin ulottuvuuden merkitystä vapaaehtoisuudessa. Elämäntavallisessa ulottuvuudessa jatkumon ääripäät ovat järjestötoiminnan jatkuvuus kautta elämän ja sattumanvarainen järjestötoiminta, poliittisessa syvälinen tietämys ja arkitieto kehityskysymyksistä ja kansalaisjärjestöistä, sosiaalisessa sosiaalinen sitoutuneisuus ja vetäytyvyys, elämäntavallisessa elämäntavan vapaaehtoisuutta täydentävät ja tukemattomat tekijät ja eettisessä vapaaehtoisuutta tukevat ja tukemattomat moraaliset kannanotot. Kuva, jonka vapaaehtoiset rakentavat vapaaehtoisuudesta näkökulmillaan, ei siten ole yhtenäinen vaan sirpaleinen. Se osoittaa ilmiöön liittyvän ristiriitaisia merkityksiä ja samalla rikkoo tavannomaisen kuvan vapaaehtoisuudesta epäitsekäänä maailmanparantamisena. Maailmankuvamalli on väline luokittella aineistoa järjestelmällisesti. Tämä on antiessentialistinen näkemys, jonka mukaan maailmankuva ei ole olemassaoleva ilmiö vaan tutkijan väline jäsentää monitahoista aineistoa.</p> <p>Pohdin myös muutosta vapaaehtoisuudessa vapaaehtoisuran eri vaiheissa osoittaakseni ilmiön dynaamisuuden. Vapaaehtoisuuteen liittyvää symboliikkaa tarkastelen vapaaehtoisuuden ideaalin avulla, jossa sovellan Alan Dundesin folk idea ja Pia Meron kulttuurinen stereotypia käsitteitä. Pääosaltaan tutkimus on konstruktionistinen, puhemaailman kautta ilmiötä rakentava.</p>	
Asiasanat vapaaehtoisuus, maailmankuva, kansalaisjärjestö, maailmankauppaliike	
Säilytyspaikka	
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The cover picture: The frontpage of Oxfam leaflet for recruiting volunteers (order code 120405 Nov 1993).

## 1 Introduction

This study concerns cultural aspects of volunteering. Volunteering has been examined from a variety of perspectives over the years. However, the cultural aspects are relatively little researched. I approach volunteering through two sets of field material, namely the Juuttiipiikki and the Drury world shops. The original idea while initiating this research was that current social movements such as world shops have a "...genuinely new manner of *individualising* planetary problems, they '*globalise*' individuals throughout the world, engendering a new way of thinking and acting; that is, a *new ethic of responsibility* and a *new practice of self-determination and solidarity*." (Hegedus 1990, 277.) Over the research process, this kind element of volunteering proved valid only for a fraction of volunteers in world shops (if understood as new social movements). A world view model applied in this research encompasses volunteering in a more holistic manner including not only political but also other aspects of volunteering. Overall, the result is an anthropological analysis of the cultural aspects of volunteering in world shops.

If volunteering is approached from the state level, it seems that conservative politics tend to prevail in countries with a strong voluntary sector. In the United States, voluntary services "have received considerable attention in the past ten years by educators, politicians, and journalists as being an integral part of civic education necessary for citizens of a democracy" (Sundeen & Raskoff 1995, 337). People are encouraged to volunteer. A critical voice would say that the state makes citizens to do what was originally due to the state to accomplish. Furthermore, the reduction of public funding in social sector in any country tends to make the state to rely more on voluntary activity.

In Britain, the voluntary sector plays an important role in the development of many key services. The estimated total net income of registered charities has increased remarkably in ten years between 1975 and 1985. It is conservative politics resulting in the growth of voluntary sector. Referring to The Conservative Manifesto 1983, the Conservative Party's election platform in 1983 argued that "Conservatives reject Labour's contention that the state can and should do everything... we shall promote closer partnership between the state and the private sector... We also welcome the vital contribution made by voluntary organisations in the social services. We shall continue to give them strong support... We shall continue to support our highly successful 'Opportunities for Volunteering' scheme." (Knapp and Saxon-Harrold 1989, 2-4.)

Until the 1960's, voluntary work in Britain was conceived as philanthropic work in charitable and voluntary organizations. It was mainly middle-aged upper-class, or middle-class people who were most engaged. The foundation of the welfare state changed this pattern for some decades until voluntary work was reintroduced in government schemes. Despite the original philanthropic grounding of volunteering, it was now argued in terms of active citizenship. The recruitment addressed primarily the working class young (who suffered from unemployment) to prevent them from exclusion in a society. Altruism was, hence, replaced by the development of the less well-off. (Sheard 1990, 11-14.)

In Finland, the recession has resulted in privatization of sectors conceived as the public sector. Contracting out and franchising have become a common practice. (Kosonen 1995). Furthermore, volunteering is promoted also in Finland considered as a social welfare state in which the state carries the responsibility of the well-being of its citizens. For instance, Nuorten Akatemia (the Academy of the Youth) was established in early 1990's to coordinate voluntary activities of several sports and voluntary youth groups. It aims at advocating volunteering as a way to encourage young people for self-induced activities. By volunteering young people can collect credits that are later useful when applying for further education. (Helsingin sanomat 11.2.1996.). The underlying idea of Nuorten Akatemia is reminiscent of argumentation for the active citizenship in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

In the United States and in Britain, there is a bulk of research work conducted on the role of voluntary activity due to the centrality of the sector in society. This research belongs mainly to the fields of economics, sociology, political sciences, and psychology as the journal *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* reveals. Hence, there is very little research done in anthropology. In Finland, there is only little research available on the topic; the main interest has been in social, political and historical aspects of voluntary activity (see, e.g., Blomberg 1992, Siisiäinen 1989 and 1991, and Matthies 1994). Thus, the cultural aspects of volunteering are, to a great extent, unexplored.

## **1.1 Research background**

Besides scientific interest in volunteering, my personal involvement in voluntary work made me to select this subject. Several years of volunteering in the Juuttiputiikki world shop in Oulu provoked me to think of reasons why people volunteer for nonprofit causes. Over the years, I observed that volunteering is not something that everyone opts for, but a hobby of relatively a small number of people. People from different backgrounds and from different age groups have made the decision to work for the cause of global humanity through volunteering in a world shop. I investigate this variety of volunteers, the path to make that choice, and the reasoning keeping them to volunteer for years. In brief, I study the multiplicity of cultural meanings attached to volunteering in world shops.

Overall, the reasons to study volunteering internationally are manifold. When I was choosing a research topic for my MA thesis in 1993 I was actively volunteering for several organizations. I was also getting "itchy feet" to explore new countries. As a consequence, I combined both of these needs: I would study volunteering both in my own country and abroad. Additionally, I regarded volunteering to development assistance as a reaction to global structural inequalities and events unbound of the national boundaries of a particular volunteer group. I needed two separate cases in two countries to study this aspect.

The empirical material of this research was acquired through ethnographic fieldwork in the Oxfam Drury Lane world shop in the United Kingdom, and the Juuttiputiikki world shop in Finland. A natural choice was the Juuttiputiikki in Oulu, since that was my own context of volunteering. At the time of outlining this research, I had no extensive knowledge of Oxfam.

Personal experience of volunteering in the Juuttiputiikki world shop since 1990, however, was of use and helped to single out Oxfam. It was only after arriving in London in April 1994 that I selected the Oxfam Drury Lane out of tens of Oxfam shops in the Greater London Area. The rationale to select these two lies in the assumed similarity of the concept of these world shops (despite their geographical distance).

Besides the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury (as Oxfam Drury Lane is known) I have gathered experiences in volunteering in other world shops: I volunteered for two weeks for Streatham Oxfam shop in southern London, and for two months for the Oxfam head office in Oxford. In Finland, I worked occasionally for the world shop in Jyväskylä. In 1995 I was a member of board in the Finnish Association of World shops. I do not include these experiences in this research directly, but they do provide valuable context information. Chapter three *Setting the scene* introduces the field experiences in the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury. First, I explain the underlying ideas that lead to the selection of the two field sites. The second section includes a detailed account of the methods and material. Third, I present the key concepts with literature references as well as my position in the multiplicity of possible definitions. The fourth section describes the two field sites with some central notions in mind, namely ideological, social and material aspects of the world shops under scrutiny. Finally, I review the researched volunteer pools with help of questionnaire results.

## 1.2 Research design

The main concepts of this paper are volunteering, a world shop and a world view. Chapter three (3.4.) as well as chapter four present them thoroughly. At this stage, I display some central ideas. This research aims at understanding volunteering through volunteers' perception. Therefore, I attempt to avoid defining volunteering in my terms, but let volunteers speak for themselves. It suffices to say that *a volunteer* is a person who of his or her own accord intentionally contribute without any objective (e.g., monetary) reward for a commonly and specifically defined need, for example, in a non-profit organization. This is a narrow characterization of the qualities of those people who contribute to the cultural construction of volunteering in this research.

There are various ways to call *a world shop*: it is also known as a fair trade shop, a third world shop, a third world charity shop, and an alternative shop. In the continuation, I will use the term world shop for the sake of consistency. There is no literature on this available, this is rather my own interpretation growing from empirical experiences as for the uses of the different terms. It is the most used term in world shop circles and in current discussion on the phenomenon.

The principle idea of world shops is called *fair or alternative trade* designating a critical stance towards regular world trade. In a nutshell, the basic principle is to have producers to earn sufficient living through their work by reducing the intermediate costs. The Western world shops strive for changing the structural imbalance and inequalities of world trade by importing goods directly without intermediates from small producer cooperatives and

communities in the developing countries. A set of specific fair trade criteria has to be met by producers, goods and world shop operations. Overall, the world shops pursue responsible trade relations: social and environmental matters are paid particular attention alongside commercial gain. Most nonprofit organizations have come into existence since the Second World War (Hall 1995, 5-7.). The first European world shops were established in the United Kingdom and in the Netherlands in the late 1950's and early 1960's. It was, however, only in the 1970's that they were founded in greater numbers. (Weltladen Handbuch 1992, 244-256.) In this research, the world shop makes merely a site for volunteering, hence the actual set-up of world shop as a collective formation is not paid much attention to. Therefore, it is not the shop as a structure, but volunteering that is examined.

In chapter two I illuminate the way I think of anthropology today. In anthropology, the role of a researcher is specific. As opposed to sciences with exact methodology in anthropology a researcher is allowed and should explicitly describe the role she has played in different stages of the research process. She is an instrument in the process, especially, during the fieldwork. The personal nature of anthropological work causes also specific constraints: the research is not easy to replicate, that being regarded as a norm in academic work. This paper discusses extensively the question of personal involvement in anthropology, since the topic volunteering arose from my personal interest in engagement in volunteering. I address, therefore, the fundamental questions of ethics, the methodological assumptions underlying this research, and the nature of anthropological writings. Self-reflection plays here an integral part. Finally, in line with the theoretical foundation, I tell a story of myself as a volunteer, therefore including myself as a background informant in the research.

The chapter four reviews the historical developments of world view research in anthropology. I chose Orvar Löfgren's periodization to illuminate the history of world view studies. Additionally, some specific world view studies present various approaches applied previously. I also review some special characteristics of world view research in the history of world view studies. After the historical section, I take examples of some specific studies that have bearing to this research. These excursions (Dundes, Rauste-von Wright) support the world view model applied in this inquiry.

This paper approaches the cultural meaning of volunteering with help of a world view model. There was a trend in Finland in the 1970's and 1980's to study social and cultural life holistically and cross-disciplinary by utilizing such concepts as way of life, cultural map, and world view. Today many of these holistic approaches can be placed under the umbrella cultural studies that is an interdisciplinary frame to study modern cultural phenomena. (Knuuttila 1989, 170.) In anthropology, a world view is a widely used concept to describe holistically a certain collective frame of mind, that a majority of the members of a culture share or have in common. There are various theoretical approaches to investigate world views. The main divide, however, can be detected in the way they treat the cultural community under study: intracultural or transcultural approach (Knuuttila 1989, 175).

In chapter five, I outline the means for analyzing volunteering in world shops. The analysis is grounded on a dimensional world view model enhanced with a bipolar continuum model.

The world view model includes biographical, political, social, way of life, and ethical dimension. Overall, the aim is to apply world view as a methodological device. I introduce the original ideas behind the world view model, tie the model to the general framework of studying world view, and contemplate on the relationship between volunteering and world view. The cultural meaning of volunteering derives from a volunteer's perceptions of volunteering categorized in bipolar continuums. It is not a matter of volunteering being an intentional or rather merely a circumstantial activity: volunteering consists of a wide range of perspectives. The interrelatedness of the world view model and collective action is, therefore, solved through an idea of production of meaning. Volunteers signify volunteering.

Chapter six analyzes the field material with help of the bipolar continuums of the world view model. I apply the bipolar continuum model to distinguish volunteers' views from each other. Therefore, the chapter six presents list-like accounts of various factors addressed by volunteers under each dimension. They intend to be true to volunteer's views, hence being rather impressionistic in nature. This model encloses volunteering, essentially, by reviewing the opposite ends of each dimension in volunteers' speech. The bipolar continuums were established with regard to the notion of common sense and analytical knowledge. Similar polarization helps to identify the opposite ends of the continuums in volunteers' perspectives. In biographical dimension, the degree of consistency of choices towards volunteering is investigated; in political dimension, the expressed knowledge base on developmental issues; in social dimension, the stress on the likemindedness of world shop volunteers; in the way of life dimension, other similar interests (to volunteering) a volunteer may pursue in free time; and finally, in ethical dimension, the profoundness of responses on questions of personal moral.

Chapter seven discusses the transformation of volunteering. This analysis attempts to prove that volunteering is dynamic and constantly under changes. Chronologically, the points of potential change in volunteers' careers are the intention to volunteer, the decision to volunteer, the initial phase as a volunteer, the routinized phase of volunteering, and finally, the continuity of commitment.

Chapter eight detects symbolic aspects of volunteering through a concept of ideal volunteering. When searching for the meaning of volunteering, an idea of an ideal volunteer underlies the process. In a sense, when describing their own volunteer experiences, volunteers reflect those against the same of an ideal volunteer. The ideal volunteer does not necessarily even exist in reality, but still dictates what qualities a proper volunteer should possess.

The concluding chapter nine summarizes the main issues of the research. I address the applicability of the world view model in examining cultural meaning of volunteering. In spite of its complicatedness, the dimensional world view model extended with bipolar continuums manages to reveal the diverse nature of volunteering as a cultural phenomenon. It reveals a picture of volunteering for world shops that is not uniform, but complex. Along with altruistic or political reasons, people volunteer due to circumstantial factors. There remains, however, no doubt, more to be explored around volunteering.

## **2 A personal view on anthropology**

In this chapter, I illuminate the way I think of anthropology today. I discuss the fundamental questions of ethics, the methodological assumptions underlying this research, and the nature of anthropological writings. I support my arguments with literature references. Similarly to other anthropologists, for me anthropology aims at "enhanced critical awareness" (Strathern 1987, 17) including rigorous self-reflection. Indeed, self-reflection has played an integral part in substantiating this work. I have been almost painfully aware of my own bias at every stage of the research. As a result of numerous critical moments and ethical thinking concerning the value and rationale of anthropology, I have concluded that a reasonable way to make anthropology is to be open at every stage of the study as to the methods used and to the exchange relations during the study. In a sense, I avoid extreme subjectivity this way. This kind of openness is also understood as means to close the gap between the self and the other (Aro 1996, 28).

Ethnography is not a positivistic discipline and should not even attempt to follow that kind of ideology. Instead, by incorporating transparency at every step of the study, it is possible to fulfill the requirements of academic research and simultaneously avoid the fallacy of positivism. Päivikki Suojanen (referring to Sanjek) discusses the humanistic (subjective) and positivistic (objective) ethics regarding ethnographic study. She maintains that ethnographic research can be strengthened through 1) openness in the underlying presumptions of the field work; 2) explication of the selection of the topic and the field (see also Strathern 1987, 19); and 3) an assessment of the links between the field notes and the actual text. (Suojanen 1996, 42-43; Sanjek 1990.) Laura Aro contemplates also these issues in depth in her work on identity narratives (Aro 1996, 28-38).

I highlight these aspects of my study in this and the following chapter Setting the scene. I address the ethical matters underlying the study, the reasons to select this topic and the field, as well as the methods used in converting the raw material into an analytical piece of research. Instead of explicating all of these aspects thoroughly, I concentrate on the facets, that are of most concern in this work. I focus on the role relationships, that can also be referred to as intersubjectivity, in an intracultural study (e.g., Aro 1996, 30). Furthermore, I focus on the methodological transparency as means of validating ethnography. Finally, in line with the theoretical foundation, I tell a story of myself as a volunteer, therefore including myself as a background informant in the research. My aim is to a certain degree to integrate the role of a researcher with that of an informant, although I am aware of the potential discredits a self-reflective account may have (Aro 1996, 29).

### **2.1 An anthropologist and a volunteer - ethical considerations**

How can I justify a research work on volunteers being a volunteer myself? This question has been concerning me since the very beginning of the research, and, reversibly, also has maintained my interest in the topic of volunteering. An obvious argument for such a study is my insider role as a volunteer, but similarly this can serve as an opposite argument. To

justify the research, there are fundamental ethical questions on the background, that I aim to address first. I take Päivikki Suojanen's categories presented previously as a basis of handling the topic of ethical considerations. She identifies the points of ethical thinking in ethnography as being the selection of the topic, the nature of information, and the methods of acquiring information (Suojanen 1996, 50.).

For comparison, William Foote Whyte divides the ethical questions according to their relations to the researcher: sponsors, subjects of the study, and the colleagues in the academia (Whyte 1984, 193.). For example, the publication of a research must always be done in consent with the informants. No matter, if they are aware of the final content or not, the anthropologist must consider the implications the published study may have to the people who have contributed to it (Whyte 1984, 201). In other words, the relationship should be reciprocal. R. F. Ellen makes a similar division of ethical considerations with Whyte by informant, the profession and the government (Ellen 1984, 133). As an additional facet to Suojanen's categories, I treat the question of informant-researcher relations or intersubjectivity (Aro 1996). I do not conceive the other aspects (academia or profession and sponsors or government) as pertinent here. This would be, however, quite a different case in a more advanced study.

While gathering information the researcher plays several roles coming forth depending on the situation. My field notes reveal, that in the field my role with the volunteers concerned me as much as it did later when writing the actual ethnography (MPa 39, 45 and 57). The role of the researcher towards the subjects of the research depends on the very situation. In a sense, the researcher represents the other in the field context. Some of the various roles can be active simultaneously. They either make it more difficult or contribute to understanding volunteer culture. Despite being a volunteer myself in the field, and thus, an insider, I play the role of a researcher that makes me an outsider. Loring Danford puts it: "I was acutely aware of a paradoxical sense of simultaneous distance and closeness, otherness and oneness..." (Geertz 1988, 15 < Danford 1982). Clifford Geertz names this position a philosophical meditation model of scene-setting (Geertz 1988, 15). To set the scene for the readership through the following interaction analysis, is what I aim at here.

It is integral to establish a good rapport with the people of the research setting. Being alone in the field enforces the researcher to make friends with the informants. Nevertheless, the purpose of the contact has to be kept in mind (see, e.g., Whyte 1984, 65-82). I made friends with a few volunteers in the Drury, and some volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki were my long time friends (Yet all of them are engaged elsewhere currently.) In an interview with a volunteer in the Drury I am included in her friends she has made in the shop.

- Have you made friends here at the shop?

- Yes, you know. The singer R, the singer and his manager, his accompanies came home and practiced his singing because I had a keyboard, yes. And you and C came back, didn't you? (D3, 6.)

The information I was privileged to receive from friends is somewhat more detailed and personal than in other cases. How do I deal with this? It seems that to be fair to all informants I have to omit the very personal information. The more delicate one has to be,



the better the relations are to the informants. As I learn to know of them also outside the shop premises, it sometimes confuses: can I make use of information received outside the interview sessions. The actual interview session was also rather different in those cases, because it was myself, not the friend, who was more nervous. It is revealing to interview a friend and can be even insulting: I was asking them questions that I would not have posed to my friends otherwise or at least not at such an early stage of the acquaintanceship. For example, I was insisting on them to tell me about their personal philosophy. Interestingly enough, it appears easier to ask extremely personal questions from strange people than from friends.

Marilyn Strathern points out that the integration of being attuned as registers of alien cultures and of their own practice makes anthropology extremely difficult (Strathern 1987, 17). The evident contradiction is confusing and causes a good amount of critical moments. The following table 2.2 depicts some of the major role relationships that I experienced at the Juuttiipiikki and the Drury world shops. The list could be, of course, continued with several other relations; them being, however, not directly integral to the topic or so subtly to be recognized, I have not explicitly discerned them.

**Table 2.1** Some of the various roles of the researcher.

MYSELF	RELATIONS TO WHOM
a researcher	to the researched and the informants to the profession
a volunteer	to the paid workers at the shop to non-volunteers
an insider	to co-volunteers
an outsider	to the core group of active volunteers
a woman	to female volunteers to male volunteers
a foreigner	to the English volunteers
a friend	to some of the co-volunteers
an "Oxfamer"/ a "Swallow"	to the volunteers of other voluntary organizations to the non-volunteers

As I asked a volunteer in the Drury, if she regards me as a volunteer or as a researcher, she answered briefly "a volunteer" (D8, 10.). Intriguingly, the very same interview gives another kind of impression, because the interviewee is seemingly nervous and always wants to give the "correct" answers, which does not necessarily correspond to what she really thinks of the issue. She hold me for an official investigator, not really for any other volunteer.

In each interview, there are many roles present at the same time. The table above lists the kind of roles that I played; similarly, however, each volunteer played their own play with several roles. The interaction or communication link between me and the volunteers was changing and taking shape constantly. It was a process whereby we changed roles and positions in relation to, for example, the types of questions asked and the state of mind of

both. (This has a point of conjunction with social psychological inquiries with constructionist approach, e.g., Steier 1991.) I ensured the volunteers in the beginning of the interview of their right not to give any responses if they regarded the questions in any way unpleasant or inappropriate. Additionally, the anonymity of each volunteer is guaranteed by coding the interviews. (There is a number of other interviews conducted as well, that are not included in this paper.) No-one denied me the use of any piece of information they told me, even if they raised some issues that they did not expect me to leak to the public. These issues frequently concern the social relations between particular people in the world shops. The following table 2.2 provides codes of each volunteer interviewed for the research as well as a brief description of the interaction and atmosphere during each interview session.

**Table 2.2** An assessment of the interaction during interview sessions. The letter D in the code of a volunteer indicates that s/he is from the Drury and the letter J indicates that the volunteer is from the Juuttiputiikki. \* f = female, m = male. \*\* = age bracket is defined in the same way as in the questionnaires (see Appendix 1a-b): 1 = under 16 years old, 2 = 16-25 years old, 3 = 25-35 years old, 4 = 35-55 years old, 5 = 55-65 years old, and 6 = 60+ years old.

VOL.	SEX*	AGE**	NATURE OF INTERACTION
D1	F	3	Factual and friendly. She invites me for a picnic. Language problems, she cannot speak or understand my English being Spanish herself. I dominate the discussion.
D2	M	3	Factual and an extensive discussion off the point (volunteering) on developmental issues. Reciprocal interaction.
D3	F	5	Articulate and enthusiastic. Misunderstandings as for the content of the questions. Reciprocal interaction.
D4	M	3	He seems like an ideal volunteer answering the questions in a way I expected. Knowledgeable and engaged. Rewarding discussions for both parties.
D5	F	2	At times tense atmosphere. I felt inferior due to her middle class accent and choice of words. Very articulate and analytical, but rather impressionistic. Hard to follow as a researcher.
D6	M	2	Informal chat with no tensions. He does not always understand my questions due to them being too academic. Easy atmosphere.
D7	M	3	Very brief in personal questions, lengthy in factual on British society. Helpful in explaining me on Britain. At times tense atmosphere.
D8	F	2	No fruitful interaction. She perceives the questions as a questioning and is nervous. She tries to please by attempting to give "right" replies. She keeps repeating the same things. I dominate the interaction.
J1	F	3	Friendly and easy atmosphere. Previous acquaintance makes interaction rewarding for both parties.
J2	F	3	Rather formal though easy atmosphere. Question-led interaction.
J3	F	3	Friendly and easy interaction. Previous acquaintanceship leads to extensive discussions. Rewarding to both parties.
J4	F	2	Formal interaction. She feels rather nervous and gives short replies. I dominate the discussion.
J5	F	2	Rather formal interaction. She feels nervous and it seems that she wants to give expected answers. No real reciprocity.
J6	M	4	Ambiguous atmosphere. I do not know if he takes the interview earnestly or as a joke. He dominates the discussion due to his unexpected replies.
J7	F	4	Familiar and easy interaction. I keep identifying myself to her due to a similar background in the country side. I seem almost too enthusiastic to comment.

As table 2.2 shows, the nature of interaction varies. I have collected a brief account of each relationship with two leading notions in mind: those of power and reciprocity. I mention the power relations, that is, the dominance of either party in interaction, if it seems pertinent regarding the fluency of the interview. The essential issue here is to consider how this eventually affects the nature of information. When interaction is relaxed, an interviewee tends either to answer in length on the issue or to make easy detours around the topic. Furthermore, if the interviewee seems tense and nervous, the answers tend either to be mostly short "yes" or "no" answers or to expand to "expectedly correct" views. Some

volunteers hold the interview for a questioning, whereby there are only correct and false responses, not their own opinions. Some others, on the other hand, are most direct and do not have any tendency to please me, the researcher. In those cases, the interaction is mutually rewarding. No rules can be, however, generalized from the interaction as such. Eventually, all interviews are similarly valuable for the analysis.

The personality of each party makes an additional ingredient as well. Personal sympathy or antipathy tinges the communication with tension or ease. Once the interview went so well that the volunteer invited me for a picnic afterwards. There were also a few interviews reminiscent of tiresome struggles. The following interview citation illuminates a case with underlying tensions. I can hardly keep the face understanding that the interviewee does not really mean what she is saying. Besides her attitude, that I understand as being arrogant, she is also witty and flattering. I am ill at ease with her also for the sake of her skillful use of the English language, nearly too skillful for me to understand her. A strained laughter and my too sarcastic remark release the situation to some extent.

- ...It's quite clear to me that other people's motivation for working here is quite different from mine, because it's nice meeting people here. But in the end of the day, it doesn't really worry me whether they are here or not.
- You wouldn't go out with them for example?
- Well, I mean, lovely people like yourself, of course, yeah. (laughter)
- I am a researcher now. (tense laughter) (D5, 3-4.)

Equity or reciprocity requires that the expertise of each subject of research is recognized and made open. The values attached to each type of expertise have to be dissolved to achieve equitable relations. In the course of a short research period it is not possible to solve the question of mutual trust. (Munter 1996, 75.) Yet it is responsible to be humble and not to attempt to possess the collected material or especially the culture of which the material is gathered. Essentially, the material is a reflection of the interaction between the subjects of investigation (Munter 1996; Gergen & Gergen 1991, 78-79).

Kirsten Hastrup stresses the mutual benefit of the relations at fieldwork by calling them *contextual exchange relationships*. Generally they are cross-cultural in nature in anthropology, but more and more also parallel cultural. Anthropologists are increasingly turning to study their own cultures. Parallel culture creates different role expectancies than a more remote culture. (Hastrup 1987, 94.) My insider role and, thus, respect for co-volunteers enhanced the exchange relationship. In the beginning, being a novice at the Drury, I was often helped by co-volunteers not only in the shop activities but also in the fieldwork. I consulted them in language problems as well as in substance problems. I was even given a book on the British society, booklets and numerous verbal advice. My deficiencies made some to take the role of an instructor.

*19.6.1994 Sunday* (the week in retrospect) After having worked and socialized for a couple of hours I gathered courage and asked Y if she possibly liked to fill in a questionnaire, that I had prepared for my thesis. The answer was positive, so that I was to take this chance for real. I passed her the questionnaire and asked her to correct all possible mistakes and give comments not only on the format but also on the content. After she had filled it in and had provided me with some advice I

started looking for the next suitable target... People started getting interested and unfortunately some even felt sorry that they were not given the task and that I didn't turn to them for help... In the afternoon Sôna (the shop manager) wondered what I was doing in the shop so late after having stayed there all morning. I told him that I had tried out five test questionnaires with some people. I asked if he would like to see the questionnaire and give me some hints for improvements. Sôna was immediately interested... (MPa, 32.)

The context of world shops in the West makes an important issue in this research; that being my own cultural background. Marilyn Strathern states that the major assumption of anthropology at home is "whether anthropologists are at home qua anthropologists... is decided by the relationships between their techniques of organizing knowledge and how people organize knowledge about themselves." (Strathern 1987, 31.) Home is a matter of knowledge organization, which designates whether the researcher has similarities in knowledge organization to the cultural unit under scrutiny. This is to say that the means of fruitful interaction should be easier to establish than in case of a distant culture. Age, gender and educational background may not be alike, but the general cultural knowledge base is more so. The reflexivity that anthropologists gain at home arises other requirements for a study such as strict ethical considerations concerning, for example, publicity.

Going back to this research and thinking of the interviews during the field work in the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury, there are clearly variations in conceptual consensus with myself and the informants. In some cases, the interaction is natural and smooth at the conceptual level. An informant with academic background knows the academic language and ways to use academic ideas in a similar fashion as I use them. Non-academic volunteers have a different frame of reference; hence, my questions provided occasionally totally unexpected answers. Similar differences arose also due to gender and age of each party. The table 2.2 reveals some of the difficulties we faced in the interviews.

As a conclusion, each encounter (Table 2.2) signifies a variety of issues. I will not elaborate on the subtleties of each here any further, but only point out that there is more to the relationships than meets the eye. A detailed analysis of them would be a matter of another piece of research. However integral, it is not only interaction but actual volunteering that this paper attempts to conceptualize.

## **2.2 Rudimentary questions of anthropology**

By including a chapter on basic questions in anthropology, I attempt to elaborate on the ethical considerations addressed previously. This section concerns fundamentally the subjective nature of anthropological research. I aim to gain validity through openness in underlying principles of the selected methodology. I consider, hence, the matters of cultural relativism, and anthropological representation.

### Cultural relativism

Cultural relativism is always a relevant question in an anthropological research. It has concerned me in several ways similarly to other anthropologists before myself. I have ended up producing ethnographies from an intracultural or emic perspective, from the point of view of the people under investigation. Nevertheless, I am also keen on creating analytical abstractions. In other words, I am pursuing an approach that is generalizing and attempts to create universal arguments. These features can be taken as characteristically transcultural. I am clearly confused in relation to cultural relativism. Nevertheless, I aim here to clarify my standpoint explicitly.

Intracultural approach in the study of volunteers' world view is intrinsic in the setting of myself being a volunteer. Intracultural and transcultural approaches are not sharp edged entities: one can dominate in some situations and the other in some others. By this I refer to various phases of research. In the field contact quite naturally the volunteers were to become co-experts in the research in some practical matters. Eventually, however, it was obvious that I should to take the lead. My initial ideal was to do research together with the volunteers, but very soon I realized that to be an impossibility with my skills and in those situations. Overall, I hoped to be able to redraft and focus my research in communication with other volunteers despite them having only little, if any, interest in the research.

In practice nobody was *that* interested in my research topic, that they would have even initiated a discussion on it with me. Or maybe they would have, if I had just overcome my shyness? (I didn't want to bother anyone too much.) (MPb, 98.)

Once the field material is basically textual and the people are not present the intracultural aspects fade in the investigation process. There arises a temptation to draw generalizations based on the ordered material and thus (over)simplify the diversity of the material. The struggle between the scientific ideal of objectivism and the respect for the complexity of the qualitative material has to be solved. Shortly after the first field work, I settled the matter in a relatively satisfactory way.

I am loosing my belief in scientific research totally. Why cannot I then reflect my opinions also in the final work, make it subjective and thus unscientific? I could take myself as an example of a volunteer and reflect all the other biographies and stories of the interviews against that background. Myself amongst others. How do I explain this choice to myself and "scientifically"? (MPa, 107.)

After a period of disillusionment, my views became more moderate, and I started searching for "scientific" responses. Academic research is what one makes of it eventually, not anything more virtuous. Even if it may turn to a personal mission for the betterment of the society, this should not blind the eyes for variations. The necessary distance from the field achieved over time eases tensions between the objective and subjective aspects of research. Scientific research, or here better humanistic research, becomes a line or a cluster of decisions and descriptions of issues such as cultural relativism, ethics, methods, and applicability of the research. It is merely a perspective not a law-like statement of the

investigated topic. It is a process of signifying the surrounding world (e.g. Steier 1991, 2.-3). In the next paragraphs, I present some positions on cultural relativism relating them to this piece of research.

Seppo Knuuttila considers the distinction between the intracultural and the transcultural approaches to have narrowed over time. Intracultural approach was previously labeled as cultural idealism and transcultural as cultural materialism. Another pair of concepts characterizing the distinction is particularism and universalism. (Knuuttila 1989, 172-176.) As stated previously I consider this research to situate somewhere in the middle of the two. I do not conceive it relevant to collect a detailed account of field material if it is left without any further analysis after having it categorized. Even the categorization is an abstraction and as such violates the particular features of a research.

Geertz's position to cultural relativism is that one should not stay blind to the cultural diversity, as well as one should not take it for an obstacle to harmonious living. Cultural diversity is there to stay and even in our own neighborhoods. One should find a way to go about it. Scientifically anthropology provides the means to understand other cultures by its conceptual framework, by being a third factor, the language, in the cultural contact. Geertz argues for "understanding in the sense of comprehension, perception and insight" as opposed to "understanding in the sense of agreement of opinion, union of sentiment, or communality of commitment" (Geertz 1994, 465). This perspective is pragmatic helping to draw the line between the self and the other in a methodological way. In this case, the informants' cultural setting is the background that defines the research contacts. I can conclude something of the contact with them and understand my own position to them, but I am not to play the role of a cultural romantic and agree with everything I am told. This is often an alluring idea. The aim to gain understanding of volunteering requires means that volunteers can provide by their descriptions and views. I am not after a universal truth about volunteering but after an enhanced understanding of it (Steier 1991, 1).

Johanna Latvala discusses cultural relativism in relation to the contradiction in anthropology with political action and moral questions. She regards it confusing that these are almost non-existent in anthropology. Anthropologists tend to avoid involvement in political debates despite the evident strength of anthropological research in illuminating many controversial issues on a factual basis. Critical perspective of the uses of anthropology is most valuable as Latvala perceives it. Anthropologists avoid, hence, romanticizing (extreme cultural relativism) and objectivizing (extreme cultural materialism) the culture in question. (Latvala 1995, 107-109.) Latvala emphasizes moral responsibility, that I consider also significant. This view goes beyond the cultural relativism, and stresses the sensitivity to diversity not only on a factual, but also on a critical basis. Her view differs from that of Geertz in its requirement to involve oneself politically, if necessary. Her position is in line with French discursive approaches that have had wide-spread effect in social sciences in general: doing research is a political act *per se* (Sabour 1996, 5-9; Söderqvist 1991, 145.).

Bernard maintains a similar position. He points out (referring to Miles and Habermann 1994) that in some cases emic perspective is valid; fundamentally, however, the researcher should

remain "sceptical to retain an etic perspective, not to go 'native' " (Bernard 1988, 320). I take the etic perspective here to designate the conceptual framework of the academia (and her reference in the academia), that does not exist in empiria, but constitute means to discuss issues (Steier 1991, 8). The more abstract the analysis is, the less the view of the field comes forth directly. The more explanation and interpretation the less authentic views. This should, however, not validate a pure ethnographic work over an analytical explanation. The justification for an analysis derives from the field material and the preceding interaction with the interviewees, or here co-volunteers. It is through illuminating the steps towards the construction of an abstract analysis and positioning of herself in the research process, that the researcher can avoid violating the interviewees' views and the authentic material. The research work is made open to the readership as well as the informants alike, if they wish to understand the reasons of the researcher to "distort" or reduce their original views to something academic.

### **Anthropological representation**

As a natural corollary to the previous discussion of relativism in anthropology, it is also essential to have a closer look at *the anthropological representation*, the actual means of a research process to convey knowledge. Paul Rabinow states that "Representation are not, however, sui generis; they serve as means for making sense of the life worlds (which they are instrumental in constructing) and consequently they differ in their functions. The goals of the anthropologist and the native are distinct." (Rabinow 1986, 257.) Rabinow points out that the nature of anthropological texts is currently a widely discussed topic in anthropology. It gained impetus during the general trend in social sciences since the 1970's to turn to explore the foundations of social and humanistic sciences as text-based disciplines. The major principles and methods were called into question such as the essentialist view on reality as an identifiable object.

How can culture as a symbolic expression of a community, be grasped at all verbally and thus in natural languages? Language is, after all, the only means available to express about the life world in anthropology. The product of an ethnographer, a monograph, reflects as much about the researcher and her background as it does about the culture under study. The process of writing monographs as well as the papers themselves have been put under scrutiny. They produce reality on their own part. The anthropological authority has been challenged. (e.g., Geertz 1985, Clifford & Marcus 1986.) Rabinow notes that "I was there factor establishes the unique authority of the anthropologist; its suppression in the text establishes the anthropologists scientific authority" (Rabinow 1986, 244).

The authority of the anthropologists can be partially viewed through deconstructing the actual practice of anthropological representations. Free indirect style has been the dominating style of writing in anthropology. Dan Sperber analyzes this style in his treatise *On anthropological knowledge* (1982). The free indirect style consists of representations, that "is a thing, physical or mental, which, for some intellectual purposes, can replace ("stand for") the object it represents" (Sperber 1982, 11.). Representations can be of various types. Free indirect style is made of descriptions and quotations, two specific types of



representation. Each type of representation is *per se* insufficient. To yield adequacy the conditions under which each type is sufficient must be clarified. Description and interpretation define the two pursuits within the discipline of anthropology, that is, ethnography and anthropology. (Sperber 1982, 12-14.)

Concentrating here on interpretation and free indirect speech, I try to substantiate the interpretive approach of this work. Interpretation in social sciences is more than the semantic usage of the term implies. Interpretations are not merely texts, but they are the substance of free indirect speech. That again connotes that the object of speech has been summarized and selectively illuminated. Different types or categories of representations complement each other. The categorization is to clarify the setting not to be strictly normative, in fact, it is a semantic device and does not convey of empirical import. (Sperber 1982, 17.)

Nevertheless, ethnographic interpretations are based on several sources of information, not only verbal ones. The ethnographer accumulates cultural capital in ethnographic descriptions, and on the other hand, through the holistic exposure to the culture. Thus, a capacity to draw conclusions and to interpret becomes possible. By being holistic they are generalizations, at any case. (Sperber 1982, 22.) Ethnographic interpretation aims at "making the alien experience at least intuitively intelligible" (Sperber 1982, 26.). Explanation is also a representation, though more speculative and abstract in nature (Sperber 1982, 12).

Sperber also displays the distinction between descriptive and interpretive generalizations, the two types of anthropological interpretations. He argues for descriptive generalizations, because they are proven to be either true or false whereas interpretive generalizations are just faithful in varying degree. (Sperber 1982, 29). Sperber pursues here for the use of scientific logic as opposed to hermeneutic approach. I agree with Sperber for the categories of varied representations as a useful tool to clarify the issue, but I cannot support his views on generalizations, since I operate with a hermeneutic framework. I perceive interpretive generalizations essential in anthropology. Indeed, Sperber has been criticized for his preference for descriptive generalization, that calls for question the hermeneutic understanding and interpretation of cultural phenomena (Carrithers 1992, 170-173).

Johannes Fabian discusses yet another noteworthy issue concerning anthropological representations, that is, the negligence of anthropology to address the question of underlying ideas of representation. Anthropology has throughout history been going on about culture as order-out-of-disorder. Classifications and taxonomies are made for the sake of representation without really challenging the structure of representation as a culture-bound means of production of knowledge. What can a study of culture convey of the chaotic ways of living, if the native is regarded as a negation of culture, i.e., as chaos? Should the mode of representation as a taxonomizing strategy be replaced by something more accurate under non-cultural circumstances? It has been through negation and antithetical opposition that the other has been construed as the following picture depicts:

	civilized		present		subject
relates	to	as	to	as	to
	savage		past		object

**Figure 2.2** Anti-thetical oppositions in anthropological representation (Fabian 1993, 195).

These positivist conceptions of ethnographic fieldwork are debated by anthropologists challenging the dialogic nature of anthropological representation. The language in the usage of scholars is an instrument of reflection, whereas in the usage of the natives it is a mode of action (Fabian 1993, 203 referring to Malinowski). Fabian states that Malinowski "put doubts into our minds as to how adequate a view of language and, by extension, of culture as symbolic representation might be" (Fabian 1993, 202-203.).

In conclusion, this section has discussed the rudimentary questions of anthropology from general to more specific questions. I take a pragmatic stance towards cultural relativism in research. I argue for openness in explicating the means of investigation as well as in positioning of the researcher throughout the investigation process. The philosophical grounding of this research can be found in hermeneutics. The meaning of volunteering stems from partial truths and from their interpretation processes, anthropology playing a role of a third culture, or an intermediary. The last section contemplates on the form of anthropological representations, and on anthropological authority gained through representations. The most dominant mode of representation is free indirect style. The authority has traditionally been based on externalization of the research topic: the chaotic other to be ordered, the object of research without voice, the timeless phenomenon without historical past. The constructionist approach applied in this research aims at responding to the questions raised in this section as well as at overcoming some of the shortcomings of anthropological representations.

### **2.3 Myself as a volunteer**

To fulfill the requirements of openness, the preceding account of my own volunteer experience seeks to partially dissolve the imbalance of authority between the informants of the research and myself. I explicate some relevant questions that were asked from the informants. When appropriate, the text follows the key issues of the dimensions in the world view model.

I took the initial move to volunteer in a voluntary association in 1990 as I started my studies in the Oulu University. I was in a completely strange environment with a lot of spare time at hand in the evenings. But what were the reasons shaping my decision to join the local world shop? I could have opted for spending my free time in a sports club, an arts class, a language training or just by staying at home doing nothing. Instead, I selected volunteering for a small voluntary association (non-governmental organization) operating for the development of some communities in the developing countries.

The reasons to participate in this kind of voluntary activity were multiple. Before moving to Oulu, I had lived for a year in a boarding school in Sweden with intense social interaction. Hectic political debates at the school and new friends with high political awareness stimulated me as well. I could not blindly stay out of their influence. The issues of making the world a better place to live were among the most discussed ones.

There is more to the school than meets the eye at first. The school professed liberal politics by being a central training institution of the Swedish Center Party. Indeed, most, if not all, of my new class-mates were members of the party. Under these circumstances, I created another stance to political action, as I was not a member in any political party and was not even intending to. I believed in another kind of means for an individual to influence the state of affairs: the non-governmental organizations. Even if I could not relate to the party politics, I valued collective efforts and action. The advantage of non-governmental political action was, however, that it was less institutionalized and sprung from genuine grass-roots experiences of people. It was local and small-scale. Through local initiatives it attempts gradually to improve the state of the world.

I joined *the Swallows of Northern Finland* enthusiastically having all these new thoughts in mind. The Swallows makes the developing country association, that holds a world shop, *the Juuttiputiikki*. At the time the shop was situated in the outskirts of down town Oulu (Aleksanterinkatu), but was consequently moved to a more central location in Hallituskatu in 1995. While joining the volunteer crew of the Juuttiputiikki, I was excited about finally doing something concrete in the field of development assistance, that having been my obsession since the Senior High School. What was even better, I could work in my own country. This ideal refers to the notion that "the change starts at your own doorstep".

Other reasons to join Juuttiputiikki were practical. I wanted to learn new practical skills as opposed to the flow of theoretical information at the university. The meetings at Juuttiputiikki provided me with basic negotiation skills and taught me how to write minutes. Working as a volunteer shopkeeper on Saturdays gave me experience in service and till operations. Setting up exhibitions, arranging out-door markets, drafting press releases, etc. The tasks were diverse and mostly the goal was tangible. They were rewarding by being so concrete.

The social aspects to Juuttiputiikki played also an important role. With all the like-minded people around, it was easy to believe that you were actually able to change the world with small drops. I made friends with some of the volunteers and spent time with them also outside the shop environment. Many of the volunteers were not only working for the development issues, but were also keen on other similarly political activities. Like myself most of the people were vegetarians, tea drinkers (as opposed to coffee drinkers), environmentalists, pacifists, anarchists, leftist, and the like. In other words, they lead an alternative way of life to a regular bourgeois person, with, so I believed then, less social consciousness.

As a whole, I have volunteered in various organizations for several years. I volunteered in the Juuttiputiikki in 1990-1994. In 1994 I spent eight months in Oxfam Drury Lane in London. In 1996 I joined Jyväskylä world shop as well as became a member in the board of the World Shops of Finland, the national federation of Finnish world shops. My volunteer career has lasted for seven years. In this context, I concentrate mainly on the initial reasons that lead me to volunteer since the reasons have remained similar over time. Of course, the nature and meaning of volunteering changes over time, while the reasons partially stay the same. One weighs the scales for and against volunteering constantly. The original reasons get impetus from familiarity. When getting used to something one does not question the rationale any more. This is the case with me as well.

The negative aspects of volunteering at Juuttiputiikki were complex. The constant lack of volunteers accumulated the tasks to a few volunteers. This appeared to make the people stressed, serious and factual: they did not seem have fun at all at times. To run a shop demands sound determination and devotion from the volunteers. I felt continuously a pressure to do more, because of bad consciousness of having the few to do it all. Additionally, many of the tasks at the shop seemed overwhelmingly responsible and time-consuming. I kept asking myself the rationale to have volunteers to take such a responsibility as amateurs. I even felt inadequate to accomplish some of the tasks, which eventually led me to feel uncomfortable volunteering at all.

Volunteering, working for a certain cause without any compensation (monetary or otherwise material) appeared relatively expensive. It seemed that one has to have the basic income before being able to give time for nonprofit causes. In my case, I was getting study grant. When job opportunities arise, it is most likely that a volunteer reduces the hours of contribution if not quit volunteering altogether.

Most volunteers, including myself, took volunteering as a hobby. It was not meant to become a career. Yet some volunteers were more devoted than others. The devoted volunteers were competent and practically run the shop with a paid worker. They created continuity in the activities. Other volunteers performed some tasks but were not ready to take responsibility over tasks that would have demanded continuous attention. Sometimes the lack of continuity, that is, that things never really went as had been previously designed and done, was also frustrating. One never knew how many volunteers were to come and help with something; whether anything could be done for sure. At times, there prevailed an atmosphere of carelessness or maybe even distrust in the world shop.

The likemindedness of volunteers has also weaknesses: it can become restrictive to belong to a group. Volunteers have a certain way of life that even their clothing expresses. An illuminating example of this is a plastic watch (environmentally unsustainable) that I used to wear. I felt extremely uncomfortable wearing it at the Juuttiputiikki, because of the social pressure that I imagined to be there. Volunteers were supposed to avoid anything artificial and bourgeois. This is but one of the alienating aspects of volunteering at Juuttiputiikki. Both the positive or motivational aspects and negative or estranging aspects are contextual. In other words, they vary in different shops.

In *the Drury Lane Oxfam Shop* my volunteer experiences differed a good deal from that in the Juuttiputiikki in various aspects. The most tangible difference is that in the Drury I was basically for the sake of the research. I do not know if I had gone there otherwise in other circumstances. I might have or I might have ended up elsewhere in London. At any case, I think that I would have sought a world shop in London, if not at the first hand for political, then for social reasons to get to know other people in a big city. The main reason of my stay in London was the fieldwork; everything else was scheduled around it.

For subsistence, I volunteered for Lambeth SHAD, Support and Housing Assistance for People with Disabilities in Lambeth Area. I worked as a volunteer support person for a physically handicapped person in 24-hour shifts every third day. I was thus able to do other things two whole days between the shifts. That was an ideal arrangement also because the organization provided me with accommodation in a flat with two other support persons as well as weekly allowance, that is, a small amount of pocket money for food and other daily necessities.

The first day as a volunteer in the Drury was the 1 June 1994. There were two other newcomers the same day and we naturally stuck together for that day. The first task was to glue Oxfam stickers on a map of Central London. We worked on that for several hours and in between got to know each other. The maps were later on shared out to the public, especially the tourists who came in the area (See Map 1). The second shift at work I spend on the till serving customers, or rather at that stage, still learning till operations with help of a more experienced volunteer. Little by little, I learned different tasks at the shop both in the backroom sorting out second-hand clothes, books, brick-a-brack and other donated goods, and in the front working by the till. I soon realized that I was most comfortable in the backroom where I could freely communicate with other volunteers, and in a sense, observe the interaction. That was the heart of the shop, or in other words, the control room. The shop manager had his small office box separately in the corner of the backroom.

My reasons to volunteer for the Drury being rather research-oriented, I was not doing as much regular work as such. Organizing of the questionnaires and especially the interviews gulped a large portion of the time, not only mine but also of other volunteers. At some point I hunched slightly bad spirit among some volunteers, because of my constant pseudo-presence. Volunteers observe each other as for the level of activity, mostly due to the fact that everyone is entitled to reimbursement of the travel costs to and from the shop. According to some volunteers, there were people who misused the practice only to get to London for free. I guess, I was also regarded as one of those people at those times, when I merely came there to make interviews.

Other reasons for volunteering for the Drury were similar to those in the Juuttiputiikki. I still believed in collective action towards a good cause and was interested in seeing how a world shop operates in another country. In my notes, I even have remarks on how "we" could maybe apply some of the apparently successful ideas of the Drury in our shop in Finland. I was enthusiastic about the approach of the Drury: it was not so deadly serious about the

development issues, but was using up-to-date means to catch the attention of the public and get them to act for the cause. There did not seem to prevail any preachy feeling about it, or moralizing for that matter. People were asked to do as much as they could without obliging them to any further commitment. That was the kind of spirit I would have wanted to transfer to the Finnish context. Or maybe I just did not know the Drury well enough yet? The Finnish volunteers seemed to take it all so seriously and did not leave chances for any smaller contribution. I felt that people were expected to live wholly for the cause.

Apart from the political reasons, I was keen on learning to know people in London. One of the targets was the Drury volunteers. It seemed that I like any other foreigner looking for people to spend free time with. There were only a few volunteers that I really befriended with. The Drury was the central point to all of us, however. That is where we could go to meet each other alongside working. Additionally, volunteering in the Drury was something so familiar from home. It was an element of my life style like volunteering had been in Finland as well. Despite all the differences of the two world shops they basically provided me a feeling of continuity by being part of my habitual conduct. Volunteering was something whereby people did not seem to push each other by elbow techniques, but rather left everyone to follow their own pace and ways. There were no expectations to great achievements.

Apart from new friends, the highlights of my time in the Drury were a few fashion shows to convince the audience of the fashionable usability of second hand items. Additionally, there were several outdoor markets that made the daily volunteering a bit more exciting. Generally the tasks at the shop were routinelike, things that had to be done to run a shop properly. The major frustrations I experienced due to my inability to cozy conversations with the volunteers; until the very end of my stay I felt uncomfortable expressing myself in English.

Volunteering for world shops has been a habit that I have not been able to get rid of. Every now and then, it has been a bad habit, mostly however a good one. It is external factors that are finally forcing me to quit volunteering, to the extent, that I have been practicing it. The pressure to get paid for what I do is increasing as the end of state subsidized volunteering in form of a study grant is coming to an end.

### **3 Setting the scene**

Fieldwork and field material are often introduced briefly in ethnographic monographs despite them being essentially compulsory assets of anthropological study since the days of Bronislaw Malinowski and Franz Boas (e.g., Maranhão 1991, 235). The preliminary assumptions have been investigated on the basis of the material from the field, but how can the rest of the academia know how well field material really responds to the questions of the research design. The problem of fieldwork lies in its fundamentally personal nature. The anthropologist stamps her subjective label on the work at every stage. Eventually, the field reports seem to resemble fiction. To overcome the gap between fieldwork and writing is difficult. Autobiographical accounts are a way to overcome the gap (Aro 1996, 29). The previous chapter of ethical considerations presented some theoretical reflections on research based on empirical field contact. This chapter introduces the field experiences in the Juuttiptiikki and in the Drury. First, I explain the underlying ideas that lead to the selection of the two field sites. Second, the conceptual context of a world shop is presented with literature references as well as my position in the multiplicity of possible definitions. Finally, I describe the two field sites with some central notions in mind, namely ideological, social and material aspects of the world shops under scrutiny.

#### **3.1 The choice of the field sites - theoretical grounding**

##### **Anthropology at home**

The textual turn in anthropology (discussed in Chapter 2.) has been accompanied by an introspection, which includes discussions on anthropology at home. The latest period from 1975 up to 1990 was characteristically introspective within the discipline. It has enhanced both the theory and the methodology. (Jackson 1987, 9.) Rather polemically Anthony Jackson gives reasons that may have prevented anthropologists from turning to their own cultures, moreover others that strongly oppose the study of exotic cultures. Anthropology has always preserved the study of the remote other to itself. Now that the other exists within the Western societies, it is necessary to reconsider what constitutes the object in anthropology. (Jackson 1987, 8.) Additionally, he notes that the discipline is to an extent also to remain at home. It is necessary to address the rudimentary questions from this new angle, for example, to cooperate with other disciplines operating in Western societies. (Jackson 1987, 13.)

The choice to have the field sites in my own cultural area was both practical and ethical. The practical reasons why I could not aim at investigating any remote culture were funding and language skills. However, a more essential argument against a distant exotic culture was ethical. How would I justify a study of a culturally distant community whose culture I would not be able to translate adequately to my own concepts anyway, or at least not in a few month's time? I was obviously rather strict here.

### **Multi-sited ethnography**

I had two leading notions in mind as I outlined the field research. The choice of having two field sites, the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury, bases itself on the idea that the phenomenon under investigation, cultural meaning of volunteering in world shops, can be detected equally in both sites. The choice to study (shared) cultural meanings owes to the notion that anthropology examines collective features of life holistically, the collective aspect being here the volunteers in world shops and the holistic approach being the analysis of the shared meanings through a world view model. I concentrate here on the first choice; the second is substantiated in preceding chapters. In arguing for two field sites, I issue the question of multi-sited ethnography.

The first choice to have two field sites was not easily grounded with anthropological arguments in the way I intended to conduct the research. The settings of the world shops are fundamentally the same. There are people in both who for certain reasons volunteer for development. I aimed at having two similar collections of material to reveal about the same phenomenon. In anthropology it is generally for comparison that two or more sites are selected under one study. I did not want, however, to engage myself in comparative research, because there would appear an imbalance due to my closer affiliation to the Juuttiputiikki. For an additional reason, it would have required better familiarity with the anthropological methods to be able to make comparisons.

There has been a trend in anthropology to distance the discipline from macro level studies of culture due to the burden of cultural evolution theories (Löfgren 1981, 24). Local level and intracultural studies have been favored over global studies. The effect of macro level aspects of culture on the local micro level cannot be denied, however, as George E. Marcus points out. It is integral to contextualize local phenomena in their historical and politico-economical circumstances. (Marcus 1986, 164-165.) Even if there is not yet much research in anthropology that combines the macro and micro level analysis, it is rather abundant in sociology and in political sciences that have been free of the burden of colonialism. The study of globalization is often interdisciplinary in nature, thus, making it part of the ever rising body of cultural studies. (e.g., Robertson 1992, Featherstone 1991.)

I have been able to find only relatively recent references in anthropology to justify a field work in more than one location. Marcus discusses the rise of world system thinking in social sciences since 1970's. Sociolinguist Immanuel Wallerstein's world system theory was ice breaking at the time. Marcus' position is that the object of anthropological investigation is reshaping. It is inevitable that anthropology has to keep up with the transforming circumstances of modern world system, where global trends mould social and cultural processes at local level. He argues for multi-sited ethnography as an experiment to incorporate history and social theory. For Marcus, multi-sited ethnography is an anthropological response to the transforming world. This would produce "ethnography sensitive to its context of historical political economy" (Marcus 1986, 167.). In his view, the conventional stance of ethnography to concentrate on spatio-temporal cultural preserves cannot serve the need of a contemporary present. Global homogenization enforces



ethnography to explore the usage of novel means, such as multi-sited ethnography, in face of the modern fabric of cultures. (Marcus 1986, 167-168.)

In a recent article, ten years after the first notion of multi-sited ethnography, Marcus (1995) elaborates his analysis of the place of ethnography in the modern world system. He reviews the past ten years of social sciences trying to come to terms with the constantly transforming world. He argues that the traditional distinction of cultural spheres to life worlds and system is gradually diminishing in ethnography. The local and the global aspects are intermingling. Since ethnography lacks direct references to world system research, support is sought from other disciplines such as history and political sciences. (Marcus 1995, 97-98.)

Comparison is embedded in multi-sited ethnography, but not in a conventional sense. Instead of operating with homogenous and preconsidered units of study multi-sited ethnography investigates still emergent objects of study, whose characteristics cannot be predicted but only mapped along the course of the work. These characteristics are part of the life world at local level but similarly they are part of the global system. As Marcus writes: "Comparison reenters the very act of ethnographic specification by a research design of juxtaposition in which the global is collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations rather than something monolithic or external to them" (Marcus 1995, 102).

The rise of multi-sited ethnography can be explained by "a reflexive self-presentation" with an emphasis on ethics, commitment and activism. (Marcus 1995, 99.) Marcus points to the researcher as a circumstantial activist. Circumstantial activist is a politico-ethically active ethnographer in a sense of personal being political. This position does not equate with political activism in social movements; it is merely a methodological position of adaptation to varying situations. The ethnographer has overlapping positions with the subjects of the study, and is, hence, personally involved. This making just one of the many positions during the multi-sited research a special kind of objectivity is achieved: a set of multiple perspectives. (Marcus 1996, 113-114.) Overall, multi-sited ethnography is yet another name for a contextualizing approach in anthropology (see Chapter 2.). In this research, it is useful in emphasizing the simultaneity of local and global aspects of volunteering in world shops.

Some elements of this work have similarities to what Marcus describes above, even if I had not multi-sited ethnography in mind when initiating this research. My volunteering in the JuuttiPuttiikki contributed to drawing conclusions on the global aspects of the local activities. If I place my piece of research in the general context of multi-sited ethnographies, it would be closest to the strategically situated ethnography. This implies that within a single site, or in this case two sites, "the crucial issue concerns the detectable system-awareness in the everyday consciousness and actions of subject's lives" (Marcus 1995, 111.). Fair trade ideas designate global or system awareness.

The rise of fair trade and the establishment of world shops of similar mode all over in Europe, particularly, since the 1970's, could be taken to imply that the traditional approach to study this phenomenon is inadequate (i.e., as nationally bounded units of study). When incorporating two world shops from separate and distant locations in two different countries

under one study, one addresses the global nature of local cultural phenomenon in question. The Juuttiptiikki and the Drury are independent units of study. Volunteers in these world shops do not connect to each other in any personal way. Nevertheless, these volunteers share a common pursuit of volunteering for a world shop, whose basic principle of alternative (fair) trade is the same in any location. In conclusion, the above argues for my practical choice of having two field sites for the study of cultural meaning of volunteering in world shops.

### **3.2 Methods and material**

As briefly described previously in the introduction, the methods applied in the field and overall are semi-thematic interviews, participant observation with field notes, a questionnaire, collection of written documents as well as self-reflection, if the latter is allowed the name method. While self-reflection or reflexivity were treated previously, this section explains the reasons to select these means to collect background information and volunteers views on volunteering.

Questionnaires (Appendices 1a and 1b) played an introductory role in the beginning of the fieldwork in London. I needed to gather basic information of the volunteer force in general and the questionnaires seemed like the most reasonable solution. Most of the questions designed were mainly simple alternative choice questions including predesigned options. A few questions offered volunteers a chance to comment on volunteering with their own words. The last part required if the volunteer wanted to participate in an interview.

The questions in the questionnaire were prepared with aid of some volunteers at the Drury. They assisted by giving information of the school system and of the informal sector in Great Britain. I did the grounding work for the overall context of volunteering in May and June 1994 while settling in as a volunteer at the shop. The shop manager also approved the outline. Five volunteers at the Drury filled in test questionnaires before the actual questionnaire was put into use. The revised questionnaire was prepared based on their suggestions for changes.

The questionnaire was personally passed on to volunteers while I was volunteering at the Drury from June to October 1994. Volunteers filled them in and returned them immediately. This was an opportunity to observe the reactions to the questionnaire and even discuss some of the issues at the location. To balance the material, I sent the same questionnaires to the volunteers in Oulu, however only afterwards in autumn 1996. The shop manager organized the collection and returned them to me in November 1996. While initiating the interviews in Oulu in early 1995 I did not consider it necessary to have the questionnaires at all. There was a small survey done on the volunteers of the Juuttiptiikki by a volunteer, which I assumed to be of use. Unfortunately, it appeared to be inadequate for my purposes. Additionally, I was overtly confident of my comprehension of the nature of the volunteer force, having been there as a volunteer for many years. It is one thing to have an understanding of an issue, and another to base the understanding on actual responses. At any case, the questionnaires support the description of the volunteer pools of the Juuttiptiikki

and the Drury despite being rather inadequate in quantitative terms. (Chapter 3.7 reviews the results of this inquiry.)

After I had acquired a preliminary picture of the volunteer force in the Drury based on the questionnaires and observations, I started interviewing the volunteers. The interviews were semi-structured (Appendix 2). They were done with volunteers, who had responded positively for the interview request in the questionnaire. I had not any systematic order who to interview after another. The sex and the age of a volunteer were the only criteria: there was to become balanced numbers of both female and male volunteers. The reason for doing thematic interviews was the nature of the topic. The cultural meaning of volunteering makes an abstract and vague topic, which can not be adequately summarized in any charts or condensed in brief accounts.

In London, the interviews were conducted at the shop premises either in the basement, (that was the storage room and the only quiet room available), or on the backyard (if the weather allowed). Neither of the places were ideal, since there occurred interruptions, the amount of which depended on the time of the day. Mornings tended to be the quietest moments of the day. Altogether, I made 15 interviews in the Drury, of which I use only eight in this paper. The original plan to have two case studies explains the extensive number of interviews. The eventual result is two sets of field material on volunteering, not really two cases. A case study method would have required a more vigorous fieldwork account also in Oulu.

In Oulu, I personally asked volunteers for an interview, since I did not yet have the questionnaire material at hand. Some of them I knew since the beginning of my own volunteer career at the Juuttiputiikki. I conducted the interviews mainly outside the shop premises, in a café nearby, and some in the basement office of the Juuttiputiikki. The café provided a neutral ground that eased the tension: a volunteer was not disturbed by co-volunteers. The total number of interviews with the Juuttiputiikki volunteers is six, all of which are used in this paper. The proceeding table lists all of the interviews included in this research.

**Table 3.1** The interviewed volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury.

Letter D in the code of a volunteer indicates that s/he is from the Drury, and letter J indicates that the volunteer is from the Juuttiputiikki. \* = Age bracket is defined in the same way as in the questionnaires: 1 = under 16 years old, 2 = 16-25 years old, 3 = 25-35 years old, 4 = 35-55 years old, 5 = 55-65 years old, 6 = 60+ years old. \*\* f = female, m = male. \*\*\* interviews took place in January-April 1995 in the Juuttiputiikki and in June-October 1994 in the Drury.

**The Juuttiputiikki**

code	age *	sex **	occupation (page in field notes)	since when volunteering***	date(s) of interview
J1	3	f	student in medicine	autumn 1990	4 Jan 1995
J2	3	f	graduate in sociology, shop manager	spring 1995 (four weeks)	19 Jan 1995
J3	3	f	student in biology, teacher (108)	spring 1990	12 Jan 1995, 20 Apr 1995
J4	2	f	student in environmental education	summer 1993	7 Jan 1995
J5	2	f	unemployed (108)	summer 1988	16 Jan 1995
J6	4	m	technician in chemistry	1990 briefly, spring 1994	21 Jan 1995
J7	4	f	teacher	summer 1985	20 Jan 1995

**The Drury**

code	age *	sex **	occupation (page in field notes)	since when volunteering***	date(s) of interview
D1	3	f	journalist	1 June 1994	19 & 29 July 1994
D2	3	m	post-graduate in economics (47)	Dec 1993	1 July & 8 Aug 1994
D3	5	f	house wife, jack of all trades (57)	Nov 1993	14 July & 14 Sept 1994
D4	3	m	economist (57)	Feb 1993	13 July & 3 Aug 1994
D5	2	f	student in art history (57)	June 1994 (three weeks)	4 July & 3 Aug 1994
D6	2	m	college graduate in arts	1 June 1994 (six weeks)	11 July 1994
D7	3	m	unemployed, part time history teacher (48)	Jan 1993	1 July 1994
D8	2	f	dancer	Spring 1991	14 & 27 July 1994

The thematic interviews with volunteers (Table 3.1) are the major source of information. The average duration of an interview is about 90 minutes. Some of them we made in two sessions, but generally in one. The success of an interview, in my view, depends mainly on the rapport between the interviewer and the participating volunteer (that including a set of mixed variables such as age, sex, physical appearance, and attitudes), the roles of both in previous contacts before the interview, the style of communication, the place chosen, duration of the interview as well as the content of the questions, for example, concerning each interviewee's understanding of what was a proper issue to be asked. (Some notions of these issues are included in the interactional analysis of each interview in Chapter 2.)

I always clarified the structure of the thematic interviews to the interviewees, so that they would know what was to happen. The interviews were semi-thematic because I had outlined the whole interview, and followed the pattern in the course of each interview. However, the outline was not strict: I allowed the volunteers to wander around the topic, if that seemed relevant. The interview contains five major sets of questions: biographical information, political, social, way of life, and ethical dimensions. Each was made up of tens of questions (See Appendix 2. The structure of interviews.). Besides, volunteers were encouraged to give feedback on the interview, and elaborate on issues the interview did not incorporate.

Participant observation complemented the field work, particularly, in the Drury. Again, the Juuttiputiikki is a special case, because there I did only little systematic participant observations around the time of conducting the interviews. I had, however, participated in the tasks of the shop for some years. The intensity of participant observation varied along the way. In the beginning, it was an integral part in acquainting myself with the setting (MPb, 85.). Later as the site was familiar, it played a lesser role in this research. Had I written consistent field notes, the case would be different. Of course, the events vary and the qualities of the field site change. Regular and systematic field notes constitute means to illuminate the change in the scholar's comprehension of the topic in the phase of the data collection (Ellen 1984, 218-221). It is mainly occasional notes I have made, approximately 150 pages altogether.

There are a number of means to measure the success of participant observation in this case. These include the amount of time spent with the volunteers, the extent of field notes on observations made, the correlation of the observations with information through other sources (e.g. interviews), and an enhanced capacity to draw valid conclusions. Since the participant observation did not make any major category of sources, and it being inadequate, I do not go into details in the success factors. The insights that participant observation gave me, i.e., the capacity to associate issues to one another, contribute in creating a somewhat holistic picture. Holism does not equal complete or exhaustive account here. Overall, the observations serve for the purposes of interpretation even if all observations have not been consistently recorded in notes. The material accumulated as the following table (table 3.2) shows.

**Table 3.2** Acquired material in quantitative terms.

Method	Juuttiputiikki	Drury
interviews	7	15
questionnaires	21	34
observations	30 pages	120 pages
photographs	20	96
duration of field work	3 months actively, 4 years passively	5 months actively, 3 months passively
transcribed material	60 pages	90 pages

I rationalized the transcription of the interviews in such a manner that the data reflects the focus of the paper. I did not write down all the replies in complete, but merely in a referential manner (in cursive). In some cases, I have reduced the amount of interjections

and other small verbal additions, if their number was extensive and if their abortion did not influence understanding of the point of the reply. The rationale of this research is not on conversational analysis, which would demand a more exact handling of the dialogue.

### 3.3 Definition of a world shop

There are various ways to call a world shop. They are also known as fair trade shops, third world shops, third world charity shops, and alternative trade shops. In the continuation I use the term world shop for the sake of consistency and neutrality. The term world shop lacks direct ideological implications unlike the other terms, and thus approves better for scientific purposes. This is rather my own interpretation that grows of empirical experience as for the uses of the different terms. Additionally, in world shop circles the term world shop is widely used.

In fair trade, unlike regular world trade aiming at commercial profits, the social and environmental implications of trade are paid attention to. Hence, world shops strive for increasing the market share of fair trade in order to realize structural changes in regular trade (Network of European World Shops leaflet). The Western world shops sell products imported without intermediates from small producer cooperatives and communities in the developing countries. In a nutshell, the basic principle is to improve the possibilities of the producers to earn sufficient living through their work by reducing the intermediate costs. Besides this, producers encouraged to invest in socially and environmentally sustainable production, for example, through including women in decision making. The criteria of fair trade goods are defined and followed up internationally (The Transfair Standard, May 1997). This underlying idea is called *fair or alternative trade*. Often the staff of the importing world shops knows personally the producer communities that they cooperate with, which also embarks a different approach to highly commercial entrepreneurs. The producers are treated equally and they earn only as much as they work for: with world shops importing actual goods, they attempt to create active self-sustaining communities instead of making their partners passively rely on the Western resources. In case of an individual world shop not involving itself in importing goods, it buys them from wholesale world shops.

A vast majority of non-profit organizations have come into existence since the Second World War (Hall 1995, 5-7.). The first world shops were established in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in the late 1950's, and in the 1960's. The political atmosphere was favorable to the issue at the time, since there was sensibility also to environmental, feminist, peace and other universally human matters. By that time, it was evident that the industrialization would not proceed in the developing countries in the same way as it did the West. The developing countries initiated a resolution for a new system for world trade in the United Nations in 1974. This resolution paid attention to the uneven trade relations between the industrialized and the developing countries. Consequently, new world shop initiatives sprung in the West as a practical outcome of the resolution in the 1970's. The time had come to establish grass-roots contacts with the South: the world shop movement got a positive response. They sought for sustainable means for tackling the divide between the rich and the poor in the world. The public awareness on the developing countries was also rising.

(Black 1992; EFTA Survey of Fair Trade in Europe 1994; Savikko 1996, 41; Weltladen handbuch.) In world shops, the ordinary people of the West contribute to the lives of ordinary people in the South by volunteering and buying their handicrafts, coffee, cocoa and other products. There are estimated to be approximately 50,000 volunteers in the European world shops currently (Network of European World Shops leaflet).

There are no scientific definitions available of a world shop as such. The following provides a concise presentation of the use of various concepts defining the organizational status of structures similar to a world shop in a society. It is necessary to have an overall picture of the implications of the usage of each of them. Most literature references are from the Anglo-American countries from the domains of political sciences and sociology. There is significantly less research available on the issue of social participation in Finland particularly in anthropology, more so, however, in sociology (e.g., Blom 1980; Siisiäinen 1989 and 1991.), social politics (e.g., Blomberg 1992.), and political science (e.g., Paastela 1987.).

An interdisciplinary journal *Non-profit and voluntary sector quarterly* discusses widely the Anglo-American research on voluntary sector. A concept *non-profit organization* makes distinction between profit and non-profit organizations according to the economic status of an organization: it is either non-commercial or commercial. Since the period of the establishment of theoretical foundations to study *the voluntary or third sector* in 1975-1985, more substantial empirical material has been accumulated, even if the economic theories have been dominant. Non-profit activity is currently considered “highly culture-bound, dependent on national legal systems in general and fiscal and corporate law in particular” (Anheier 1995, 16.). The utility of the concept non-profit activity rests in the fact that social structures such as market, government and state are augmentingly inadequate to account for the institutional setup of modern societies. Even in the United Nations System of National Accounts 1992 (SNA) the non-profit sector is acknowledged among one of the five institutional sectors, that compose national economies, along side corporations, financial corporations, general government, and private households. (Anheier 1995, 17.) In North American terminology, the term non-profit organization is widely accepted, in Britain, however, the same is referred to as a voluntary organization. (Wilson & Butler 1985, 1.)

In the British context, the definition of voluntary organization contains a number of widely acknowledged attributes, which are the following: non-distribution constraint (profits can be earned, but not distributed outside the organization), externalities (social purpose: produced benefits are enjoyed outside the membership of the organization), voluntarism (gifts in cash, kind or time), independence (constitutionally separate from government), self-governance (controlled by its patrons, donors or clients). More controversial attributes of voluntary organization are that they should be accessible to all members of society as well as the requirement of being non-political. (Knapp & Saxon-Harrod 1989, 3-5.) Within organization theory a definition of a voluntary organization states that voluntary organizations exist independently of the state. They comprise voluntary individuals whose membership is not inherited or prescribed through any other circumstances. Moreover, they are created through some common concern of members. (Wilson & Butler 1985, 4.) On the

whole, the researched world shops do fulfill all of these criteria and can be hence referred to as voluntary organizations.

A concept *non-governmental organization* (NGO) makes distinction between government, non-governmental and private sector organizations, thus differentiating organizations according to their role towards the public sector and the state. NGOs can be both charitable and non-charitable. (Burnell 1991, 2.) *Philanthropy* is also a commonly used term especially in the American context, where voluntary associations are regarded indispensable in maintaining a stable democracy (Jary & Jary 1991, 693). Yet another term appearing in voluntary sector literature is communitarianism and *communitarian paradigm*, that emphasizes the community building function, not organizational or economic aspects of third sector organizations (Scott 1995, 35-36.). Additionally, *intermediate group or secondary group* stands for a grouping in society as an intermediate between primary groups and central state institutions such as a voluntary association (Jary & Jary 1991, 322.). Still keeping it sociological, *new social movements* have been a subject matter of numerous studies within the discipline since 1970's, when ecological, feminist and peace movements gained ground (e.g., Touraine 1988, Mellucci 1989). Third world solidarity groups can be also denoted as new social movements (Paastela 1987, 11).

In social sciences, including anthropology, *voluntary association* is a commonly used term indicating a particular type of collective formation of people in which participation is optional. It can be anything from a recreational association unit to a politically oriented association. (Jary & Jary 1991, 693.) The criteria of a voluntary association in sociology are defined as (1) non-commercial aims, (2) public in a sense of being accessible to all, (3) formal organization with elected administration, (4) and nonstatutory, that is, not constituted by law (Jary & Jary 1991, 693.). In anthropology, however, such criteria can serve as a starting point for further analysis, the interpretation of meanings making it more complex. A cultural analysis could be also achieved through a research in *organizational culture* that has a role to play in applied anthropology. Susan Wright maintains: "anthropological studies of culture offered a more interpretive approach through which to understand organizations as sites for constructing meaning" (Wright 1994, 3). This kind of view could fit well into studying world shops as sites for constructing meaning of volunteering.

In a broad sense, in anthropology voluntary organization refers to a society or an association, whose membership is voluntary (Aro 1996, 148). The rudimentary concepts in anthropology, ascribed and achieved status relates the concept voluntary association in the field of anthropology. Voluntary association is, thus, a grouping based on elective choice, making it an achieved status. Keesing notes that it is only relatively recently that non-kin relationships are being researched in anthropology. (Keesing 1971, 220.) In this research, the world shop makes merely a site for volunteering, hence the actual set-up of world shop as a collective formation is not paid much attention to. Therefore it is not the shop as a structure, but the volunteers who are examined. Yet, the above review on terms used for social formations similar to a world shop in various disciplines places the concept of world shop in social discourse in general.



### 3.4 The Swallows of Northern Finland and the Juuttiputiikki

#### EMMAUS International - organizational background of the Juuttiputiikki

Emmaus International was found in the 1940's by a Catholic priest Abbé Pierre in Paris, France. The problem of increasing numbers of homeless people in the suburbs of Paris required attention. Abbé Pierre started the organization by accepting a small number of homeless to live and help with some chores in his home. His reputation spread soon among the homeless, who now in larger numbers were asking for a place to stay. Abbé Pierre was working in the Parliament and tried to use his position to change the situation of the homeless. He could not carry out the task by himself alone. The organization grew gradually from this modest beginning. It put through extensive plans to help the poor in the suburbs to manage their own lives by providing them with shelter and monetary support. Once they managed to earn their own living, other people in deprived conditions replaced them. The basic principle was to help the least well-off people in society.

Abbé Pierre paid his first visit to Scandinavia in 1958. His message to the youth of the northern welfare-states was global solidarity. The young people in Scandinavia being privileged to free education, they should in turn work voluntarily for people with fewer resources in developing countries. The principle of Emmaus work was, thus, widened to cover global responsibility of the fate of the humanity. Two Emmaus groups were established in Sweden the same year as a result of Abbé Pierre's appeal. They sent volunteers to Peru to work in social projects. Soon after, some groups were set up also in Norway and in Denmark. These new groups of Emmaus International in Scandinavia were referred to as the Swallows. (Simon 1977, 287.)

In 1959, the ideas of Emmaus got hold also in Finland in form of the Swallows. The first Finnish Swallows volunteer was sent off for Peru in 1961. The first Third World Association Swallows was found in Tammisaari to function as an arm of Emmaus International towards the developing countries. It was to channel the development assistance of Finnish Emmaus and Swallows groups to Emmaus and Swallows projects in the developing world. (Simon 1977, 288.)



Picture 1 The logo of the Swallows in the Juuttiputiikki.

## The Juuttiputiikki

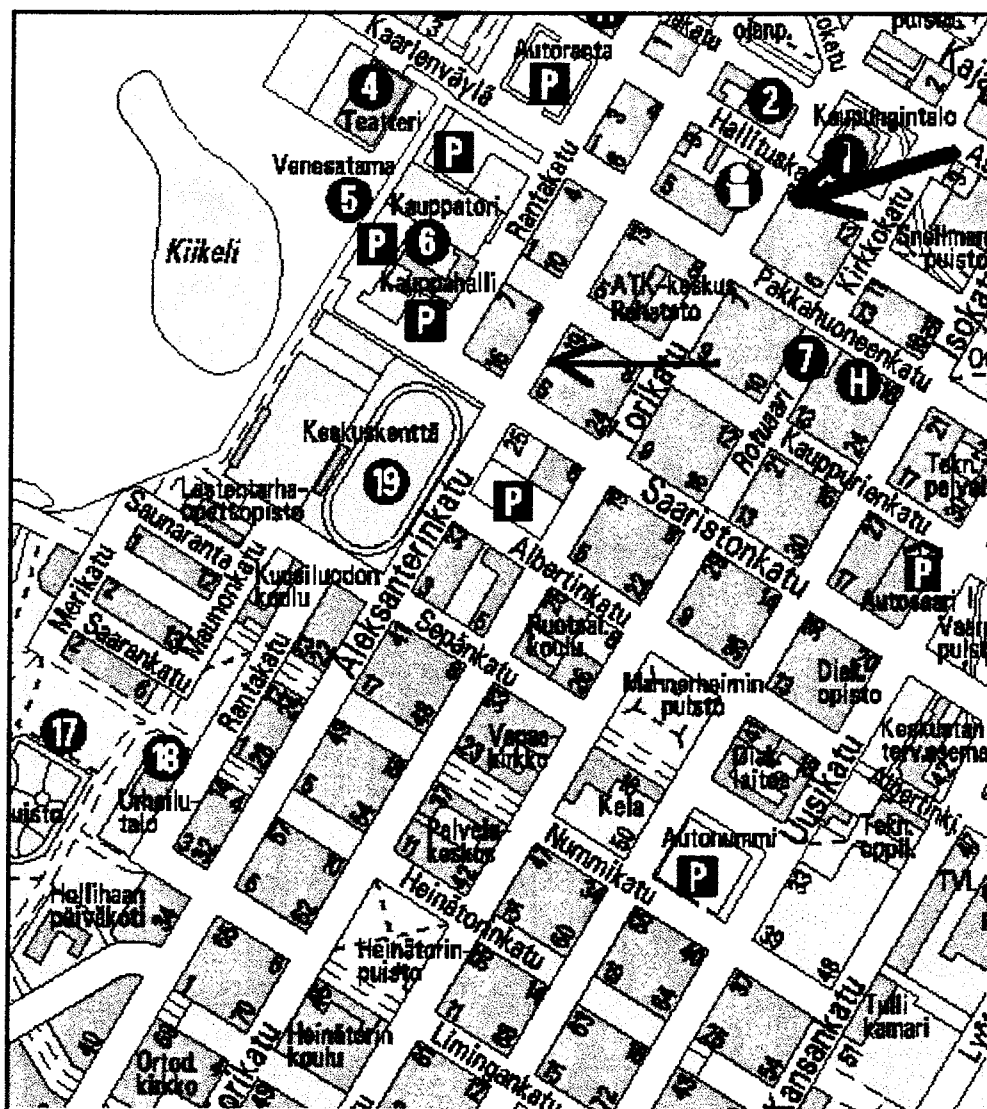
The Development Aid Association Swallows of Northern Finland in Oulu was established as an affiliate of Tammisaari Emmaus in 1977 (Toimintakertomus 1987.). According to the original title, the logo of the association depicts swallows (see Picture 1). The Association initiated a process towards an independent registered association in 1978 and was officially registered in early 1980's. The world shop movement reached Finland in 1978 as Juuttiputiikki the first world shop in Finland was opened by the Development Aid Association Swallows of Northern Finland in Oulu (Toimintakertomus 1978). The Association was given a membership in the Emmaus International in 1979 (Toimintakertomus 1979). The name of the association was changed to Developing Country Association Swallows of Northern Finland in 1981 (Toimintakertomus 1981). Abbé Pierre, the founder of Emmaus International, paid a visit to the northernmost Emmaus group in the world in 1981 (Toimintakertomus 1981).

Official recognition of the charitable nature of the activities of the world shop was received in 1978 as the Juuttiputiikki was exempted from income taxes (Toimintakertomus 1978-80.). This exemption was renewed yearly until early 1980's when the state accorded a general exemption to all members of the national world shop association. In the meantime, new developing country associations sprung up all over the country. In 1983 there were ten of them and currently there are nearly 40 world shops in Finland and more than ten associations without shop premises (Toimintakertomus 1983, Kehityskauppa-lehti 3/1996.). Nationwide coordination of world shops was strengthened through the foundation of the national worldshop association. The association became a member in the umbrella organization of development NGOs in Finland (Kehitysyhteistyön palvelukeskus, KePa) in 1986 (Toimintakertomus 1986.).

Over the years, the Juuttiputiikki has been run mainly by volunteers and at times also by temporarily hired paid staff. In 1978 there were 26 members in the association. The number has increased constantly over the years, as the world shop movement gains ground overall. To give some examples, there were 81 members in 1988 and 75 in 1993. In addition to paying members, the association obtains regular donations from about 30 private persons a year. The news letter of the Juuttiputiikki is received by a larger number of people than what the members make, for example, approximately 130 people in 1992, and 111 in 1993. About a third of the members volunteers for various tasks of the association and the world shop occasionally. Depending on the year, about 5-15 of them actively perform the necessary activities of the shop on a regular basis. Since the very beginning, there has been a full-time or part-time paid project worker, sales person or shop manager, who brings regularity and continuity into the business and activities. (Toimintakertomus 1978-1993.)

An average volunteer in the Juuttiputiikki is a young student (see also 3.6.). There are also volunteers, who come there to gain work experience. They may be students doing their obligatory practical training, refugees, or foreigners getting acquainted with the Finnish working circumstances, or conscientious objectors doing their service for the Finnish

society. As the unemployment rates rose rapidly in the late 1980's and early 1990's, the Finnish government designed schemes for the unemployed to avoid alienation from working life. Consequently, the Juuttiputiikki has had several unemployed persons on such schemes over the last years. (Toimintakertomus 1990-1993.)



**Map 1** Location of the Juuttiputiikki in Oulu. The thick arrow points to the current location of the Juuttiputiikki in Oulu. The thin arrow shows the location in 1990-1994, the years I volunteered in the world shop. I interviewed the volunteers during and after the removal in January 1995.

The location of the Juuttiputiikki in Oulu has changed several times since 1978 (see Map 1). The shop premises in Aleksanterinkatu 21 served for longest since 1982 until early 1995. Besides these premises, the world shop needed a separate storage for imported goods. The most recent move to Hallituskatu 10 in January 1995 provided the shop with both shop section and storage section in the same location. This study refers mostly to Aleksanterinkatu 21.

The main activity of the Swallows association is to run the world shop Juuttiputiikki. All other activities are in one way or another related to the world shop. The aims of the shop are manifold. On one hand, it pursues positive economic results for the cause of development assistance, and on the other hand, it seeks to disseminate information on the development issues to the public. To achieve the economic goals the Swallows held, besides the Juuttiputiikki, a second hand shop Emmaus from 1986 until 1991 in a separate (to the world shop) location in Oulu. Outdoor markets and sales points with standard world shop products in various events belong to the standard repertoire of the world shop since the 1970's. To achieve the goal of information dissemination, the Juuttiputiikki arranges various campaigns and volunteer training and tries to get as much media coverage as possible. (Toimintakertomus 1978-1993.)

The Swallows cooperates directly and has trade relations to the producer cooperatives in developing countries. The Juuttiputiikki trades nowadays with a varying number of producer cooperatives and communities mainly in Asia (India and Bangladesh) and in Latin America (Peru). The number has increased since the beginning with only a few trade partners. The Jute Works Cooperation in Bangladesh was the first partner, hence the name of the world shop Juuttiputiikki, the Jute Boutique. For general interest, there were six trade partners in 1991, eleven in 1992 and seven in 1993. By importing and selling their goods with fair trade principles the Juuttiputiikki supports sustainable development. The Juuttiputiikki engages itself also in wholesale activities of imported goods. Besides equitable trade relations, the Swallows donates annually money to a few selected development projects. Direct contacts to the producer communities are held up by regular biannual visits to the communities as well as by inviting guests from the communities. (Toimintakertomus 1978-93.)

My volunteer career in the Juuttiputiikki was most active in 1990-1994. The fieldwork in Juuttiputiikki was conducted in 1994-1995. There was a more intense period in the beginning of 1995 when six thematic interviews were done. As stated previously (Chapter 3.2.), participant observation lacks regularity even if I have volunteered for the shop myself for about three and a half years. There are no systematic field notes written, except for some occasional notes in 1994 and 1995.

### **3.5 The Oxfam Drury Lane**

#### **OXFAM - organizational background of the Drury**

Oxfam (originally Oxford Committee for Famine Relief) was established during the Second World War to respond to the severe problems in war-torn states under German siege in Europe. It was just one of many similar organizations active in war-time Great Britain that was still resisting the Nazi-Germany. Politically, it was a sensitive issue in London to allow transportation of food and clothes donations to countries under international trade blockade. Humanitarian neutrality was difficult to prove in those circumstances: it was interpreted as undermining the international efforts to stop German invasion, and even as being friendly with the enemy. (Black 1992, 3-11.)

United Nations seized to support Europe shortly after the war as a result of the entering Cold War. Oxfam, among other voluntary organizations, filled this gap and carried considerable responsibility for relief in post-war Europe until the Marshall Plan took effect in 1948. Subsequently, Oxfam had to redefine its goals once the war-related activities were over. (Black 1992, 31-32.) Oxfam widened its scope of activities to international relief in general. This demanded a more permanent management structure. Oxfam was the first charity in Britain to adopt professional and business-like procedures in charitable work. Advertising and a permanent site for selling donated goods were novelties in charities at the time. In 1965-66, a special structure for Oxfam's trading company, Bridge, was set up to pursue the interests of the small producers in the developing countries. This was the beginning of alternative trading. Since then the annual turnover, range of products and producers of alternative trading have increased manifold. (Black 1992, 33-34, 294.)

As African countries gained independence in the 1960's the colonial power Great Britain had to take a new stance to its former colonies. Politically, they were now equal but the colonial structures remained in economic affairs. It was regarded as an international responsibility to have the former colonies to enjoy the achievements of modern society. The 1960's was declared as "The Decade of Development" by the United Nations. Development positivism reflected also in the work of charities. Hence, the public support to the charities increased considerably. (Black 1992, 68, 75, 80.)

Oxfam adopted new modes of activities and moved from disaster relief towards development projects. This was not conventionally considered as an area for a charity to work in, and caused, therefore, some problems at first. The legal context of charities dated back to the 19th century and its Victorian ideas. Oxfam together with some other charities worked actively to get the laws updated. At the same time they, however, also stressed the importance of government to have the main responsibility of development assistance. (Black 1992, 87-91.)

The main expense in Oxfam budget (80%) is directed to the work overseas to overcome poverty and disasters in the developing countries. At home in Great Britain Oxfam is visible through Oxfam shops, campaigns (at local, regional and national level), and research and publishing of development related books. Oxfam's main sources of income are donations from the public (about one-third), Oxfam Shops (about one-third), and official aid sources. The latter refers to the co-funding schemes of Britain's Official Development Assistance (ODA) and the European Community. To avoid dependence from official funds, Oxfam has set a ceiling of 10 per cent for government contributions. Other voluntary organizations contribute as well, and thus to cover the rest of the budget. (Black 1992, 294.)

Oxfam is currently the largest overseas aid charity in Britain. About 30,000 Oxfam volunteers run the 800 Oxfam Shops in Britain and Ireland, participate in Oxfam Campaigning Network, and contribute to Oxfam's cause in various other ways. (Black 1992, 293.) Oxfam trading products are sold through Oxfam Shops and through the Mail Order catalogue. There are about 250 producer groups in 43 countries represented in the range of

Oxfam Trading products. Oxfam International covers also other countries outside the British Isles such as Belgium, Canada, Hong Kong, and the United States. They are, however, independent of the parent body. (Black 1992, 294-295.)

### **The Drury**

*17.1.1994 Tuesday* I have decided to leave for London in March.

*29.1.1994 Saturday* I sent voluntary work applications and accommodation requests to London yesterday.

*14.2. 1994 Monday* I received a letter from Lambeth SHAD last week. They are still interested in having me for a job interview once I arrive in London. I am really happy and relieved. I need absolutely some sort of a job and a place to stay if I wished to stay there for six months.

*9.3.1994 Wednesday* I wrote a tentative plan for the field work.

*8.4.1994 Friday* I am now staying in a youth hostel in Central London in a room, that is packed with 20-year-old Australian girls... It is the third day in London... I talked to IC from Lambeth SHAD, that I have been in touch with since last July. We made an appointment for an interview for next Monday... it seems incredible that I really am in London now and going for an interview, which is something that I have planned for six months.

This extract from the field notes illuminates the developments in getting settled in the field in London. There were numerous concerns and difficulties in the beginning before even finding the right shops for the research. With help of a telephone catalogue, news papers, maps and newly made acquaintances I listed the potential, in this case nearest in location, both Oxfam shops and other world shops. There were 40 of them in Lambeth Area, Croydon Area, Wimbledon Area, and Central London. After having a list of potential world shops, I had to start investigating them in practice. First, I explored an Oxfam shop near where I lived in Streatham in Southern London.

I first found an Oxfam furniture shop. When stepping in the shop I looked around in an amazement, because I could not find any reference to a world shop.... A little further down the street there was another Oxfam shop (by now I could recognize the logo). This either did not look like a world shop at the first glance. I was almost getting disappointed until my eyes got stuck in some jute handicrafts and other world shop products. "Finally" had I found the kind of Oxfam shop I had been looking for. (MPb, 33-34)

In the Streatham shop, I was told about an Oxfam shop in Central London that concentrates mainly on world shop products. I intended to have two shops for the fieldwork and in varying locations. However, they had to be conveniently situated in relation to where I was staying. The second expedition took place only a few days later.

*17.5.1994 Tuesday* Oxfam Covent Garden in Drury Lane was easy to find. It was very much as the one in Streatham with a second-hand shop and a worldshop combined. People seemed younger than in Streatham just as the second-hand clothes seemed more fashionable. After having bought a jumper I asked the boy behind the till how I could join the team. I was advised to walk through to the backroom and ask for Shannon (whose name was later corrected for Sôna), who was the shop manager. .. I found out that he was busy right now and I actually saw him sitting in a small

separated office "box" with someone. Someone else arranged me for an interview with Shanon for next week... Things went WELL. I was hilarious, to say the least, when leaving the shop behind and entering the rainy street again... (MPb, 35.)

After having settled in at the Drury, I could initiate the actual fieldwork with participant observation, questionnaires and interviews. I aimed to have the fieldwork at the Drury completed in a few months and right after to continue with Streatham. In the end, I spent most of the time at the Drury and only three weeks at the Streatham shop. It was becoming clearer and clearer over the months in London that it was better to include only one shop in the research, the other could play at most only a referential role. I ended up staying at the Drury also for personal reasons as I made friends with some of the volunteers. My visits and work shifts at the shop were not merely research oriented.

Oxfam Drury Lane, or the Drury as it is called for short, belongs to a vast network of Oxfam shops all over Britain and Ireland. It is one of 97 Oxfam shops in London. The Drury was set up in 1984 by a group of local people in the Covent Garden neighborhood in Central London. They were mainly elderly and retired women. The shop was, characteristically to most Oxfam shops, a combined second hand shop and world shop until 1991. That was when the new shop manager took over and transformed the shop exclusively into a world shop with only a minor section of second hand items. The shop was known nationwide to have a specialization in the Oxfam Trading goods, that is, the fair trade products from the developing countries. The Drury stocked and sold all the products that were available through the Oxfam Mail Order catalogue. In the recent years the recession has hit the Drury as well. The shop has had to give up the specialization and opt for second hand goods again. The new specialization is public relations activities, since Central London has good potential in getting publicity for promotions. (Shop manager, 2-3, 17.)

- About, you told about the future of the shop. That is it is going to be PR shop. Is it going to be changed? Do you think it is going to be a new dimension to what it was in the beginning, when the recession is over?

- Yeah, well even then I am not too sure because... what the recession has taught us really, if anything, it's that a lot more people in the UK, a lot more British people here in the UK see Oxfam in a different way now, because of the recession. Because a lot more were forced to come to Oxfam, Oxfam shops or charity shops through lack of money. And while they were there they obviously saw posters or leaflets or saw video or something like that. So I think it has affected a lot more certainly during the recession we've had a lot more volunteers. Obviously, a lot of them have become redundant and have time. A lot has become more aware of Oxfam during the recession and particularly the younger generation. They couldn't all afford that Levi's 501, but they can all go to an Oxfam shop and see what they can get second-hand, 501s also. And they can come into a likeable Oxfam shop, they've decided to stay that minute longer. And that minute longer has been crucial in trapping them into either volunteering, or coming back, just changing their perception a bit more. So I think, that's been a really positive outcome of the recession. So I, you know, even if the financial burden does come back, I still would like to evaluate very carefully the market before swapping the shop back over to a purely a some trading venture. And and this again.... I go against everything that I believe in because I want that Oxfam Trading (OT). I still do want people to come in the shop. Just by having an OT shop if if we do that we'd alienate a lot of that younger generation from coming into volunteer because they don't have the trendy clothes that they'd worked with any more. I take that into consideration again. I wouldn't want to lose the customer and volunteer base that we've gained during the recession. (Shop manager, 17.)

The Covent Garden area has a special appeal to young people due to its central location near some of the main tourist attractions in London such as the Covent Garden Opera House, the musical play *Cats* and the Theatre Royal (see Map 2). The Drury has been in the same location in 23 Drury Lane since the very beginning. However, the shop has undergone several refurbishments over the years. The Drury has shop premises in two floors. In both floors, there is the front room for the sales operations, and the backroom for other activities, such as stocking and sorting out and pricing of second hand items.

The shop has a paid manager, which is still relatively rare in Oxfam shops overall: only 28 of 97 Oxfam shops in London have a paid manager. Many of them actually manage several shops with the same pay. The shop manager is responsible of the shop economically and of the management of volunteers. Many volunteers read an advertisement of the Drury for the first time in the *Time-Out*, a local magazine, which lists all cultural and sports events of each week. The magazine is widely read by the foreigners and the young, who are attempting to get a hold of the big city. Some volunteers are actually from abroad and come to the Drury to improve their skills in the English language. This gives a special feature to the shop (Shop manager, 9.).





**Map 2** Location of the Drury in Covent Garden, London. This is part of a map of Covent Garden that Drury volunteers passed on to tourists for free. (Covent Garden Cityscape, Published by Footprints.).

According to the shop manager, there are seasonal variations as to the number of volunteers. In average, there are about 100 volunteers actively giving their contribution. By publishing a news letter “the new Drury“ (Picture 2), the shop management team (core group of volunteers), keeps the rest of the volunteers up to date of the activities. The following chapter provides more information on a typical volunteer profile in the Drury (see 3.6.).

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## the new DRURY...

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**Picture 2** The logo of the news letter of the Drury.

The volunteers work both in the shop serving customers, and in the backroom, renewing the stock of second hand books and clothes. Only a few volunteers participate in stocking and pricing of alternative trade goods, Oxfam Trading items from the developing countries. The majority is involved in the second hand line. There are activities also outside the shop such as outdoor market stalls and fund raising through "shaking the tin" for special causes, for example, the Rwanda Appeal in summer 1994. Additionally, there are campaigns and public relations activities. Some are national such as the Rwanda Appeal, others more regional such as the Oxfam/Choice FM Bike Ride in September 1994) or local such as the second hand fashion shows of the Drury in Covent Garden Plaza (MPa, 71-78.). The activities of the Drury do not involve direct contacts with producer communities in the developing countries. The import of the Oxfam Trading products is centralized and the individual shops order the products domestically. Thus, there are seldom visitors from the Oxfam projects overseas in the Drury. The shop manager conceives this as negative. The work would be more tangible with direct links to the producers. (Shop manager, 3.)

The fieldwork in the Drury was pursued from April to November in 1994. Altogether, I conducted 15 thematic interviews and collected 34 questionnaires. I volunteered for the shop in average about two days a week between June and November. The field notes are relatively consistent and regular and try to mention at least the main social and other events in the shop. I was able to gather both practical information on volunteers' tasks at the shop, and information on the organization and its background.

### **3.6 Volunteers in numbers - characteristics of an average volunteer**

In this section, I outline a picture of typical volunteer profile in the Juuttiputiikki and in the Drury on the basis of quantitative material. The data was acquired through questionnaire responses. The questionnaire (Appendix 1a and 1b) was filled in by a randomly selected group of volunteers in both world shops. The rationale of the questionnaire is manifold. In the field, it was used as an icebreaker to get acquainted with some volunteers to be able to ask them for an interview. It provided also essential background information at an early stage. Now the data contextualizes the interviewees in their shops by describing an average volunteer. This information also backs up the analysis of the cultural meaning of volunteering conducted in later chapters.

In both world shops the sample of volunteers to respond to the questionnaires was inadequate for relevant quantitative analysis, even if it does serve for the purpose of contextualizing the actual material from the interviews. Overall there are more people volunteering in the Drury than in the Juuttiputiikki, even if the actual figures are not stated

anywhere. The shop managers estimated that there are generally approximately 100 volunteers in the Drury and about 60 in the Juuttiputiikki. The turnover of volunteers on a seasonal basis affects the volunteer numbers as well. The active core group is, however, remarkably smaller, only about 6-20 volunteers. As these world shops are clearly dissimilar in size, the data received reflects this fact. According to the responses, whereares a clear majority of the volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki is female (19/21), there are nearly an equal number of both sexes represented in the Drury (16/34 and 18/34).

**Table 3.3** Questionnaire responses of volunteers by sex.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
female	19	16	45
male	2	18	20
total	21	34	55

According to table 3.4, volunteers are predominantly under 25 years old in both world shops. The Drury has a good number of volunteers in the 25-35 age bracket, while the Juuttiputiikki seems to have only a few. Young school children and teenagers make the second biggest group of volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki, maybe because of long term campaigning directed to schools. In the Drury people appear not to be volunteering at such a young age. The location of the shop in Central London may not be accessible to children living in the suburbs of London. Families with children do not necessarily live in residencies in the inner city area.

**Table 3.4** Age of volunteers.

Age bracket	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
under 16 yrs	3	-	3
16-25 yrs	15	20	35
25-35 yrs	1	7	8
35-55 yrs	2	4	6
55-65 yrs	-	2	2
65+ yrs	-	1	1

As table 3.5 reveals, in both the Drury (28/34) and the Juuttiputiikki (14/21), a significant majority of the volunteers are single. Only a fraction of them are married or even common law married. The single people may have more free time at hand from family obligations. They may also have a greater need for social community.

**Table 3.5** Marital status of volunteers.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
single	14	28	42
married	2	2	4
common law	2	1	3
divorced	-	1	1
other	2	2	4

There were difficulties in establishing the right categories of education in Great Britain for the question on volunteers' educational background. The comparison of volunteers' education between Finland and Great Britain cannot be done in any specific level. As table 3.6 demonstrates, on a general basis, it seems that volunteers with higher education make the biggest group of volunteers in the Drury, even if people with comprehensive school background come closely next (13/34). In the Juuttiputiikki, senior high school receives most answers (10/21) as the last finished stage in education. This may be due to the fact that most of the respondents are under 25 years old and that higher education in Finland lasts commonly longer than in Great Britain.

**Table 3.6** Educational background of volunteers.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
comprehensive school	6	13	19
senior high school	10	not an option	10
college/grammar school	2	4	6
public/private school	-	7	7
higher education	1	14	15
other	1	3	4

Referring to table 3.7, in both world shops, volunteers are mainly either students or unemployed, those making the biggest categories. The students make over half of the respondents in the Juuttiputiikki (12/21) and nearly half in the Drury (15/34). Notably, in the Drury the relative number of the unemployed (12/34) exceeds that of the Juuttiputiikki (3/21) very clearly. Again, this may relate to the larger number of volunteers at the working age in the Drury.

**Table 3.7** Occupational status of volunteers.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
employed	2	3	5
self-employed	-	3	3
unemployed	3	12	15
student	15	15	30
pensioner	1	2	3

According to table 3.8, most volunteers in both world shops were native in the town of Oulu (12/21), or the city of London (15/34). A remarkably large number of volunteers (10/34) in the Drury had moved to London only recently, that is, less than a year ago, whereas the next category, from 1 to 5 years is the lowest of all categories (2/34). This may partially explain the high turnover rates of volunteers in the shop. Volunteers may come there only in the beginning of their stay to get a contact point to the city or to improve their English, particularly, in the case of foreign volunteers. Once they have settled, they opt for other social arenas. In the Juuttiputiikki, the volunteers may have moved to study in Oulu, since the rate in 1-5 years category is high (6/21), but the rates in categories around it are low (0/21 and 2/21).

**Table 3.8** Duration of stay in town/city.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
> a year ago	-	10	10
1-5 yrs ago	6	2	8
5-10 yrs ago	2	3	5
10+ yrs ago	1	4	5
native in city	12	15	27
no response	12 (=native)	-	12

Table 3.9 reveals that most volunteers in the Drury are new comers; they initiated their volunteer careers less than six months ago (23/34) or less than 12 months ago (6/34). There are only few, who have pursued a more permanent commitment in the world shop (4/34), and only one of them for more than five years (8 years). In the Juuttiputiikki, the picture looks quite different. Volunteers, who have stayed 1-5 years comprise of nearly half of the volunteers (9/21). In general, however, as in the case of the Drury, the relative stress rests on short term careers, less than 6 months (7/21) and less than 12 months (4/21), which makes altogether the biggest category. There is one odd case of longer than five year commitment (12 years) in the Juuttiputiikki. The high rates for the first year of volunteering, and remarkably lower for the next years, imply for high turnover rates especially in the case of the Drury. The difference is less rigid in the Juuttiputiikki.

**Table 3.9** Length of volunteer career to date.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
0-6 months ago	7	23	30
6-12 months ago	4	6	10
1-5 yrs ago	9	3	12
5+ yrs ago	1	1	2
no. of 5+ yrs	12 yrs	8 yrs	-

Based on table 3.10, the most common cause to initiate volunteering seems to be the cause of development assistance. In the Juuttiputiikki, all respondents selected this option and in the Drury a vast majority (26/34). The second important reasons to volunteer vary depending on the shop. The need to use up free time comes second in the Drury (20/34). In the Juuttiputiikki, there are three options rating equally as for the overall second most important reason. These are knowing someone at the world shop (10/21), willingness to learn new things (10/21), and having been a customer at the shop (10/21). It appears, that the Juuttiputiikki volunteers know the world shop previously better through different channels than the volunteers in the Drury. The willingness to learn new things rates high also in the Drury (15/34). The high rate of social reasons (16/34) in the Drury as well as the need to fill in the free time may imply individually substantiated personal motives. The choice may not be as affected by other channels as in the Juuttiputiikki.

**Table 3.10** Reasons for volunteering.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
you knew somebody already volunteering	10	6	16
for social reasons	9	16	25
for health reasons	-	4	4
you needed to use your free time	3	20	23
by chance	1	4	5
you wanted to learn new things	10	15	25
you wanted to work for a good cause	21	26	47
you had volunteered for similar organizations	3	5	8
you had been a customer at the shop	10	9	19
other reasons, what?	-	4 to be part of the action; school work experience; employment action (DSS); frustrated when watching TV; doing a course in the area	4

When inquiring volunteers of their level of activity at the world shop depicted in table 3.11, most of them regarded themselves as active both in the Juuttiputiikki (10/21) and in the Drury (21/34). Relatively many did not want to comment on the issue at all. The response appears to argue that volunteers do want to participate in the action for no specific remuneration.

**Table 3.11** Volunteers' views on their level of activity.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
more active	10	21	31
more passive	3	5	8
No comment	8	8	16

Table 3.12 shows that volunteering for other charitable organizations is relatively common among the Drury volunteers (13/34), about one third has another voluntary activity. In the Juuttiputiikki, most volunteers are solely volunteering for the world shop and only in some odd cases do they have voluntary preoccupations elsewhere (3/21). This may result from the respondents being younger in the Juuttiputiikki, and hence, them not having developed many activities outside school and home.

**Table 3.12** Participation in other charities and organizations.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
yes	3	13	16
no	18	19	37
if yes, which?	Socialist Theatre Group, Red Cross, Animalia, Amnesty International	Sue Ryder, N.C.H.; Mental Health Foundation; Save the Children, British Legion; Homeless Hostel, theatre work, conservation; Ravenswood: local charities, school PTA; HOMANA, MONCAP, League Against Cruel Sports; Community Centre; K.K. Peace Foundation; Free Party People (against the Criminal Justice Bill); Meals-on-Wheels, homeless soup kitchens, elderly; Lupus UK, Greater London Fund for the Blind.	

Referring to table 3.13, a clear majority of volunteers have not had any thoughts of giving up volunteering either in the Juuttiputiikki (16/21), or in the Drury (28/34). The response is rather interesting in view of the high turnover rates of the younger volunteers, who make most of the respondents of the questionnaire. Volunteers earnestly intend to continue their commitment, but still many of them seem to end up pursuing other activities.

**Table 3.13** Intentions to quit volunteering.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
yes	4	6	10
no	16	28	44
if yes, why?	no replies	Boredom; See no chances in world political policies, but if I don't do it, who will?; unpaid, not enough self-motivation; because you can only do so much; Sometimes in the circumstances "you" see that one or two or few people monopolize and don't let you be creative or be in the position to...; frustration over the lack of essentials, poor organization, rapid turnover of managers and volunteers.	

The table 3.14 presents a summary of each volunteers' descriptive response as to their views on the positive and negative aspects of volunteering in their particular world shops. The categories were created according to the major issues brought up by volunteers. Volunteers regard highly both the social aspects of volunteering, and the good cause both in the Juuttiputiikki (13/21 and 12/21) and in the Drury (25/34 and 21/24). Social reasons include issues such as company, people, atmosphere and likemindedness. Personal reasons, including spending time and a place to go, are also important in both cases. In the Juuttiputiikki, the rate is higher (8/21) than in the Drury (9/34). On the negative side, frustration makes volunteers unmotivated both in the Juuttiputiikki (5/21) and in the Drury (9/34). The causes

of frustration consist, for example, of inadequate results, tiring routines, and lack of tasks (the Drury). The lack of volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki causes also distress among the volunteers. It makes the activities more time-consuming and the tasks tend to accumulate to only a few volunteers. In the Drury, the poor organization of activities, for instance, amateur and ineffective leadership, creates constraints (8/34). This may indicate that the paid manager in the Drury is expected to achieve results, whereas a shared management in the Juuttiputiikki is not so. There it may be accepted that things do not always work out well.

**Table 3.14** Positive and negative aspects of volunteering.

POSITIVE	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
social reasons (e.g., company, people, atmosphere, likemindedness)	13	25	38
good cause	12	21	33
variety of tasks	3	3	6
personal reasons (e.g., spending time, a place to go)	8	9	17
learning new things	4	6	10
voluntary (flexible)	4	2	6

NEGATIVE	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
frustrating (e.g., tiring, not enough to do, inadequate results)	5	9	14
personal obligation	1	1	2
unorganized (e.g., amateur, ineffective leadership)	-	8	8
illusion of moral high ground	-	2	2
lack of volunteers (e.g., time-consuming, accumulation of tasks)	7	1	8

When volunteers described their volunteering in their own words the following issues, listed in table 3.15, were raised as particular points in volunteering. As in table 3.14 above, the responses have been categorized according to the major issues taken up. Neither in the Juuttiputiikki (9/21) nor in the Drury (16/34) did all the volunteers respond this question at all. Volunteering is fun, interesting and rewarding to half of the respondents in the Juuttiputiikki (6/21) and to about a third of the respondents in the Drury (5/34). Drury volunteers addressed also the moral aspects of volunteering (6/34). In both world shops, learning and gathering of experiences were valued as well.



**Table 3.15** Particular points of volunteering addressed by volunteers.

	The Juuttiputiikki	The Drury	total
rewarding (fun, interesting etc.)	6	5	11
ideological aspects	1	3	4
moral issues	1	6	7
learning and experiences	3	5	8
no answer	9	16	25

*Some representative answers as examples of each category:*

"It's not just coming in and doing four hours behind a till. It's your politics, what you buy, eat, consume in your everyday life. If you sympathize with capitalism/Tory politics don't even THINK about being a volunteer."

"It's generally good fun and very interesting."

"Everyone who is able, and has time to spare should help as a volunteer in any organization."

"You cannot understand what volunteering is without experiencing it yourself."

As emphasized in the beginning of this chapter, the data is insufficient to enable any broader generalizations about volunteer pools in the Drury and in the Juuttiputiikki. The samples were narrow and random. However, the above results can be of value in the juxtaposition of the interviewed volunteers with the volunteers in general. I have drawn some cautious conclusions under each inquired matter; nevertheless, there there could be identified even more. It is not relevant for this research to elaborate this kind of data analysis any further, since the aim is introduce the object of study in quantitative terms.

## **4 The world view in anthropology**

This chapter reviews the historical developments in world view research in anthropology. Orvar Löfgren's periodization illuminates the history of world view studies. Additionally, some excursions are made to specific world view studies presenting a particular approach. I also introduces some special characteristics of world view research in the history of world view studies. After the historical section, I take examples of some specific studies that have bearing to this research. These excursions (Dundes and Rauste-von Wright) support the world view model applied in this inquiry (see Chapter 5).

### **4.1 Historical overview of world view studies**

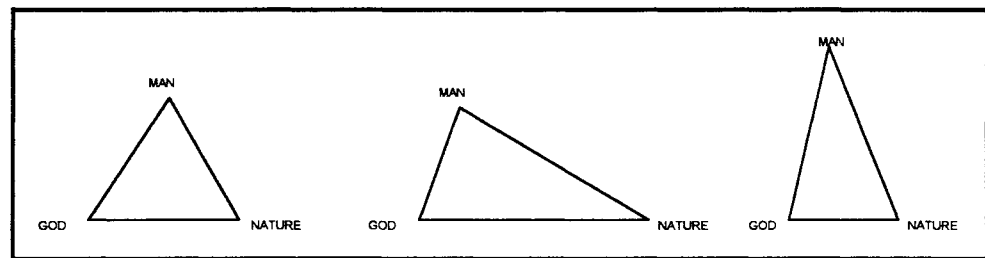
World view is a widely researched topic in anthropology. I do not aim at providing a comprehensive account of world view studies over time here, but merely to draw attention to the studies bearing some relevance to this work. Michael Kearney, Orvar Löfgren, and Seppo Knuuttila have reviewed the body of anthropological world view studies from varying perspectives. Kearney categorizes the studies as general and specific as well as introduces some central issues or traits of world view that have been investigated such as time and space, causality, and self (Kearney 1975, 248.). Löfgren's starting point is paradigmatic: through his chronological analysis he finally argues for dialectical study of world view (Löfgren 1981, 27-28). Knuuttila exemplifies the theoretical analysis of world view by two traditions of thought, those of transcultural and intracultural. He also presents some cognitive approaches to the study of world view. (Knuuttila 1989, 193.)

In the study of world view, it is essential to look back to the history of anthropology in order to understand the current prevalence of particularizing perspectives. World view studies make a holistic and generalizing perspective, which is at worst linked with cultural evolutionary theorizing. In the beginning of this century, anthropology was still, to a great extent, characteristically speculative, generalizing and relied on second-hand sources. Studies of primitive mentality, folkpsychology and national character were not rare to armchair anthropologists. Such studies were used by the Western colonial powers to legitimize their rule over the colonies in the Southern hemisphere. These studies had often even racial and class implications as to the cultural evolution of different peoples. (Löfgren 1981, 23.)

As anthropology turned to value empirical research and field work in the 1930's and 1940's, the generalizing trends lost interest especially in Europe. The evident misuse of anthropological body of knowledge by the nationalistic movements in Europe made the scholars to adopt other methods. In the United States, however, comparative research was continued by some schools of thought, for example, the Culture and Personality School. Robert Redfield was among the most prominent researches of world view. His studies of peasant societies and their world view attempted to construe the meaning and content of the concept through comparison. (Löfgren 1981, 24.) The following excursion illustrates Redfield's train of thought on world view.

Robert Redfield presents some assertions that are generally taken for granted as human universals in world view research, and thus, as means for comparison. They are man-God-nature distinctions, spatial and temporal dimensions, and "world stage of Everyman", that is, matters related to life cycle. Subsequently, he clarifies the underlying assumptions of world view that have influenced the study of primitive world view through these assumptions. Many presumptions are fundamentally based on Western ideas of what constitutes a world view. The universal elements of world view (the three issues listed above) contribute to the understanding of particular elements of world view, and vice versa. (Redfield 1966, 271-273.)

In comparative research, "world view can be seen as a characteristic attitude of purpose or obligation toward that which is confronted" (Redfield 1966, 275). The confronted stands for matters outside the sphere of self. By this, Redfield indicates that peoples or societies make the distinctions differently: Not-Man, using Redfield's terms, is to some both nature and God, to others just nature, or just God. If set in a triangle, where man, nature and God represent the three angles, the length of each leg of the triangle visualizes the relative importance of each angle in presumed societies. The illustration below is my own.



**Figure 4.1** The elements of world view by Robert Redfield (my illustration). The first triangle shows the basic elements in relation to each other; the second is a visualization of a world view that emphasizes the nature; and the third visualizes the relations of the elements in case of volunteers, whose emphasis could be taken to be on Man angle (volunteering as a humanitarian activity).

Additionally, there are three basic attitudes towards the Not-Man, which also illuminate a society's world view. They are first, a people's attitude in maintenance of a world view; second, the degree of obedience to Not-Man; and third, the degree of obligation to act according to a certain world view. (Redfield 1966, 277.) Volunteers' world view responds to the obligation of a man to fellow men (solidarity), if I take volunteers as an example of the obligations that world view creates to people. The human angle is emphasized and the Not-Man legs of the angle are relatively short (see Figure 4.1). Redfield notes that the primitive world view is not to be detected any more, but partially. The world view of modern people (i.e., people in more complex societies) is biased towards the human angle as Redfield puts it: "The struggle to find purpose and value is transferred to the theater of relations among men with each other only, or to that inner theater of the private soul" (Redfield 1966, 280.).

Redfield and other functionalists were challenged only in the 1960's as the structuralists came forth with novel methods to analyze world view. The study of the use or the function of culture in social situations was now replaced by a study of the cultural categories that people manifest in their myths, rituals and beliefs, and lastly in social interaction. This approach stressed the emic, intracultural aspects of research being interested in the manner world view is internalized in everyday life. (Helve 1992, 22; Löfgren 1981, 24.)

In the 1970's in Finland, there was a trend towards holistic social analysis over disciplinary boundaries. Research projects sprung up in history, sociology, and educational sciences, addressing the human life holistically. New concepts were coined in research, such as way of life, mentality and cognitive map depending on the bias of each discipline. (Kuusi, Alapuro & Klinge 1977.) Juha Manninen was among those researchers, who contemplated the holistic mode within the discipline of history of ideas. For Manninen, the universal categories of world view consist of perceptions of (1) time and space, (2) genesis and supernatural, its effect, existence and non-existence, (3) nature and human relationship, (4) self and other humans, and (5) society, folk, state and factors affecting in history. (Manninen 1977, 16-17.)

Along the lines with Manninen and for comparison, Kearney discusses the premises of the study of world view in his summarizing review of world view studies. He takes world view to be almost synonymous with cognitive anthropology, but in an unconventional sense of the cognitive. He stresses the nonverbal aspects of cognitive presentations. The world view is not only in verbal expressions. Kearney goes on to argue for universal units of world view despite the problems this arises. In his search for a cross-culturally applicable model of world view, Kearney introduces a minimal set of universal cognitive categories. This set contains categories of self, other, relationships, classification, space, time, and causality. The major problem with universal studies is to find logically relevant operational means to integrate different categories of world view. Studies concentrating on one or few specific categories of a knowledge system do not need to address this question. (Kearney 1975, 247.) Kearney identifies logico-structural integration as means to make sense of the seemingly illogical connections of various categories of world view. (Kearney 1975, 249-251.)

Moving on to the 1980's, there arose interest within the sociology of knowledge in using the concept of world view as "the function of a world view in legitimising an existing social order" (Löfgren 1981, 24-25). This was to pay attention to the historical aspects of culture as well as the phenomenological ones. This made the beginning of dialectical approaches to study culture and ideology, and as such, quite different from the symbolic approaches established in the 1970's that mainly ignored historical aspects of culture. Cultural patterns or structures of world view were completed with how they are constructed, produced and reproduced. (Löfgren 1981, 24-25.) This turn to dialectical perspectives reflects the overall change in social sciences in examining social and cultural phenomena with respect to their active role in creating meanings. Additionally, world view is not conceived as a category in itself as it was before, but a cultural construction that is reproduced in everyday activities (see section 5.2). The discussion of essentialism concerning world views is relevant ever today (Knuuttila 1989). Eventually, it is a question of how we see the empirical reality. Is

world view an empirical category (possible to envelop through scientific study), or a constantly reproduced complex set of meanings?

The study of world views has gained impetus also from relatively recent civilization and globalization studies, in which, for instance, Norbert Elias and Immanuel Wallerstein have been influential since the 1970's. Despite the danger of reintroducing some aspects of cultural evolution, this generalizing global perspective has been attractive due to its interdisciplinary nature. Cultural studies approach has provided the context for this kind of study. Political science, sociology and anthropology combine their strengths to investigate this new topic of global culture. World view proves a holistic concept for this kind of study within anthropology. In sociology, way of life was introduced with the same holistic emphasis. In political sciences it was named civilization studies. Cultural studies encompassing a wide range of issues coined globalization to describe the phenomenon of world wide cultural transformations and increasing interdependence. (e.g., Featherstone 1990, Löfgren 1981; Robertson 1992.)

Based predominantly on Löfgren's review on developments in world view research, the above reviews various perspectives applied in the study of world views. The world view is conceived as (1) a descriptive and heuristic term (list of cultural characteristics); (2) as an analytical term "to locate carrying beams of a cognitive system"; (3) and as a research perspective, that emphasizes dialectical nature of conscious (cultural) and the material (historical) aspects of everyday life, the way everyday life and culture are related, and of the existence of competing world views. (Löfgren 1981, 34.) Löfgren point out that world view studies have traditionally focused in studying the nature and function of the world view, not the structure and content of it. The dialectical analysis could put more stress on the content by its search for culturally produced meanings. (Löfgren 1981, 27-28.) Indeed, what Löfgren calls a dialectical analysis converges on the contextualizing approaches (constructionism and textual turn) in social sciences and anthropology.

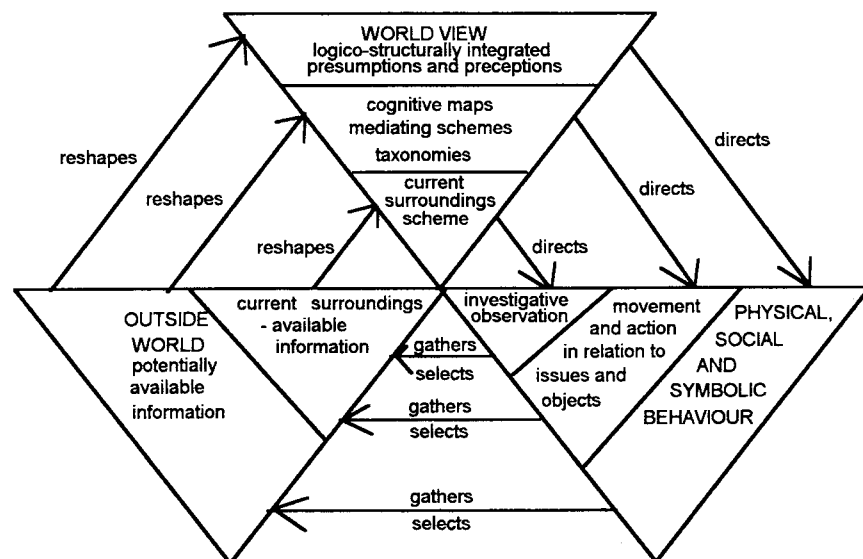
In Finland, the latest studies and writings of world view are published especially in the fields of educational sciences (e.g., Rauste-von Wright 1984), the study of religions (e.g., Helve 1992, 1996; Holm & Björkqvist 1996.), and philosophy (e.g., von Wright 1997.). It seems that the recently risen interest in moral and ethical questions brings holistic concepts such as world view into social debate (Rydman 1994.). Acknowledging the value of dialectical analysis, I explicate my current understanding of world view as an anthropological device in the following chapter (Chapter 5).

## **4.2 The structure of world view**

Lehtipuro divides world view studies by their content and research objective. The categorization includes world view as cognitive and normative, as culture and personality relationships, as research object and material, and as various key concepts. (Lehtipuro 1977, 72-73.) The investigation of key concepts analyzes the structure of world view (Helve 1992, 18.). Hence, this section focuses mainly on describing some inquiries in structural dimensions and key elements of world view. First, I present a much referred to analysis of

world view by Ulrich Neisser. To explicate the matter of key concepts, I take examples from the work of Alan Dundes and Marja-Liisa Rauste-von Wright, however, being aware of similar approaches by other researchers (e.g., Hoebel 1965, Kearney 1975.). Whereas Dundes has formulated a concept *folk idea* to account for a basic unit of world view analysis, Rauste-von Wright applies several key elements simultaneously.

According to Knuuttila, it is essential to outline the overall context and structure of world view before searching for any specific functions it may have. He refers to Ulrich Neisser, who provides a comprehensive analysis of the dimensions of the world view by scrutinizing *the cognitive and functional aspects* together. (Knuuttila 1989, 192.) Other similar views can be found from Marja-Liisa Rauste-von Wright (e.g., 1979) and Johan von Wright (1982). The following figure (Figure 4.2.) presents Neisser's model complemented with elements from Michael Kearney and Johan von Wright, which Knuuttila have regarded relevant. The model features the process nature of world view and the interrelations between different elements shaping the world view. However, along the lines with dialectical perspective appreciated by Löfgren, Knuuttila criticizes the model (or any model of that kind) of excessive stability. It does not seem to cover the wider context of human actions such as social, political and historical reality. According to Knuuttila, this kind of research would be proximate with sociological investigation on identity and way of life. (Knuuttila 1989, 190-194.)



**Figure 4.2** A functional world view model combining observational and cognitive aspects of it (Knuuttila 1989, 193; adopted from Neisser 1982, von Wright 1982 and Kearney 1984.).

Another way of approaching the structure of world view is presented by Alan Dundes. He discusses the use of the term myth on one hand by folklorists and on the other by social scientists. For social scientists, myth is not a narrative but stands for a belief or belief system. According to Dundes, folklorists need to come up with another term for cultural phenomena

that are not in form of narratives, that being the prerequisite of a proper myth. Dundes coins a term folk idea to refer to such phenomena. (Dundes 1972, 93.)

Cultural phenomena other than narratives are "traditional notions that a group of people has about the nature of man, of the world, and of man's life in the world" (Dundes 1972, 95.). Folk ideas are not expressed explicitly verbally in narratives, but form a basis of thought and action of a given group. They are the ingredients of world view. If the study of world view is set as a goal, it is essential to identify the folk ideas that affect the internalization of a world view. A few examples of folk ideas visible in American world view are "the principle of unlimited good", the salvation through suffering, and achieving. There are various proverbs and other verbal, but also non-verbal expressions of these ideas. (Dundes 1972, 96-98.)

Dundes takes up some other folk ideas in American society, those of leadership (individual good) and democracy (collective good), which in fact applies well in most of the industrialized cultures. The underlying idea states that "one should lead without making it obvious that he is leading" (Dundes 1972, 100). The good of an individual and that of a collective are not always identical, which causes dilemmas in a world view. The idea of egalitarianism is sound especially when contrasting it with other forms of leadership. (Dundes 1972,100.)

Traditional stereotypes (e.g., on different nationalities), that social scientists unlike folklorists often call myths, can be termed as *folk fallacies*. Whereares they are conscious expressions, folk ideas are generally unconscious. While folk fallacies are intentional, folk ideas are not. Dundes is aware of the complexity of this statement: unconscious refers to the inability of individuals to articulate all aspects of their culture. As a corollary of this, change in world view can be achieved by making the unconscious aspects of culture conscious. (Dundes 1972, 101-102.) He regards the unconscious aspects as a hindrance in cultural communication.

Marja-Liisa Rauste-von Wright (formerly Rauste) presents the last perspective on the structure of world view. According to Rauste-von Wright, it is necessary to concentrate on certain aspects of world view, while researching it, even if the framework covers the overall world view. Rauste-von Wright's background in educational sciences explains her approaching world view from a pedagogical perspective as a socialization process. (Rauste-von Wright 1975, 2-3.) The main aspects of attention in studying social orientation of world view are the attitudes towards social field and the perception of the world in general, of its problems and its future. Within each aspect, central issues are identified in terms of perception, attitude, value and intention. Therefore, perception, attitude, value, and intention are the key elements directing the examination of world view. (Rauste 1973, 8, 18-19.)

Rauste-von Wright addresses the integration of world view as a central term in the socialization process. Here, she introduces the dichotomy of non-spontaneous and spontaneous concepts (referring to Vladimir Vygotsky). The more conscious an act, the more the non-spontaneous side dominates, and a person is aware of the elements that affect her decisions. The more integrated the world view, the more conscious the person is of its

elements. Rauste-von-Wright adopts the phrase "the level of maturity in thinking" to demonstrate about the level of integration of a person's world view. The integration is not directly dependent on an individual's ability to express things verbally. (Rauste-von-Wright 1979, 10, 22.) Overall, this resembles Dundes dichotomy of folk ideas and folk fallacies.

Rauste-von Wright applies the concept world view for the sake of cohesion and integration of research. It is, thus, a tool of the researcher not an empirical entity. Her stance is anti-essentialist. When studying world view empirically, one faces the questions of how it arises from action, and how action reshapes it. For Rauste-von Wright, a world view is a continuous process of communication, whereby the world view derives from the actions of an individual, and whereby world view regulates the actions of an individual. (Rauste-von Wright 1979, 28.) She, however, acknowledges the broader framework of world view as well. It is not just confined in the sphere of the individual, that is generally the perspective in cognitive sciences.

Apart from the preceding account there are other similar concepts defined as basic ingredients of world view such as wide-range and narrow-range vectors by W.T. Jones, existential and normative postulates by E. Adamson Hoebel, and unstated assumptions by Clyde Kluckhohn. Dundes mentions also basic premises and cultural axioms and stresses that all of these terms express the same content, a component of overall encompassing world view. (Dundes 1972, 96; Knuutila 1989, 190.)

### 4.3 Some specific characteristics of world view studies

Löfgren argues that methodological operationalization of the world view is incomplete: the content of a world view is rarely defined. He attempts to categorize the content by some key elements of world view, but simultaneously points out that it is not actually possible to do so exhaustively. Various elements prevail at different times in different societies. He states that "a collection of traits or central notions in a given culture is not enough to merit a label of world-view" (Löfgren 1981, 27-28.).

*The incomplete nature of world view* has been addressed in most treatises of the topic. In addition to Löfgren, here are some other central notions in reference to its imperfect quality. Manninen acknowledges the interrelatedness of the elements of world view, but simultaneously stresses that these elements result in either a logical or an illogical entity. However, world view is always meaningful to its carriers. It is normative and unites members of a collective. (Manninen 1977, 16.) World view is, thus, not necessarily a harmonious entity, but rather a system of making sense of the world. Dundes maintains that "One need not assume that all the folk ideas of a given culture are necessarily mutually reconcilable within a uniform, harmonious worldview matrix" (Dundes 1972, 98.). Similarly Redfield notes that it is essential to comprehend a world view "as something constantly in process: a fluctuating assemblage of more or less connected ideas that change as to focus, affective coloring perhaps, content and choice of connections and emphases" (Redfield 1966, 281.). Despite the centrifugal aspect of world view, it still forms the basis of a the thinking of a group.



World view analysis has generally contained a division of human existence to *cognitive (conscious) and non-cognitive (unconscious) components*. Bateson's ethos and eidos, Geertz' ethos and world view, Dundes folk fallacy and folk idea, and Kearney's image, assumption and proposition. (Dundes 1972, 101-102; Geertz 1972, 126-127; Knuutila 1989, 190.) These aspects are interconnected and complementary, but are used as separate units in the analysis. By addressing the use of the concept ethos in world view research, I intend to illustrate the question of the non-conscious and conscious characteristics of world view. I refer to Knuutila, who draws together some major lines in the study of ethos. Ethos was initially used as a concept that discerns a group of people from other people and makes people to identify themselves with their cultural peer group. Later, it was given other qualities such as a common denominator of a cultural group. It was thus, used as a metadeterminant (a researcher's concept not empirical) in identifying the unconscious elements of a cultural group. More recent studies divide world view into an affective and a cognitive elements, ethos and eidos. Such views can be detected from Gregory Bateson and Clifford Geertz. Knuutila points out that the current anthropological research does not apply ethos, though the conscious and unconscious structures of world view are given other names. (Knuutila 1989, 184-187, 190.)

Clifford Geertz's treatise of the analysis of sacred symbols in relation to world view illustrates the distinction to cognitive and non-cognitive aspects of world view. In symbolic anthropology, the main argument is that cultural meaning, and in this case, also world view is stored in symbols shared by a society. Culture consists, thus, of public symbols. According to Geertz, while world view is the cognitive, existential element of a given culture, ethos makes the moral and evaluative aspects of it. Culture consists of two structural and complementing ingredients, ethos and world view. Between these two as a pragmatic tool, people use common sense, which is an ability to function adequately well in various situations. His point is that interpretation of symbolic activities is "an attempt to provide orientation for an organism which cannot live in a world it is unable to understand" (Geertz 1973, 140-141). Geertz acknowledges that world view and ethos are not exhaustive concepts, but have relevance as a kind of a prototheory while expecting a more analytical and adequate framework for the study of a culture (Geertz 1973, 141).

Knuutila addresses yet another specific element in world view studies. The study of folk culture or folklore contains always questions of an individual and a collective. The folk under study reveals itself to the researcher as communication between individuals, and on the other hand, as a collective formation. (Knuutila 1989, 204.) Helena Helve discerns also an individual and a collective world view. Whereas the collective world view comprises of ecological, historical, economic, socialo-political and cultural aspects, the individual world view consists of personal aspects, age, sex and life history. (Helve 1992, 20.) In this research, the collective and individual world view in Helve's sense are not clearly separated. In the world view model (Chapter 5), it is the biographical dimension that reflects the individual aspects most. It is through all dimensions that individual aspects come forth. In a sense, individual and collective components are intermingled in volunteers' views. I do not

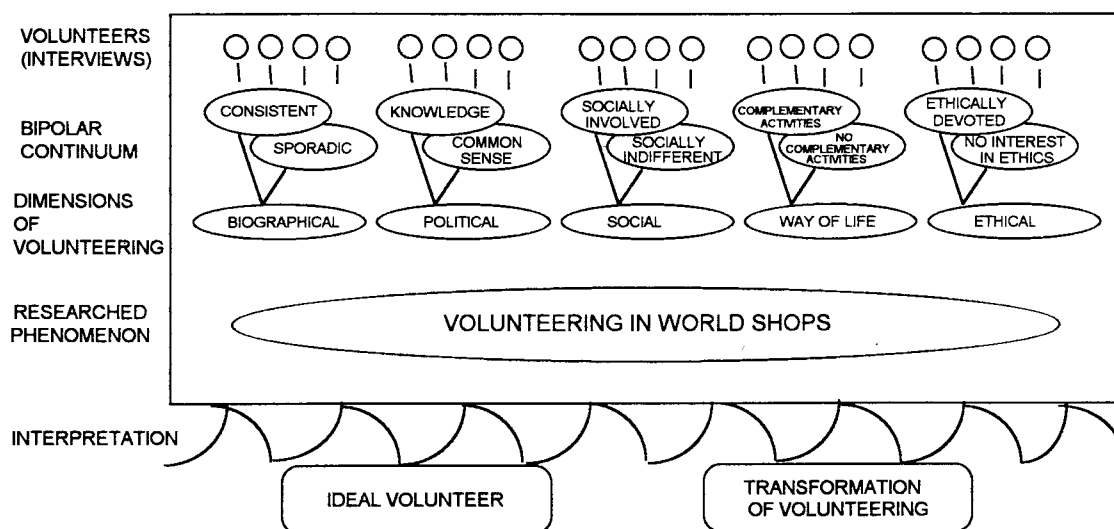
seek for a single possible world view of volunteers (structure), but rather use the world view model to illustrate the variety of perceptions on volunteering (signification process).

There are numerous other issues addressed in world view research. The above provides a short overview of some major topics. The rationale to select these becomes apparent in the following chapter on the application of world view model in analyzing cultural meaning of volunteering in world shops.

## 5 Volunteering - towards an anthropological perspective

In this chapter, I outline a framework for analyzing volunteering in world shops. The analysis is based on a dimensional world view model enhanced with a bipolar continuum model. In other words, the aim is at applying world view as a methodological device. The first section introduces the original ideas behind the world view model. The second section contemplates on the relationship between volunteering and world view. The final section ties the model to the general framework of studying world view. To begin with, the following figure (Figure 5.1) summarizes the overall process of analyzing the cultural meaning of volunteering.

I apply the world view concept as a methodological device to reach at an anthropological analysis of volunteering. The cultural meaning of volunteering derives from a manifold processing of the material (as depicted in the next figure). I needed a valid system of classification, after having organized the field material and transcribed the interviews. For this purpose, I selected a world view model enhanced with bipolar continuum model. It brings forth volunteers' multiple views as well as introduces the essential issues under each dimension. Hence, the field material is processed under the five dimensions (biographical, political, social, way of life and ethical) with help of a bipolar setting of key issues. This makes the basis of understanding volunteering in world shops as a whole.



**Figure 5.1** The process of analyzing the cultural meaning of volunteering in world shops.

The process of analyzing the material under the five dimensions is referred to as a world view model. Eventually, a process of further interpretation concludes the analysis of the cultural meaning of volunteering or better the symbolic interpretation of volunteering. In the last phase, the level of abduction and intuition are high, which is why I specifically call this phase as interpretation. The result is not easy to replicate similarly with any research due to

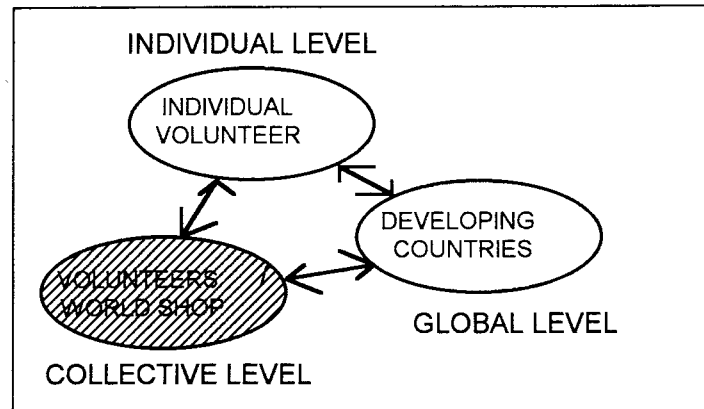
the nature of such an hermeneutic approach. This brief introduction being rather sketchy, the next sections elaborate on each phase of the process.

### **5.1 Indicative hypothesis and presumptions**

This section presents the original indicative hypothesis and underlying presumptions on volunteering. The starting point of the research is that the modern world is too complex to be comprehensively understood on an everyday basis. People apply partial means to explain their existence and activities in such a manifold context. Human thinking and action are influenced by both internal (psychological) and external (social, political, economical, etc.) factors. Part of the activities is conscious; another part of the activities is unconscious and routinized. (Rauste-von Wright 1979, Mäkelä 1990, and Beals 1979, 159.). I take a metaphor of network to refer to these internal and external factors affecting volunteering.

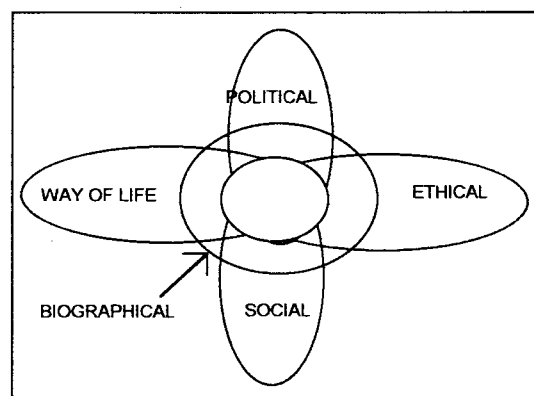
I assume that there is a very rudimentary set of connections, network of phenomena, that can be seen as the basis in any human activity. A triangle network depicted in figure 5.2 is a way to illustrate the matter. The three angles of the network are the individual, collective and global level phenomena, them being, to varying degree, part of the everyday consciousness. Individual level refers to internal factors, collective to a combination of both internal(ized) and external factors, and global to external factors affecting people's perception of life and world (see, e.g., Knuuttila 1989; Helve 1992).

The next figure (Figure 5.2) transfers the network idea into the context of volunteering in world shops. The cultural meaning of volunteering arises at all levels, but it is mainly the collective level that manifests volunteer culture. This assumption leads to focusing on the collective element, here it being the world shops. Even so, it is necessary to take into consideration both individual volunteers and their aspirations as well as the global events. People's personal life history plays a significant role in shaping their options and choices concerning volunteering. At global level, it is the developing countries that are the global reference for volunteers, since world shops aim to influence the world market through fair trade.



**Figure 5.2** Individual, collective and global level phenomena affecting volunteers in world shops.

This investigation identifies, describes and analyzes meanings and activities that constitute volunteering in a world shop. These can be traced at various facets of a volunteer experience. I created a thematic division of the facets of volunteer experiences (Figure 5.3) to support the actual field work and interviews. This indicative work hypothesis assisted in keeping the phenomenon under control. Matti Kamppinen notes that this type of indicative hypothesis is often not explicitly put forward in the humanistic research, despite its evident existence (Kamppinen 1996, 51). In the field context, I asked volunteers a set of questions under five themes, or rather, dimensions which make a world view model. Despite the model being abstract, the questions were concrete. It is easier to the interviewees to approach the topic through concrete events and things rather than vague and abstract concepts (see Appendix 3. Key questions concerning volunteering). Kamppinen maintains that questions at the concrete level help to trace the abstract compilations (Kamppinen 1996, 60). The figure below (Figure 5.3) demonstrates the facets of volunteer experiences in a world view model.



**Figure 5.3** Facets of the world view model.

The five major facets or dimensions of the world view model are to illuminate individual, collective and global level influences in volunteering. As previously stated, the dimensions are biographical, political, social, way of life and ethical dimension. In the fieldwork, each dimension was reduced to a set of questions. Each set of questions contains some leading

ideas supported by a variety of related ideas and questions. This dimensional world view model is a structural, hence, mapping volunteers' experiences and concerns in a classificatory manner. It is a tool to view the verbal construction of volunteering. The biographical dimension in the middle contains also some process and change factors, for instance, volunteers were asked about possible changes in their attitudes towards volunteering. I discuss the dimensions further in the following section (5.2.).

This research aims at demonstrating how volunteers create cultural meaning of volunteering with their multiple perspectives. I do not attempt to reveal a universally valid world view of volunteers, but rather to give a platform for a variety of views on volunteering. The world view model serves as a device to capture the complex phenomenon. It is a pragmatic tool in comprehending the individual, collective and global level phenomena influencing volunteering. Different volunteer experiences contain characteristics of each dimension of the world view model, but generally stress one or few dimensions. Additionally, a bipolar continuum of each dimension covers the polyphony of views on volunteering in a systematic fashion. The bipolar continuum is explicated in association with world view dimensions in the next section.

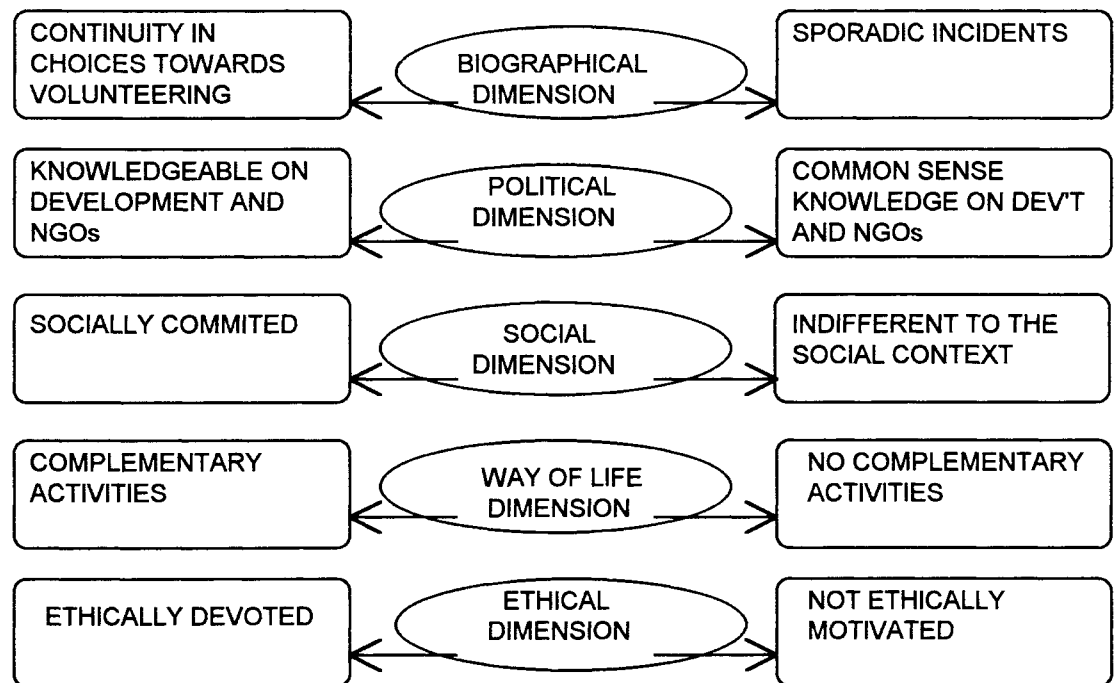
## **5.2 Understanding volunteering through world view dimensions**

This section addresses world view as a research perspective on examining volunteers in world shops. The interrelationship of the world view model and the actual deed of volunteering makes a central issue here. As previously mentioned, the basic premise of this work is that world view exists only in the sphere of academia as a theoretical conceptualization to structure the seemingly chaotic life of the humans. World view is not an empirical category, and thus, the question whether volunteering in world shops results from a certain kind of world view is secondary. Instead, the question is how volunteers conceive volunteering. The world view model merely systematizes these views.

This approach stresses the multiplicity of insider perspectives on volunteering. It is volunteers' intentional views not my observation of volunteering (activity) that produces the result. Volunteers in world shops do make groups of people, but these very groups are heterogeneous in terms of matters driving the individuals in volunteering as well as in terms of how they talk about their volunteering. The world view model illuminates this diversity through its various dimensions. The dimensional emphasis discerns volunteers from each other.

However, the analysis moves beyond the individual level to the collective level by setting volunteers' perceptions of volunteering in bipolar continuums. The focus shifts, hence, to the collective level. Individual views provide substance to volunteering. Therefore, the views of a single volunteer are scattered around the topic volunteering. A volunteer may be once describing the social aspect of volunteering and another time the ethical aspect. Individual volunteers' perceptions are deconstructed in order to construct a collective picture of volunteering.

How can the emphasis of different dimensions be retrieved from the data available? A bipolar continuum of key issues answers this challenge. Volunteer's responses are interpreted through some key questions in the interviews as well as through some supplementary questions. The notions of common sense and analytical knowledge (Aaltonen 1986, 16; referring to Berger and Luckman) help to identify the opposite ends of the continuums depicted in the following figure (Figure 5.4). Within each dimension the meaning attached to volunteering, varies depending on individual volunteers. I collect volunteers' views to support central issues in each end of the respective bipolar continuums. Volunteers seem to argue equally for both of the opposite ends of the bipolar continuum. The significance of such a dialectic approach lies in its wide scope and openness. It envelops volunteering essentially by reviewing the opposite ends of each dimension in volunteers' speech. Hence, I do not explain volunteering explicitly. The cultural meaning of volunteering arises in the review process of volunteer's perception within bipolar continuums.



**Figure 5.4** The opposite ends of the bipolar continuums of the five dimensional world view model.

In each dimension, volunteers' views are categorized in bipolar continuums with respect to key issues. The key issues are underlying premises of each dimension. They were not explicitly spoken out in the interviews. In biographical dimension, the degree of consistency of choices towards volunteering is investigated. In political dimension, it is the expressed knowledge base on developmental issues, that I take as an indicator of political awareness and commitment (knowledge based volunteering). In social dimension, I assume the stress on the likemindedness of world shop volunteers to reveal about the appreciation of social dimension (socially committed volunteering). The way of life dimension interconnects

volunteering with other similar interests a volunteer may pursue in free time. In a sense, the number of so called alternative or socially conscious activities stands for the stress on the way of life dimension (complementary activities). Lastly, I perceive that clear and thought through responses on questions of personal moral account for the emphasis on ethical dimension (morally motivated volunteering). (Appendix 3. Central questions concerning volunteering presents the central questions selected to indicate about the key issues of each dimension.) Each bipolar continuum is valid merely within its own dimension.

Overall, the bipolar continuum model merely describes different perceptions of volunteering that volunteers share. It is, therefore, a way to make sense of the complexity of the data. It is also an interpretation of the phenomenon, even if a classificatory one. The analysis of volunteering aims to go further by addressing the questions of the transformation of volunteering (Chapter 8), and symbolic aspects of volunteering (Chapter 9). Transformation of volunteering explains the changes volunteers go through during their volunteer career. The analysis of the symbolic aspects of volunteering attempts to highlight some longstanding assumptions about volunteering in world shops.

### **5.3 Indebtedness to related world view and other relevant studies**

This section relates the preliminary assumptions of the indicative hypothesis to the world view studies introduced in the previous chapter, in order to reveal the indebtedness of this investigation to existing world view studies. I make use of the idea of key elements of world view by Alan Dundes in a modified fashion in relation to an idea of ideal volunteer. Additionally, I refer to Marja-Liisa Rauste-von Wright concerning the coherence of the various dimensions of volunteers' experiences. Finally, I discuss the common sense knowledge and analytical scientific knowledge in line with sociology of knowledge tradition (Aaltonen 1986, 16.), because they are the central elements of the bipolar continuums.

I selected the most relevant questions of the interviews for the actual analysis, as well as transcribed these thoroughly, the rest of them only in a referential manner. These key questions can be regarded as including key issues of volunteer experiences. These key issues are not directly, however, equivalent to Dundes' folk ideas as units of world view. This is because his point is that folk ideas are basic elements of an all-encompassing world view of an entire folk, such as the Americans. My study investigating merely one group of people within a society, makes a different starting point. The criteria that define some people as volunteers are quite different from those defining people as members of a wider society. Volunteers become volunteers of their own choice, not through birth or migration. The implications of voluntary affiliation to a group can have specific, maybe unifying, effects on the overall way of thinking of volunteers. Does this make it easier to identify the key issues of volunteering, assuming that volunteers form a relatively homogenous group of people in certain ways? Are there issues that can be detected in most volunteer experiences?

Folk ideas are not expressed verbally in an explicit way. Even so, folk ideas form a basis of thought and action. How am I to find issues in volunteering that are not explicitly spoken out? If interpretation of speech and action is the means, the power of the researcher to draw



conclusions, right or wrong, is eminent. Instead of using the key issues in Dundes' sense of folk ideas, I merely take them for major issues underlying the action: I use the theory of folk ideas as a stimulator, and modify it to fit this research. Therefore, tKey issues can be directly or indirectly expressed in volunteers' speech and action, both being expressions of a particular way of thinking concerning volunteering.

When applied in the sphere of voluntary sector, the concept of folk idea designates at least the following issues. On one hand, volunteers are assumed to represent an active citizen in a society, and on the other hand, volunteers are expected to be volunteer for altruistic reasons. Both active citizenship and altruism are generally acknowledged characteristics of voluntary activity, but little touched upon in discussions with volunteers. They are the presumed underlying essence of volunteering, and are elaborated later in this paper (Chapter 8.).

Rauste-von Wright discusses the integration of world view as means to look at the maturity of thinking. The idea of coherence in thinking applies here as well, but in another mode. The coherence in thinking is not to measure the maturity of thinking, which I understand to express a moral statement of a person's ability to assess events in the surrounding world, but merely to define volunteers' varying experiences of volunteering. There are different domains of meaning in volunteering, where different sets of reasoning make the meaning valid. For instance, some volunteers put stress and significance on political issues, while other volunteers value social aspects. Presumably, they do so intentionally and coherently. Therefore, the coherence in thinking is viewed from inside (emic perspective), not from outside (etic perspective). The notion of common sense and analytical knowledge (Aaltonen 1986) resembles the idea of the coherence in thinking. In this investigation, the bipolar continuums of each dimension are created on the basis of a similar dichotomy detected in volunteers' perception of their volunteering under each dimensions.

Additionally, Rauste-von Wright's contribution to investigating cultural meaning of volunteering, lies in two other issues. First, her idea of the content of world view as a set of attitudes towards the social sphere, the world and its problems, and its future supports partially the world view model adopted in this research. The social dimension responds to the social dimension of the world view model, and the perception of world to the political dimension of the model. Additionally, Rauste-von Wright stresses the role of perception, attitude, value and intention in examining world view. I include those elements in the overall frame of analysis with bipolar continuums. The idea of continuum is to convey variations in volunteers' perception, attitude, value and intention on inquired issues, not only in the social sphere but also in other aspects of volunteering.

At this point, it is necessary to address the mission of world shops in relation to coherence of thinking. In Rauste-von Wright's terms, the most mature thinking would involve profound commitment to the cause of fair trade. Is it not the cause of fair trade that measures the contribution of individual volunteers? Indeed, this was the mode of thinking I exercised in the fieldwork, feeling, however, uncomfortable with it. Who am I to judge a person's rationale to volunteer? In the end, I look at the issue from a more relativistic angle. If the aim is to investigate volunteers as a group, and especially in the context of world shops, all

potential ways of reasoning volunteering are equally important. It is not merely fair trade related reasons that are of value.

The potential ways of reasoning are covered by the five-dimensional world view model. Thus, the focus is here on volunteers as producers of meanings of volunteering (subject) as opposed to volunteers as carriers of meaning (object). In the latter case, the researcher explains the meaning attached to the phenomenon, and tries to encompass it exhaustively in objective terms. In a contrary fashion, a hermeneutic discourse perspective, or generally, a constructionist perspective (e.g., Steier 1991) attempts to take volunteers own views into consideration. The phenomenon is interpreted through volunteer's active participation. They are heard. Eventually, volunteers produce a picture and meaning of volunteering, despite the presumptions of the researcher.

In effect, this kind of approach manifests an anti-essentialist view on reality and on the potential of research to captures something relevant of the reality (Steier 1991). The emphasis is on volunteers situational analysis of meanings of volunteering. This approach explains the variation in reasoning of volunteering as well as the transformation of volunteers' experiences of volunteering. The researcher conveys a picture of volunteering originally produced by volunteers. This is done by categorizing the material. Volunteering does not exist outside volunteer experiences.

## **6 The construction of volunteering - applying the world view model and bipolar continuums**

In this chapter, I apply the bipolar continuum model to detect some common issues from the 15 interviews under this research. Therefore the following chapter presents list-like accounts of various factors addressed by volunteers under each dimension. They intend to be true to volunteer's views, hence being rather impressionistic in nature. I draw together some lines of thought by placing the factors under specific subtitles to make the material more comprehensible. Additionally, I illuminates the most common issues with several extracts from the interviews to manifest the variety of stances volunteers take on their volunteering.

Each essential issue becomes visible through representative volunteers from both the Juuttiiputiikki and from the Drury. As Ellen states the aim of presenting a concrete case in an ethnographic account is to "impart a sense of concreteness to an otherwise overwhelmingly abstract account" (Ellen 1984, 237.). In doing so the anthropologist opts for the most typical case.

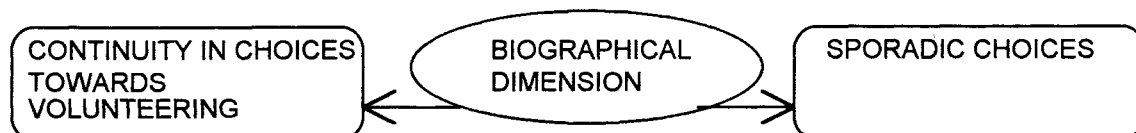
As stated in the British context about volunteering, "With some it is a moral imperative; with others, inspiration comes from a political ideal. With other again, there is the contentment that comes from finding something worth doing in an otherwise unremarkable life." (Fielding, Reeve & Simey 1991, 95-96.) Yet, Margaret Simey seems to find a common denominator between multiple volunteer experiences. Satisfaction that people derive from their activities is evident, which, in most cases, is incongruous with the fact that their support is directed to relief people in great need. Another common characteristic is, what she calls, the vision for a better world. (Fielding, Reeve & Simey 1991, 95-96.)

The picture depicting the model of world view (Figure 5.3) shows that the dimensions overlap in the core area. This is evident also in the analysis of the field material. In a qualitative piece of research, it is not useful to separate different variables strictly under one category. Instead, each variable can be looked at from different angles; giving them, hence, more power in explicating the phenomenon under study. To mention but one, altruism, an imperative issue in the study of volunteering, is such a topic. It appears in the analysis of both social and ethical dimension of volunteering. This kind of analysis, may make it at places difficult to follow the line of argumentation.

### **6.1 Longevity of commitment - biographical aspects of volunteering**

Biographical aspects of volunteering include the effect of past events on present volunteering as well as the impact of parents and school on a person. The material consists of volunteers' descriptions of their family background, school, and the circumstances under which the decision to volunteer for a world shop was made. Surrounding the core of world view (Figure 5.3) the biographical dimension affects partially all other dimensions. Evidently, personal history cannot be separated from current events no matter in which area they take place.

The bipolar continuum of biographical dimension (Figure 6.3.) highlights the effect a personal history may have on volunteering. It maps volunteer's choices towards volunteering. A particular volunteer could be placed in the end of the continuum concerning continuity of choices towards volunteering, if there is a detectable path of events leading towards volunteering. If the volunteer merely joins in coincidentally, or for example, for the sake of friends, the choice is interpreted to be in little accordance with any past events. Hence, the past of that particular person does not directly support any such decision to volunteer.



**Figure 6.1** The bipolar continuum of biographical dimension.

If reflected against all material available, it seems that there is no regular pattern as to how volunteer's background supports the decision to join a world shop. It is often current issues that seem to lead to volunteering. Since biographical dimension, however, backs up all the other dimensions, its role as a personal historical aspect of volunteering is emphasized. Volunteers do not merely appear in world shops. There is always a specific development leading to the decision to join in, even if it may be short. In a sense, the bipolar continuum tracks *the length* of personal history ending up in volunteering in a world shop. The above picture (Fig. 6.1) clarifies the special status of biographical dimension in relation to the other dimensions. The biographical dimension is illuminated through representative extracts from interviews. They cover the range of issues volunteers brought up concerning their personal history.

### **Longevity of commitment for social justice**

Regarding the continuity of decisions towards volunteering in a world shop, there are several matters that result in such a continuity. There is, first, the family background, second, intentionality of volunteering, and lastly, longevity of commitment.

**Family** The fact that the family of a volunteer is politically and (or) religiously active often affects the volunteer. Volunteers have been encouraged to similar action, or their willingness to get involved has been supported. If the parents are active, it is likely that the children follow in their footsteps. This is noted in other research as well (Sundeen & Raskoff 1995, 338.). Parents' ideals are not always viewed highly as such, but rather taken on early in life, and later modified to fit volunteer's own ideals. The following extract is from a volunteer, whose parents belong currently to the middle-class, but who, to some extent, took part in the radicalism in the 1960's. Their socially conscious way of life reflects on their children as well.

I suppose, in a way the motivation, the concept of a sort of social justice and stuff comes from my family background rather than from my personal faith. I think that there is... I wouldn't say it comes from a personal commitment to Christianity, more of it comes from the background. Family

concern is doing one's bit. --- Their involvement is more on financial contribution rather than on a practical level. --- When I was a little kid, I went to the Brownies. In the Brownies there is a sort of motto to do your good thing every day. And I suppose, this comes from being middle class again, this sort of concept of social responsibility.--- My mother loved being a guide. For me this whole sort of Fascist idea of duty to the Queen and country does not appeal. It does not hit my political ideas. Patriotism isn't my scene. I am a global citizen. But it was my mother's thing. I think that it has an influence on you even if you don't choose to do them. (D5.)

**Intention** In cases of strong biographical dimension the affiliation in a world shop is well-grounded. Volunteer joins a world shop with a clear vision of the purpose of such an activity, and the effect it may have on her life in general. Intention of selecting a world shop is supported also by previous experiences of volunteering elsewhere. Volunteers know what volunteering generally involves, even if the world shop context forms a new setting. They know about the cause of fair world trade and regard it meaningful. Intentional participation involves at times also political views. For some people the decision to volunteer is clearly a political one as will be discussed later on (Section 6.2). These are examples of cases, in which the biographical dimension intersects with the political dimension.

A general why is some sort of naïve bourgeois sense of social justice. Oh, it sounds crab, doesn't it. Seriously, it's a commitment to a fairer world. I mean, that's what Oxfam says. (D5.)

Yeah, I knew (about the world shops). I had read and such quite a lot and kept up with such matters. I think, that I was quite conscious at the time that I joined here. (J2.)

**Longterm affiliation to associations** indicates a long term commitment to associations and similar public activities. The aim is at analyzing the longevity of commitment in temporal terms. The way of life dimension measures the complementary nature of various activities a person undertakes in domestic life. Such activities are not necessarily attached to any organizational structures, therefore being domestic or personal. Such a commitment may be caused by a socially active family, or a general interest in volunteering, or as a result of an obviously unjust state of affairs, the person experiences.

Well, I've been such "an association freak" since an early age. First with mother in some Red Cross evenings, our family has always been active and has been in the surroundings or within the community and its activities. What I've been at the school and then I've done all possible of things since I was a child. I've always been really active and it has seemed quite natural. (J3.)

I've worked in various other parts of the community in voluntary sector and I wanted to do something a bit different. And developmental issues have always interested me. This is the first time I'm actually doing something in that area, so it seemed a good time. (D5)

I became a volunteer or got involved in non-governmental organizations in 1983 in the student union of the Turku School of Polytechnics. --- I have joined the Swallows twice. In 1990 I spent some time in Oulu, but that time the joining was interrupted. I didn't even pay the membership fee. Then the second time now in 1994.--- Through other organizations I have become familiar with the products and producers of the Swallows (i.e., the association maintaining the Juuttiputiikki). It appeared familiar even if I hadn't met any of them before. (J6.)

### Sporadic choices

As opposed to a coherence of decisions made over time, there are volunteers whose volunteering is not in any apparent connection to distant past events, but only to the present circumstances. The causes to volunteer arise from immediate personal needs to do something constructive and to meet people. This is the case of many unemployed volunteers, who seek for routine in everyday life and social contacts. It is not only a world shop that they could have opted for to reach at this goal. Therefore, the term sporadic here. Additionally, they are not motivated in volunteering for other causes other than the rationale to volunteer at this particular phase of life. The decision being rather incidental, the other dimensions are just as unimportant at the initial phase, later on they may become more important.

When volunteering starts as a result of a coincidence and an immediate need, it does not involve any long continuum of decisions leading to it. The factors identified leading towards the sporadic end of the continuum contain unemployment, contacts to people, improving language skills, something to do, influence of friends, and little impact of the family. Some of these interrelate with the factors identified later as common characteristics of world shop volunteers in the social dimension. (Section 6.3)

**Unemployment** makes a significant reason for volunteering in many cases in the Drury, and some in the Juuttiputiikki. Volunteering does not necessarily bring those volunteers any material resources (or money), but gives more meaning to their lives. Some of them, however, are on government schemes for the unemployed, and get an extra compensation added to the regular unemployment benefit. Volunteers have all sorts of activities to occupy themselves with even without volunteering, but they still long for something generally more approved. It may be asked if the value of volunteering in the eyes of the unemployed lies in the extra status it offers them. They are working, even if voluntarily. The special status voluntary work has can be illuminated in the following extract. The volunteer wants to do something more dynamic and opts for Oxfam.

I had been unemployed --- I had very high blood pressure and I was quite ill after my father died.--- And the age of course. And I was becoming more like a vegetable, although I was sort of working in the community locally where I am. Sort of loosely connected with the (*unclear*) chapel and I do the garden to that. I just felt that I needed to be doing something more dynamic---- and I had always wanted to sort of become involved with the Oxfam family. (D3.)

**Contacts to other people** Besides wanting to do something worthwhile, the contacts to other people play an important role not only to the unemployed, but also to the students, who have long vacations on a regular basis. The reason for volunteering arises from a temporary need to fill in the gap between school semesters. together with the unemployed and the students, there are other groups of people volunteering for similar motives. In the Drury, pensioners and foreigners make a significant contribution to the shop. In the Juuttiputiikki, they are rare in the composition of the volunteer pool.

I had a couple of months off, spare, and I just wanted to do something that was constructive, where I could be around with people. (D6.)

**Something to do** To all of the above mentioned groups, it is important that volunteering keeps them occupied. They volunteer to find something meaningful to do. The actual tasks that volunteers work with are not always interesting, but still provide a context to do something different from everyday chores.

It was back then in the summer after the 8th class at school. I left the 8th class behind then. In the comprehensive school. With at the time my best friend we decided that we should create some "action" for the summer and then we just looked up in the telephone catalogue in the yellow pages if there was anything interesting. And then the Developing Country Association Swallows seemed interesting. (J5.)

**Language skills** Learning English makes for a number of foreign volunteers an additional reason for volunteering, particularly, in the Drury. By coming to the shop, they aim at practicing the language with native speakers as well as other foreigners. A longer stay often shifts this reason to the background while other reasons become stronger. Volunteering attracts them because most of the friends are from the world shop.

I must be absolutely honest with you. The reason why I came here was to learn English. That was the main reason.--- I couldn't work here, I mean a proper job, because I am a Brazilian. I'm not allowed to work here.---So I decided to do something to be in contact with people and I of course wanted to improve my English in this way. ---I knew a little bit about Oxfam before I came here. One of the main reason I decide to come to Oxfam, it's not a religious organization, it's not a political organization. It's absolutely free in this sense, for example neutral in this sense. (D 2.)

**World shop oriented** The influence of family is at times replaced by the influence of world shop. Once volunteers have joined the shop, it plays a major role in shaping their thoughts. This is placed in the sporadic end of the continuum, because it is not always an evident development.

It (external impact) may be possibly through the Juutti. And from the Juutti many things have come, in a way, not directly through the Juutti, but indirectly. That I am interested in following the (world) events. Something like that. Not through my parents, but through the things that I've been involved in. I've found out about them myself. (J5.)

**Influencing friends** Volunteering is frequently initiated through, or with friends. Either volunteers know someone volunteering already, or they are directly asked to join in by a friend. Therefore, hear-say plays a remarkable role in the recruitment of new volunteers. Especially in the Juutti, in only a minority of cases, it is of volunteers own initiative that they join in eventually. Along with other reasons in the sporadic end of the continuum, the influence of friends plays a significant role. In the Drury self-induced volunteering is probably more common, because of an advertisement directed to a wider public in the Time Out magazine. Most volunteers found out about the Drury in this way.

I've known of it (the Juutti) for about six years and then I came along in the activities only for about a year and a half ago. I sort of intended to join for many years, but there was a sort of a threshold, the I didn't care to and then a friend persuaded me eventually to come along. (J4.)

## 6.2 We are gonna change it? - political aspects of volunteering

The initial idea of studying volunteers was based on an image of a forever active personally committed volunteer who makes personal sacrifices to contribute to a good cause. Therefore, political dimension is included to analyze the degree of commitment to fair trade, the mission of world shops. Political aspects account, however, merely partially for the overall set of factors affecting volunteers and their views on volunteering.

The bipolar continuum of the political dimension juxtaposes profound understanding with common sense knowledge of developmental issues and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in development. The aim is at mapping volunteers' understanding of the politics of their action in terms of the role they may play in contributing to the fair trade as well as the role such an activity may play in the field of development. These are retrieved from the material through volunteers responses concerning their role as a volunteer in bringing about change and their understanding of the complex nature of development. Volunteer's willingness to get involved in more responsible tasks and campaigns is seen to reflect about the understanding of personal being political, and thus, also practical.



Figure 6.2 The bipolar continuum of political dimension.

Volunteering is common to most people. It is the world shop setting that distinguishes the volunteers under investigation from other kind of volunteers. Thus, the mission of world shops is assumed to play a role in volunteers' perspectives on their volunteering. According to a British survey research, whereares only about 4 % of volunteers are involved in political activities, about 30 % are engaged in sport and hobby activities and about 25 % in welfare and health activities (Smith 1992, 82.). Bearing this in mind, volunteering for world shops is relatively rare, presuming that people regard such action as being political. Many volunteers at the researched world shops regard their activities as political, in the sense of personal action bearing political import. Additionally, the activities are openly political as far as the mission of world shops is concerned. It is a statement for alternative small-scale fair trade as opposed to multinational world trade.

### Knowledgeable on development and NGOs

If a volunteer knows extensively on developing countries and NGOs as well as their role in bringing about development, these views can be placed in the knowledge end of the continuum. However, as with all matters, the issues under the category of knowledgeable are collected from the interview material as a whole not from a single volunteer. To be knowledgeable on development and the role of voluntary organizations stands for a number of issues in the actual material. First, it refers to a conscious political decision to volunteer;



second, to the understanding of the complex nature of development, and last, to the involvement in more responsible tasks at the world shop.

**Conscious political decision** Volunteers were asked if their volunteering is based on a conscious political decision. This question assists in seeing if volunteers understood their role as a volunteer in changing in the world in political terms. In a minority of cases, volunteers acknowledge that volunteering for a world shop is based on a conscious political decision. In both world shops, many volunteers do not actually understand the question in the way intended. They take political to refer to party politics and stress that a world shop is supposed to be politically neutral or non-political. Some volunteers conceive their own activities as being political; hence, for them, political choice implies individual choices in everyday matters.

- Was it a conscious political decision to join Oxfam?
- Yes, it was really.
- In which ways?
- Well, I mean politicians don't ever seem to do or think about anything. So I'd like to get involved. It is all up to an individual to do things these days and as far as what is going on in this country and in fact as far as I am concerned the world in general. (D4.)

**Understanding of the complex nature of development** Development appears to most people as an extremely complex set of interrelated questions. It shows in the answers, if volunteers are well-informed in developmental issues. If they are, they do not merely touch on the issues superficially, or repeat what they have heard in the news, but can make detailed accounts of the complexities of development. Of course, comprehending global dependency does not automatically manifest a serious commitment to development cooperation through a world shop. In this research, however, there appears to be a correlation between profound knowledge on development and serious commitment.

Well, all of this seems like sort of artificial first aid often. Much of... in a way, or I am not saying that all development assistance. But I perceive the biggest problem to be the debt crisis. I think, that it is the greatest obstacle in developing the developing countries. --- In reality, they (the developing countries) support the West by paying the interests and installments of debts by about 2000 billion annually. It is this way. I think that that is an essential issue.--- The situation should be changed in a way that they can further process their products, and that would eventually lead to that, that they could get involved in fair trade with each other. So that, in a certain way, democratization in some countries would get started in a way that would also support the middle class. --- But if that does not exist, then they always end up in extreme circumstances, dictators and everything. (J3.)

**Knowledge of NGOs or Oxfam and Swallows in particular** represents another aspect in strengthening volunteers' commitment. At least in the researched world shops, more committed volunteers tend to be aware of the role of NGOs in development in relation to official development assistance (ODA). They know of the latest trends in development cooperation. They are capable of drawing analytical conclusions of future developments based on current situation. They put into question the apparent phenomena, and look for possible solutions as in the following extract.

- What kind of role do you think NGOs play in development world-wide...?

- I believe that their role is constantly increasing. Now that they can participate in all, everywhere they arrange these NGO fora, these sorts of shadow meetings like there, where the population conference took place. That's where the new ideas spring from. But it is a dangerous development that these, say, for example, NGOs in for example Bangladesh are --- such massive things. You cannot, if you compare them with something like the Swallows, the difference is huge in the way they operate. So that what is actually an NGO? Is Finnish Red Cross hold for an NGO? --- It'd be interesting to know. At least in Bangladesh, over there the NGOs built skyscrapers and that sort of things. --- And then somewhere like in India they survive on a very small budget and they turn down all assistance that comes from the West. They have strict ideological things --- Or at least, I feel that or I believe that there is such a development that these NGOs are heard. --- But all too often it is only the image that they steal. (J1.)

**Responsible tasks and campaigns** Fair trade being the mission of world shops, there are certain tasks at the shop that are concretely trade related. First, fair trade is little known among the public, hence campaigns are an important channel in changing the state of affairs. Campaigns and public relations are accessible to all interested volunteers, but only a fracture of volunteers does get involved in them on a regular basis. It is merely bigger campaigns that attract more volunteers such as fashion shows of second hand and fair trade clothes. Another mode of activities related concretely to fair trade is correspondence with and visits to the trade partners in the Juuttiputiikki. Each trade partner has a responsible volunteer taking care of the correspondence and orders. Therefore, several volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki are regularly in touch with the producer communities in developing countries. In the Drury, there is one volunteer responsible for Oxfam Trading deliveries, who gets to know the products and can name the producer countries. Not any volunteer is directly in touch with the producers.

I've visited the trading partners (producer communities) and tried to establish common ground for understanding over there, often concerning something very practical such as the products. That has been rewarding. And then at one time there was the exhibition. That interests me and preparing newsletters and something like that. I generally think that we should invest more on dissemination of information.--- Every now and then I've been selling in the shop, and then taken care of correspondence with one or two trading partners. And then I've been doing practical work such as cleaning up the storage and participating in meetings. (J1.)

*D3 has done some campaigning, she is not just interested in handing out leaflets, if it is not connected with collecting money, coffee tasting or something similar. People are saturated with junk mail, it would be a waste of paper. D3 has gone to training: Introduction to Oxfam (field office work), Finances (daily accounts) and another tiny one. (D3.)*

As a result, **the awareness of fair trade** differs to some extent in the two world shops. In the Drury, it seems to be easier to learn shop activities, them being overall less demanding than in the Juuttiputiikki where some volunteers have to command such tasks as the declaration of imported goods in customs. On the other hand, the Juuttiputiikki is smaller, and accordingly, for example, the daily accounts do not require as much attention as in the Drury. A specifically named volunteer is assigned for the most responsible tasks in both shops. Quite frequently the practicalities of fair trade make the involved volunteers more aware of fair trade principles than what other volunteers are. In the Drury, more responsible tasks are conducted relatively centrally by a core group, or a shop management team. The shop manager noted that it is hard to get volunteers involved in the team (Shop manager, 6).

In the Juuttiputiikki, activities are just as well assumed by the core group of volunteers. Some of them belong also to the board of the developing country association. It seems that the awareness of fair trade is not quite as high in the volunteer pool in general in either world shop.

- You were, in a way, afraid before you came along.
- But then in the beginning, I had that, that I felt that everyone else knows so much. Somehow I felt that those issues were so difficult. Exactly something like exporting and importing, or not exporting but importing. All of these things came, so that I think that it is hard to get into the issues in the Swallows. It is not an easy place. --- Then, when I got that we left for the visit to India again. Then, I had to (learn), in order to be able stay there. (J1.)

As a paid worker. --- Then, I've been the chair of the Federation (National Federation of Finnish World Shops) for a year. Then, here in the Swallows I've done everything what we do here. Running the shop, public relations, I've been on radio and stuff like that, and then I've been realizing these projects, been on the streets selling products, in shops, in schools and everywhere. Well, practically I've done everything, what we've done here generally. I cannot actually think of any one thing that I haven't done. (J3.)

**International orientation** is assumed to correlate with a stronger commitment to world shops by volunteers. It manifests international concern if a volunteer follows international news. Most volunteers are keen on following the overseas section of their news paper, however rather superficially. Volunteers frequently mentioned that they follow the news far too occasionally and superficially. The issues are so complicated. News papers, radio and television are the most common sources of information, even if a number of volunteers acquire information also through friends. Some volunteers are rather critical as to the nature and value of information the mass media produces. Similarly, they hold it unfortunate that the news do not provoke any emotions any more, no matter how disastrous they are. Some more practical aspects of the interest in international issues (e.g., travelling) are treated later on in connection to the way of life dimension.

- Do you regularly keep up with the international news?
- Yes, I was more before when I was working. But I try to get informed as much as possible. I've been always interested in the international politics and what is happening in the world so. I was always more interested in reading international papers and to listening to international radios and informative programs in a nationalized way. But I was keen on international programs. (D1.)

### **Common sense knowledge on development and NGOs**

The common sense knowledge on development implies that the decision to volunteer was not necessarily political. As a corollary, these volunteers have merely an adequate understanding of volunteer's role in contributing to development. They give relatively straightforward replies concerning development. Additionally, they have only little interest in getting more involved in campaigns or more responsible tasks at the shop. Finally, they are commonly not interested in international news.

Such an apolitical stance in volunteering in a world shop can be explicated through several external factors. Hence, volunteering is not reasoned by self-induced reasons, but external

circumstances. Despite coming regularly to the shop, volunteers cannot always find any significance in the tasks they undertake. This does not imply that all volunteers who come to the shop due to strong external reasons, or under the influence of circumstances, create a similar pattern of action. However, this research does not address differences in individual volunteer experiences.

**Not a political decision** Those volunteers, who do not volunteer for political reasons are not interested in politics overall. For them, politics refers to the party politics, and they do not want to get involved in it. The following extract illuminates how a volunteer gets confused when asked about the political aspects of her volunteering in Oxfam. She claims that her stance has become more political, but at the same time, she appears not to be able to explain it satisfactorily even to herself. On one hand, she wants to appear as a knowledgeable volunteer, and on the other hand, she gets muddled in her thoughts, and feels embarrassed about it. Altogether, she seems not to have any profound interest in development issues; she volunteers for other reasons.

- Was it a conscious political decision to join Oxfam?

- No, it was a pure impulse. *D8 does not feel closeness to any political party. She has not voted in the elections in Britain. --- She does not follow politics at all. ---*

- In the beginning, you mentioned that it wasn't a consciously political decision to come here, but has it become more so?

- It has changed, because I'm finding out more how a charity works, what's involved, and the hard work that goes into it and how the money gets transported to the people in developing countries, how much they do need support from charities like us, you know. And also the fact that, you know if somebody was going to ask me what charity I would choose for. I would say Oxfam, because I've got to know a lot more about it. And also they don't seem to, I've looked for something really bad in Oxfam, but I can't find it. I can't find it, which means that they are doing what they should be doing. They are helping and funding projects overseas. You know, I can see it clearly. You know, it's working and it doesn't seem to be, I mean, you know. Sometimes I think well, and then I don't. Forget about that, sorry. (D8.)

**Confused views on NGOs and development** Many volunteers have not any clear picture of the role of fair trade in development. Some volunteers have merely gathered the most essential information on Oxfam to be able to cope with questions from customers. It is not fair trade as such that they are interested in, while volunteering for Oxfam. With little or no interest in politics, they have a vague picture of the way society is structured in general and how development assistance works. Their opinions are based on loose assumptions of the state of affairs, not on acquired facts. While volunteers do not actually know what kind of impact the fair trade has in developing countries, they talk about it in very general terms. They have only a few factors to lean on in their answers. Additionally, some volunteers clearly are not well-read on developmental issues, but they still want to give a different impression. This causes them becoming rather nervous and often confused in their replies.

- How about the Swallows, the Juuttiputiikki, what kind of impact does it, in your opinion, have in bringing about development over there, in those countries where it operates?

- In my opinion, extremely good. Or it has brought about things and what it now does. Well, a good impact, how should I put this. (J4.)

- --- Do you think Oxfam as a whole has an impact?
- Definitely, yeah, I mean all the money from the home products goes to the Third World countries. I think, yeah, it generally does help the Third World countries. I think that a lot of the public knows that as well, so they make donations. ---
- How do you think the North-South relations should be arranged?
- How they should be arranged? I just think that just let them take their natural course really. I think everything is positively moving in a right direction generally. You've just got to stop worrying about it and let it work itself out, which I think it will. ---
- Do you believe in the policies of Oxfam?
- What are the politics of Oxfam?
- I was going to ask, do you know anything about the policies of Oxfam?
- Politics or policies?
- Not politics but policies? Certain kind of principles that they have when doing that kind of work that they do in the Third World.
- I don't really know anything about them. (D6.)

**Lack of self-initiative** is a characteristic of volunteers, who do not belong to the core group. They are less keen on taking on responsible tasks or getting involved in campaigns. They rather work with shop routines such as working on the till and pricing goods. They do not initiate any activities themselves; they merely follow the group. They participate in campaigns and outdoor markets with other volunteers, but would not make arrangements themselves. On one hand, they appear to be happy with the mode of their contribution; however, on the other hand, they are at times frustrated with such tasks. They tend not to be looking for any great adventures by volunteering, but still need change to keep motivated. At times, it seems that they are not quite sure, why to continue volunteering, or why they originally even started volunteering.

- What does interest you most out of the concrete tasks? Is it especially working on the till...?
- Before I used to like selling, but then I was there recently for a few days --- I might have had a bad day, but I wasn't awfully interested in it. I don't know, now that it was, before that Thursday I hadn't been selling for a few months, so. I have liked it OK generally. Selling has come before trade partner correspondence, at least has been, now I don't know.
- Are you interested in arranging exhibitions or anything like that?
- Well, why not. I haven't had a chance once I've been here. There is soon the exhibition in Pohjankartano.
- Are you going to go there?
- Well, probably. (J4.)

Overall, political activities do not interest many volunteers. Eira Aaltonen achieved a similar result in her analysis concerning the awareness of development issues among Finnish people. She distinguishes direct and indirect impact of individual's activities on development. She points out that most people do not conceive, for instance, their own consumption patterns as influential in development in global scale. More direct measures such as development assistance is supported and regarded important in the development of poor countries. (Aaltonen 1986, 113.)

**Little international orientation** Intriguingly enough, many volunteers do not keep up with the international news. The context of world shop would imply otherwise. At any case, for some volunteers the reasons for volunteering are not really conscious. They have drifted to

the shop with friends without any personal interest in the issues. They may be doing it to fill in time between semesters. They keep coming to the shop out of routine it gives them. In the Drury, there are some unemployed volunteers on a government scheme entitling them for an extra compensation, if they volunteer for a charity for a certain number of hours a week. Therefore, the international issues do not appeal to them, their real interests being elsewhere.

- Have you read international news regularly?
- No.
- So you don't keep up with the news from the Third World countries?
- No, I don't really keep up with any sort of news.

*I ask if there was still something in the news that was shocking. D6 brings up a domestic news on a nurse who kidnapped a baby, but he cannot think of any international news. (D6.)*

### 6.3 We, the like-minded? - social aspects of volunteering

The social dimension of volunteering derives from volunteers' perceptions of the world shop as social scene. It seems that volunteers are not as much talking of volunteers in general as they are of themselves when describing the social context of world shops. The social dimension defines their level of commitment to other volunteers as well as, overall, characteristics of volunteers at that particular shop.

The bipolar continuum of social dimension (Figure 6.3) juxtaposes views for and against strong social commitment. The commitment is viewed through relatedness to other volunteers to see if volunteers identify themselves with the group. The likemindedness of volunteers reveals the inner cohesion of a group or a subgroup. Another aspect paid attention to is the group formation. Volunteers were asked if they think volunteers form a special group of people in society. When defining characteristics of a typical volunteer in a world shop they draw boundaries to other people, the non-volunteers, even if not always intentionally.



**Figure 6.3** The bipolar continuum of social dimension.

Over the years, the social side of volunteering is recognized in studies on volunteering: "...it is evident that it is the relationships with others, the feeling of belonging to whatever community they find themselves in, that matters every bit as much as, if not more than, any particular objective." (Fielding, Reeve & Simey 1991, 96.) It is even given a higher priority in explaining satisfaction with volunteering than achieving of any abstract goals a voluntary activity may have. "The giving of a service is a strictly personal matter which has to do with the way in which each of us relates to our fellow human beings. --- It is only by working out a satisfying relationship with other people that we achieve anything like self-fulfillment." (Fielding, Reeve & Simey 1991, 103.)

Despite the bipolar continuum concerning social involvement, my approach does not directly measure the satisfaction of volunteers with their contribution. The social aspects of volunteering attempts to highlight some central factors in the social life, that volunteers regard important. For some, the world shop group makes the essential social contact; for others, it is merely an addition to their everyday contacts. This affects the way they view the rest of the volunteers. The Juuttiputiikki differs to some extent from the Drury in terms of social life.

### **Socially involved**

Involvement in social life with the volunteers in world shops is approached mainly with help of two interrelated concepts: that of group identification and of group boundaries (to non-volunteers). Group identification deal with the feeling of togetherness or inner cohesion of the volunteer pool. Group boundaries imply that volunteers perceive themselves to be somehow distinct from the rest of the people. The rationale to apply these two concepts separately lies in the level of generalization. At the personal level volunteers notice easily if there exists any feeling of togetherness between volunteers. At a more general level many volunteers cannot identify any common characteristics between volunteers, which, in fact, create that feeling. The question if volunteers make a special group of people in society, helps volunteers to point out some common features they may share. All in all, the fact that volunteers do not immediately recognize world shop volunteers to make a special group of people, may reveal that the group is rather loosely formed.

In sociology, the feeling of togetherness is taken for a prerequisite of any kind of group formation (Allardt 1987, 67). Therefore in sociological terms, the coherence of a volunteer group could be addressed with aid of the concept of attraction, which analyses if an individual volunteer is drawn to other members of the group. The degree of attraction can be derived by inquiring if volunteers want to keep with the group. Another mode to find out about the attraction is to assess if there is any relation between the coherence of volunteers and the likemindedness (Allardt 1987, 73). This research does not aim at concentrating on a social analysis of volunteers. Hence, volunteers' delineation of the social situation in a world shop is interpreted in a relatively elementary manner, even if bearing in mind the central issues of social group formation.

**Group identification** One way to approach volunteer's identification with the rest of the volunteers at the world shop is to see if they have made friends in the shop. Another way is the look at the likemindedness of volunteers based on various factors. Additionally, formation of subgroups manifests variations in the feeling of togetherness. Volunteers split up in smaller units despite sharing a common context. The majority of volunteers have tied a bond to other volunteers at least for a limited period of time. In the Juuttiputiikki, there were two volunteers with strong social attachment to the world shop having most of their friends doing the same thing. Strong group identification is sometimes even regarded as signifying a stronger commitment to the cause of fair trade. Longer serving volunteers seem to perceive it almost as a duty.

- Do you relate to the Swallows? In the beginning you said that you have friends there.

- Yes, I do relate, maybe even better than to any other group of people. But there too people change, that's why I did relate better before than what I do now. (J1.)

As a rule I do feel at home or actually quite miss it, the social scene around you, so and the things we do together and things like that. The majority of my friends are in one way or another involved in the Swallows. (J3.)

In the Drury, the turnover of volunteers is higher than in the Juuttiputiikki. On one hand, this prevents to some extent volunteers from making friends with each other, or at least, makes longer serving volunteers more careful in choosing with whom they spend time. On the other hand, some volunteers enjoy meeting new people all the time. Overall both in the Drury and in the Juuttiputiikki, the tolerant and open atmosphere of the shop makes it easy for volunteers to identify themselves with the group.

Relaxed. In behavior and atmosphere, approving or not approving. This kind of things. (J5.)

...because in Oxfam there are people with religious beliefs and different backgrounds, which is very good, because it makes richer the group. And then make you feel that there is a tolerant environment. (D1.)

The inner cohesion of volunteers can be also detected through likemindedness of volunteers. There are several indicators of likemindedness that volunteers took up in the interviews. It was raised in most of the answers. In some cases, it was taken to imply similar political awareness. In some other cases, likemindedness was considered as ease of communication with other volunteers.

I have made loads of friends through working here. I met my girlfriend through working here. Yeah, because the people that work here, you tend to find that they are, you know, on a similar political level with you. ...obviously it makes you feel good coming in for people that you share a similar opinion to. (D4.)

There is a strong feeling of togetherness, I mean even if you just met someone for the first time, you'd say 'hello'. There 's a willingness to communicate here. (D6.)

The cohesion of volunteers in world shops is, at times, based on subgroup identification. For various reasons, volunteers split up in smaller groups even if belonging to the wider context. Both in the Juuttiputiikki and in the Drury, volunteers identify two criteria for a subgroup: the likemindedness and the activities undertaken at the shop. They are either formed by like-minded people like in the following case. A volunteer may spend time outside the shop with some other volunteers watching football matches on television as well as arranging parties together. The world shop issues are not the topic of discussion in such get-togethers.

- Do you feel kind of togetherness, or do you think there is some sort of togetherness amongst the volunteers in a way?...

- Well, not all of them, you know. If you get a group of people anyway, it'll break down in subgroups. People spent most of the time with people that are most like themselves. Honestly, there are some volunteers here that are strange, you know, I am not going to give any name, but they come here often enough so you know, you will see a few, of course. But so maybe they don't feel it.

- But you accept all kind of...?

- Oh, yeah, sure. Just not so many. (Laughter) (D7.)



In other cases, the subgroups are identified with regard to accomplished activities. Some volunteers distinct the group of volunteers serving on the board from those volunteers doing routine tasks. There is little interaction between groups. Previously in the political dimension, the differences in political stances of volunteers were noticed. Similar level of commitment apparently enhances stronger coherence between certain volunteers: volunteers with stronger political commitment seem to come together.

Yeah, at the moment there are those who sell at the shop, so they may know each other. And there are those, who serve on the board, who may do something else together. You may be in a trading partner group or something like that. It is perhaps even too heterogeneous nowadays so that when I generally go to the shop I don't recognize the person who is on a till selling. (J1.)

- The turnover is so high, so you don't think there is any kind of feeling of togetherness amongst the volunteers?

- There is, there is amongst those who are regulars. You know, we sort of more relate to it. (D3.)

The core group of volunteers may also spend time together even outside the shop. Being different from other subgroups the core group discusses world shop related issues even at free time, since they have become a personal worry. The regulars make the core of the shop volunteers in the Drury, and similarly, in the Juuttiputiikki. They take more responsibilities and are ready to make sacrifices for the shop. At busy times, such as bigger public relations events they may offer most of their time and energy to volunteering.

That certain group that has been doing it for the longest, they have a clear connection. ...It is mutual communication in general, and then for many who are into it, the Juutti-matters are personal. It is important. There is worry about how things are going... (J3.)

It was when I arranged the exhibition and then there was also from there, the exhibition from the Peruvian art school for children and --- And then Luis Luna came to talk about shamanism. It was something that made me to leave all other things aside and to concentrate purely on that. It felt like a kind of a highlight. (D1.)

Foreigner volunteers do not appear to form any particular subgroup in the Drury. International issues are of interest to many volunteers which may cause the foreigner volunteers to mix easily with British volunteers. In fact, some British volunteers feel stronger for foreign volunteers than for the British. This may be manifesting sort of a romantic stance on foreigners. They are exotic. In the following depiction, a volunteer acknowledges this exotism, but cannot think of any reasons for his views.

- The international volunteers, is that somehow important to you?

- Yeah. Very much.

- Do you have friends also among the British volunteers?

- Yeah, one or two, but mainly amongst the foreign legion, you know.

- Have you ever thought of it why?

- Yeah. I suppose, it's because I have lived quite an insular life in West London. That people from exotic, or what are exotic compared to West London. So maybe it's that. But it is entirely a subconscious thing. I don't consciously go out to make friends with the foreigners and ignore the British. I certainly don't consciously do that. (D7.)

**Group boundaries** A common feature in volunteers' answers regarding volunteers as a special group in society is a certain ambivalence. First, volunteers stress that they are like any other human beings in society; however, later, they do recognize some specific features that distinct them from the rest of the people. It is intriguing to note that volunteers take an outsider's view when describing particular characteristics of a world shop volunteer, or as in many cases, of any volunteer. Most of them do not use "we" implying the volunteers, but in a neutral way address them as "they", hence, meaning volunteers in general. The "we" refers to their subgroups. The most common features of world shop volunteers identified by volunteers themselves are social consciousness, altruism (also related to self-oriented reasons), environmental thinking, little interest in sports, modesty, critical attitude towards consumption, and international orientation. All of these criteria are ideals making up an ideal volunteer in a world shop. Volunteers do not fulfill them in reality. Some volunteers seem to be describing their own characteristics as a volunteer. The discussion of an ideal volunteer is elaborated in a subsequent chapter (Chapter 8.).

Almost all volunteers mention social consciousness as a criterion of a volunteer. Volunteers want to change the prevailing state of affairs in the world. They feel compassion to people in the developing countries for various reasons, which they do not explicitly bring up. Besides, they conceive it significant to do something personally to change the world. Psychological approaches to volunteering attempt to explain an occurrence of social consciousness leading to volunteering (Smith 1983; Sundeen 1992.). Here it suffices to note, that volunteers regard social consciousness as a significant factor in volunteering at the first place.

By and large they do have more social conscious. And I saw that, I give you a good example. The two Hungarian girls, A and F, they are the ones that have gone back now. When A was having a nameday party. You know, apparently in Hungary you don't just have a birthday, you have also a nameday.--- Anyway three other Hungarian girls turned up and they weren't very friendly. I remember A saying to me: "You know, we don't have much in common with them. You know, they don't want to work for Oxfam." And you could see that they wouldn't give a shit, you know. --- I do get the impression that people who do come to Oxfam, they do have, with a very few exceptions, they do have reasonably well developed social conscious and think that there is something wrong with the world and needs fixing. In that sense, I do think that they are different from other people. (D7.)

It must be that they feel it is in a way important to do something to change the world trade or to improve the situation in developing countries. I think, that the idea is this. (J2.)

Altruism and willingness to help other people are connected with social consciousness. Many volunteers pay considerable attention to the unselfish nature of volunteering. Hence, a common expectation is that people volunteer for the right reasons. Altruism designates the predominant right reason. Volunteers are also characterized by modesty and humbleness. They are taken for good people, even though some volunteers do acknowledge the impact of circumstantial factors (and personal gain). As a romanticizing example of altruism, volunteers may be not be well off themselves, and still, feel sympathy towards people who are even worst off.

Yeah, I think they definitely have social conscious, because as I say, you've got a lot of young people that are unemployed that gradually get a real chip on their shoulder and they get the sort of feeling that the country has let them down, the government has let them down, and... --- Yes, I think they are unselfish, if they are prepared to make a commitment and sort of come here on a regular basis. It shows that they are willing to help other people. I mean, it does help, because it helps them to forget their own situation, because in working for someone like Oxfam, they learn that there are other people that are far worst off than themselves. (D3.)

Yes, I think that in a sense, I see that they have understood the importance and meaning of volunteering and that what they get in return from it while doing something for other people. And then they are simply more modest, such people who share of their own, and are not selfish. I think that they are like that, I mean, in the circle of people who do this for longest, they share these kind of features. ...everyone has clearly become aware of their role on earth. ...I think that our people are socially conscious and thus also responsible in that way, yeah. (J3.)

Volunteers do not always view volunteering as being altruistic. Self-induced reasons for volunteering are recognized also as a common characteristic of a number of volunteers. They profit of their experiences in the world shop directly by keeping themselves active or indirectly by gaining work experience for future occupational obligations. From the British context, Mark Rankin notes that "Voluntary activity is a way of preventing the exclusion of certain groups of individuals from participation in social, economic and cultural life. Such activity is able to celebrate, rather than merely tolerate, the differences between individuals and between social and ethnic groups." (Rankin 1989, 45.) As previously addressed in the political dimension, unemployment enforces people to seek for contacts to people as well as something meaningful to do. Hence, the social and political reasons for joining a world shop overlap.

- Is there anything more practical that they have in common?...*continues*

- Well, here they all tend to be hard up. They don't have much money. A lot of them are either students or unemployed. So they tend to have that in common. (D7.)

Quite nice young people, because quite a lot of young people have got a sort of chip on their shoulder, they don't really want to help other people. I mean there are quite a few that come here that are actually unemployed, and they come for the right reasons, which is a nice thing... (D3.)

The issue of exclusion from society does not come up in the Juuttiptiikki interviews at all. Volunteers may be often students, having that in common, but not unemployed. In the Drury, the majority of the volunteers are either students or unemployed. They tend to see similar circumstance applying to the other volunteers, as the above citations demonstrate. Interestingly enough, according to British and American research on social economical factors of volunteering, it is the most well-off people, who are most likely volunteers. (Smith 1992, 76; Sundeen & Raskoff 1995, 338.). In this piece of research, this does not apply, since at least the interviewed volunteers (and volunteers responding to the questionnaire) would rank relatively low in social economical terms. Volunteering for a world shop seems to make a special case attracting different people to those volunteering for most common causes for volunteering, such as sports activities or in the health sector.

Certain volunteers, I've noticed this from other voluntary work that I've done. volunteer because they don't fit comfortably in the society either...They volunteer because they've had difficulties with mental instabilities. Or they, I mean there's one or two I've met here, have obviously don't have a lot of friends, obviously, and they come here to make then friends. So there are quite a lot of people here who want to tell you quite a lot of their lives. There are people here whose lives I know entirely about and yet who I cannot even remember whether I met them at the university or to know what I'm doing with my life. (D5.)

All volunteers characterize a typical volunteer to be politically green, leftist or even anarchist. In the Drury they even point out that a conservative person would not really get involved in any such activity, not at least in their own world shop. They emphasize the particularity of their own world shop, being aware of the considerable number of elderly people volunteering for most of the Oxfam shops in Britain. The elderly people are held for being also conservative. The image of being "the sexiest Oxfam shop in town" appeals mostly to young people. In both shops, apart from noticing the leftist trend in thinking, volunteers also stress their individuality in making practical decisions. Hence, it is politics of action that best can define their activities in political terms.

That you do something here, is a way to show that you are basically willing to do something, and surely also a way to get acceptance from other people. You prove that you not only say or say you think something, but actually also act on it. Or you stand behind your words or something. (J5.)

Besides conformity in some factual matters, external conformity exists to some extent in the world shops as well. Volunteers are implicitly expected to meet certain qualifications as some of the interviews reveal. In the Juuttiputiikki, emphasis on the spiritual side of human being is may be why volunteers tend not to be keen on sports as a rule. Volunteers do not explain where the spiritual values would stem from. Putting value on altruism and modesty, hence, disinterest in competitive achievements, may explain it partially. In the Juuttiputiikki, the ideology of Emmaus in the background gives priority to spirituality and personal dedication to an overall modest way of life. Devaluation of sports does not come up in the Drury at all.

At one stage I thought that I was a weird swallow because I watch sports a lot. ...when many swallows are somehow against sports, I felt like being a weird swallow. ...I have often said that making the world better and sports do not exclude one another. (J7.)

Interesting anecdotes of the implicit inner circle codes associated with the requirement of modesty appeared in a few interviews with longer serving volunteers. With their longer experience of the world shop they seem to be ready to acknowledge that there really is a tendency towards conformity. In the world shops under study, there appears to be a certain clothes code favoring second hand clothes. In the Drury the issue is rather obvious, the shop selling also second hand products, but in the Juuttiputiikki the clothes represent clearly the right choice. Not only clothes but all commodities even food products symbolize a conscious choice.

Well, every swallow should have a thanapara-shirt\*, one at least (laughter). I don't know if it is due to the Swallows or if there just comes such a bunch of people, but there are now a more people who buy clothes in second hands stores. ... I remember the time when I came there, I had something,

having been studying economics, a briefcase and a blazer and such, so it was, if I went to the Swallows, I felt that I don't want to wear these. ---I have once been told off for, when we had people to live in our place, and I had Flora margarine in the fridge, so I got to hear that you should not find Flora in a swallow's fridge. It is a Paasivaara-consortium product. And additionally, I did not have a potato peeler, which shows a little bit of something. ...And surely if a swallow travels by KLM or something. It is Acroflot that is the swallow air line, things like this. So they do have such, that they would surely look at it and think, that 'Hm, what a person traveling in such a way'. (\*Thanapara is one of the trading partners producing cotton clothes.) (J1.)

A critical view to excessive consumption related to the modest attitude in the world shop shows also in recycling of goods. In the Juuttiikutiikki, recycling is extensive. To name but a few examples, papers are used on both sides, second hand furniture and office equipment are made use of in the office (though also for the sake of them being inexpensive), and recycled products are sold in the shop. In the Drury, the main source of money is the donated goods. Volunteers become inevitably involved in sorting out, pricing and selling of anything recyclable. When sorting out donated goods, volunteers have to estimate the price and decide in monetary terms how much Oxfam profits from each saleable article. Eventually, the profit supports Oxfam's work overseas, but at the shop level it is the aspect of recycling that volunteers take part in. This account concentrating mostly on the level of world shop, the next section discusses critical consumption at the personal level of individual volunteers.

We admire sort of modesty and simplicity. But I have seen a lot of contradictions then, because many swallows like traveling a lot and such which is then not ecologically sustainable... someone might want to say that the swallows merely exploit in different ways in a consumption society. ...In a sense, it is like some sort of heroism in the way that someone can do with so much less without any luxury. (J1.)

Well, being ecological is a good thing. It's everywhere. Well, exactly that we recycle everything, it shows in the activities as well, that we do not waste natural resources carelessly. (J4.)

### **Socially remote**

Social aspect of volunteering ranks high in most volunteers' experiences. For a minority of volunteers, they do not play any significant role as such. The point that socially less interested volunteers make is that they actually have their real friends elsewhere. They have not come to the shop to make friends but to promote the cause of fair trade, or to fill in some time between their actual occupation with something else. Despite being less interested in the social side of volunteering, they have observed the social life of the shop. In the preceding section, the socially involved end of the bipolar continuum was illuminated through the concepts of group identification and group boundaries. The opposite end of the continuum concerning weak social involvement can be approached in a similar fashion.

**Little group identification** A number of volunteers both in the Juuttiikutiikki and the Drury do not acknowledge any real group identification, even if they feel at home at the shop. Those volunteers do not join the world shop with the social life in mind. They may notice other volunteers feeling strong mutual togetherness, but do not belong to that group themselves. They may be even rather critical of such volunteers who seem to take most out of the social aspects of volunteering, and therefore, do not actually work as much.

I haven't got any friends there that I would spend my free time with, but I do feel at home over there (at the shop). You find there nice people. (J4.)

So there is, I mean you have to tolerate people. And the other rule is, I suppose, that realizing the, as people here are volunteers, perhaps you can't expect them to be so disciplined about their work. That people's attitudes are sort of.... For me I find that hard to meet people, who sort of slack off, you can't go and tell them: "Get on with it, do..." Whereas if they were in paid employment you'd be able to say: "Look, it's unfair, we are getting paid the same amount and I'm doing twice as much work as you. And there that would be a valid reason, but here it isn't. (D5.)

The needs to make contacts in the world shop, however, vary depending on each volunteer's situation. A volunteer may be actively taking contacts to other volunteers at one point in time, but under changing circumstances makes little effort, or even avoids contacts with the rest of the volunteers. This seems to happen to some longer serving volunteers, who have their social life set at the shop; they do not seek for any new acquaintances.

- Do you think you can relate yourself with the other volunteers?

- They are horrid, I hate them, ha ha. It's nice because its fairly multicultural, because we have people from many different countries like yourself. You are the first Finnish person I've met. Some thing was stuck in my mind when S interviewed me, was this, he was sort of selling the social like and I was thinking: "Well, actually I've come here for whatever my naïve concepts were". I mean, that's why I've come. I haven't come here to the social life, because I'm actually doing very well. (D5.)

Relate to them. I can understand why a lot of them are doing this. That's all really, you know. Lately I've been careful not getting too involved with the volunteers like I used to. That's purely because my circumstances are changing. You know, with myself, me becoming a mother. I'm sort of preparing myself, you know, a lot more sort of just relaxing and spending a lot more time on my own, you know, before the baby is born. I am not really going out as much as I did before with the volunteers. Because I'm not up to it at the moment. Me, I'm sure, once the baby is born. I'll be back to normal. (D8.)

World shop activities are probably the main cause of detachment in the social scene of a world shop. Some volunteers do not relate to the activities, because they cannot get into them. They feel that the activities are a matter of an insider circle, therefore, too introspective for all volunteers to become engaged in. It would require more effort to become part of that inner circle. Introspection was brought up by volunteers in both shops.

- Is there any kind of togetherness among the Swallows...?

- Well, in a way there is. But.

- How does it show, in what kind of things?

- Well, in a way there isn't. Because at times it feels that the activities are somehow dispersed, introspective. You feel at times that you are not always quite with it. (J4.)

Lack of continuity characterizes many activities in world shops. Whatever the activity is, its realization depends on volunteers' contributions. Some volunteers experience frustrations, if a task they have set their heart on, cannot be seen through due to a lack of volunteers. In the same fashion, it is a source of distress, if something a volunteer has initiated, has been completed or redone in a different manner by another volunteer. Nobody seems responsible

for the activities as a whole. Seldom anybody gives instructions or orders. It is volunteer's own initiative that counts. In a sense, the issue of continuity is a kind of a vicious circle. While volunteering manifests freedom of choice, volunteers cannot be ordered to accomplish any goals against their will. To be able to achieve anything volunteers are required to do things on their own initiative, as well as to cooperate. As the levels of commitment vary, it is natural that problems arise. The spontaneous style does not suit all volunteers, which is why they feel distressed and so do volunteers who cannot understand such a lack of initiative.

- In fact, when I first came the very very laid back atmosphere here used to drive me nuts. I was waiting for somebody to come and say, don't do that, do something differently, you know. But it isn't, it isn't like that at all here. ---

- Do you think there is some sort of feeling of togetherness amongst the volunteers?

- Well, here we have a problem, because we have so many different volunteers, that it is very difficult to get the sort of continuity in the way we do things. You find that if you are doing something, something will come and undo what you've done, which is a bit irritating at times. (D3.)

Some people show openly their frustrations with the unorganized manner of working.

The first day that I came here was the till. The till was really a mess. The newspaper, the magazines, bags, everything mixed. I tidied everything. The other day it was a mess again. Thank you, the great person, who did it. In a one week time it was the same thing again. The third day I wasn't stupid enough to do it again. I just laughed it. Sometimes when I feel like doing it, I arrange it again, but it is not my... (*end of tape side*) You can just try to take the initiative to do things. Just because you are a volunteer you are not supposed to wait until people tell you what to do. You have to take the opportunity and the initiative to do something. --- Not just wait. To be quite honest with you, some people, I don't understand, why they still come here. I don't understand them. Some people do nothing, nothing. They spend the whole day here doing nothing. This makes me crazy. --  
- I just keep away from them. I don't talk to them. Someone told me, don't be so straightforward about everybody. If someone doesn't want to do anything, leave it, it's not your problem. (D2.)

The recognition of individualism in social life is addressed by a number of volunteers. People can come and go freely. Everything is based on free will even socially. They are not required to get along with everybody. Individualism, however, to some extent undermines identification with the group. In positive terms, there is not any pressure for conformity. It appears to be volunteers with short or occasional experience in a world shop, who claim this. Longer serving volunteers acknowledge the trend towards conformity.

I mean, if there are people who are getting on your, up your nose, what you can do is just sort of go and work on a till, if you were working in the backroom. I mean, everybody here, there are some people, I (*unclear*) here more than others, you know that's natural. But there is nobody here I wouldn't say I didn't get on with. I wouldn't say there's anyone like that here. Obviously there's some people here whose interest are more close to your own than the others'. (D5.)

I don't think, there is any pressure (for conformity) to think in this or that way. ...It is based on voluntarism. Everyone brings in their bad and good sides, new things, and learns something from the others. (J5.)

In the Drury, a number of volunteers perceives the high turnover as a positive aspect in social life. New people enrich the atmosphere. An intriguing point in having always the same

volunteers around, is that volunteering becomes more like a job. Volunteers have their set tasks they accomplish in every shift. There is nobody intervening or assisting in what they do as is the case when new volunteers come in. Furthermore, the regular volunteers are in closer contact with each other than with fresh volunteers. Hence, volunteering may turn burdensome. In the Juuttiputiikki, the turnover is not such a significant issue, even if some longer serving volunteers called back to the good old days and the volunteers they used to know before. A volunteer in the Juuttiputiikki notes having recognized that there are cycles of volunteer generations, whereby an old generation is replaced by a group of new volunteers. The period of mixed generations causes constraints to both parties involved and loosens coherence of the overall volunteer pool. The Juuttiputiikki was currently, in his view, under such a transformation (J6, at the time when the interview took place in 1995).

I'm sorry, if someone I've really got to like is off. But no actually, I don't object to the high turnover, because new people are coming in. It doesn't mean that you forget the people. --- In fact, when we had a brief period when it was the same bunch of people all the time coming in, and that was burdensome. --- I suppose, it wasn't just that it was the same people, it was also people that I wasn't that friendly with anyway. You know, if it had been the same bunch of people that I get along really well with, I suppose, I wouldn't have noticed. --- But it just struck me that it was the same faces every day now. And it is getting more like a job, you know, the whole thing. --- It makes it really interesting with new people coming in. (D7.)

**Weak group boundaries** The group boundaries seem to some volunteers relatively loose. They do not clearly distinguish themselves from the rest of the people, since volunteering is common to all people. In this regard, they do not think world shop volunteers make any difference. By stressing how general an activity volunteering is, they mean that it is no point in describing in length any common characteristics world shop volunteers may have. They acknowledge that people volunteer for different causes for different reasons, but do not go into details about them.

I don't think that the Swallows (makes any special group in society), because there are so many different kinds of voluntary activities nowadays.... The Swallows is just one group. (J7.)

On the other hand, volunteering takes place in so many things. When you think of schools or children's parents are doing a lot in all sorts of collections for summer camps and also in sports clubs. And then of course in the trade unions. I think, that almost everyone does it in some ways. (J2.)

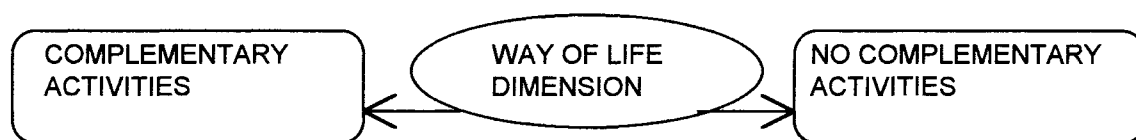
#### **6.4 Fundamentally alternative? - practical aspects of volunteering**

The way of life of volunteers implies here some practical aspects of volunteer's everyday life. The concept way of life is not applied in the sociological sense of the term as an overall life style. In sociology, way of life designates a holistic approach to study everyday life, its content and its contexts in society (Allardt 1987). Here the main concern is to map certain everyday activities that may be related to volunteering or even complement it. In the previous section of biographical aspects affecting volunteering, I treated the matter of volunteers' organizational affiliations overall besides the world shop affiliation. I take them to represent the public representation of the way of life. The main focus in this section is on



the more personal features of the way of life that do not necessarily manifest as easily as the public appearance in various organizations.

If a volunteer pursues an alternative way of life, it is to reveal about socially and environmentally conscious thinking. Ideally it can be interpreted as personal being political even at the level of everyday life. Zsuzsa Hegedus speaks of individualization of planetary problems when addressing the change in the theory of social movements of the eighties (Hegedus 1990, 277). The way of life dimension of this research responds, to some extent, to this kind of view. Volunteers feel responsible for the world personally, and thus, act in their local communities. Volunteering for the world shop is merely one thing among many other important issues to consider in an individual's life. Volunteers bring often their domestic life style with them to the world shops as well. On coffee breaks some volunteers may have a tea instead of a coffee, that choice may be representing a healthier option; they may also have a non-animal fat biscuit instead of a multinational McVitie's digestive, as well as they may have a green salad instead of a tuna salad, that is, commercially caught tuna deteriorating the whale population of the world.



**Figure 6.4** The bipolar continuum of the way of life dimension.

The complementary nature of everyday activities with volunteering in a world shop is the key to the bipolar continuum of the way of life dimension (Figure 6.4). The factors identified here include international orientation, environmental awareness, consumerism, and pacifism. Orientation to international matters is viewed through possible friends abroad, travelling and language skills. Environmental awareness through attitudes towards recycling, choice of transport, and the relationship between human beings and the nature. Vegetarianism appearing frequently in the interviews; therefore, it is addressed separately. Consumption patterns of a volunteer are assessed through awareness of multinational companies and animal rights. Pacifism could as well be placed in the ethical dimension, but having also direct practical implications such as peace demonstrations, it is taken up here. The following lists the range of issues volunteers brought up in the interviews concerning their way of life.

### **Complementary activities**

**International orientation** Generally, volunteers have contacts to people in other countries. In the case of the Drury, it is obvious, because many of the volunteers are themselves foreigners in Britain, and additionally, pursue an interest in international matters by volunteering for the world shop. They learn to know different nationalities also at the shop. Both the British nationals and foreigners themselves appreciate this as an enriching element in shop atmosphere. Even if the majority of the interviewed British volunteers do not know other languages, they too like travelling. Only a few of them, however, have been to the

developing countries, except for a Brazilian citizen. Some of them have lived abroad for longer time.

- You told that you did like travelling?
- I did some travelling years ago. I only travel on holiday now. I wouldn't travel to live anywhere.
- 
- Have you been to any Third World countries.
- Not really, no. Just Holland, Greece, Israel, Ireland... maybe Israel and Ireland would fall into that category. And the United States, that's it.
- Do you speak any other languages besides English?
- I can swear fluently in several.
- Anyway that is something...--- You have friends from other countries?
- Yeah.
- Did you have any before joining Oxfam?
- I did when I was doing my little bit of travelling. In fact, I knew more people abroad than I did here. But then I lost contact with all of them. I lost touch with all of them. I'm very conscious about it, you know, and which is why I'm very determined to, when people like R and M leave, that I get their addresses, J as well. Even if just for post-cards and that. I want to keep in touch. Because I do regret, you know, losing contacts with all those people. (D7.)

In the Juuttiputiikki, many volunteers correspond with people from other countries in the youth. Later on they have grown interest in travelling. All of them are well travelled. Many of them have stayed abroad for longer periods of time as students, as au pair girls, or otherwise. Two volunteers have even visited some of the trading partners of the Juuttiputiikki in India and Bangladesh. Additionally, most of them know several languages. There are at times international volunteers in the shop. They are either refugees getting acquainted with the Finnish working life or students. The trade relations with the producer communities, as well as, concretely, the shipping of products from these communities, keep the international issues constantly at stake in the Juuttiputiikki. Some volunteers have to even command the regulations of international tariffs and trade in the customs. There are also occasional guests from the producer communities visiting the shop.

- About internationalism. You have been travelling a lot. You have been to developing countries as well, in India and in Bangladesh.
- Yes, and then in Tanzania as well. Not elsewhere.
- Which languages do you speak apart from English and Swedish...?
- I have studied German, I do speak it a little bit. And then I studied French and a little bit of Spanish. Yes, and then Bengali. I do that too, this morning I spoke Bengali on the phone, as we phoned to Bangladesh... I believe that a language is something that you can grasp a culture with, so that it is actually a must. Otherwise it is impossible. (J1.)

The major difference between the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury in terms of international contacts lies in the basic mode of activities. In the Juuttiputiikki volunteers get personally involved in the trade with partners, for instance, by correspondence. In the Oxfam organization, the trade is centralized which naturally distance volunteers from the concrete activities involved in fair trade. There, however, the international volunteer pool compensates this to some extent.

**Environmentalism** Environmental issues are in varying degree of concern to most volunteers. In the Juuttiputiikki recycling is part of the unofficial agenda. Volunteers who did not engage themselves in recycling before volunteering adopt similar activities in their private life as well. All volunteers recycle also at home according to the facilities available, and sometimes even with greater effort. In the Drury, environmental issues manifest themselves strongly in the activities, it being a combined second-hand store and a world shop. Most volunteers are involved in sorting and pricing of second-hand goods; however, it seems that some volunteers do not necessarily think of their contribution in environmental terms, but rather in terms of economical option for people with less money.

We recycle all the cans and aluminum in the house, bottles and paper as well, and we turn off lights when we go off rooms, things like that. --- Actually everything I'm wearing is second-hand. My boots are second-hand, these are second-hand, no actually I inherited these from my girlfriend R, no not inherited because she is not dead yet; this came from Oxfam, no I can't remember where it comes from, but it is second-hand. I can remember the last time I bought new, but that was for about a year and a half from the last time. Everything is second-hand. *He bought second-hand even before joining Oxfam.* (D4.)

The choice of the means of communication can be also viewed in environmental terms. Whereas volunteers make often a conscious effort in recycling, it seems that transport is not quite as frequently made conscious decisions of or the decisions are not as easy to put into practice. Most volunteers both in the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury are aware of the importance of using public transport. For longer travels, they opt preferably for train or coach. Volunteers see flying as the most destructive means of communication.

- Do you consider environmental issues when choosing the means of communication?  
 - Well, there are not too many options available for a trip to Jyväskylä (where her family lives). It is the bus and it is fortunately rather ecological. And of course train. ... Maybe the limit is that I wouldn't want to buy a car for any price, if possible. ... At times I feel guilty of having been flying quite a lot over the recent years. What I save in using the buses I have probably spent in that way (in flying). (J1.)

**Vegetarianism** World shop volunteers tend to be vegetarian. This shows equally in both world shops. The reasons for being vegetarian or semi-vegetarian vary greatly. Volunteers identify both medical and ethical reasons. Quite often they cannot give any specific reasons for their choice. Some volunteers are aware of the implications vegetarianism could have on larger scale in global food production, and thus, the developing countries. Grazing land is less efficient than growing vegetables on the same plot, as was emphasized.

I am a vegetarian and sort of extend the sort of fact that when buying products to check that there is actually no animal product in that. I think that is one thing that is very very important and regardless of your, whether you want to be, whether you want to eat meat or not, you have to learn the fact that what can be produced on the land that animals are grazing. The food that can be produced on that and energy involved and the waste in raising one pound, for instance. I'm not sure of the exact figures but what could be grown on that land, how many people could feed, it is something that more people should be made aware of. (D4.)

In Finland, some volunteers regard it unreasonable to be strictly vegetarian, because of the climate. Two volunteers recognize the fact, that while it is not possible in the cold climate to produce all sorts of vegetables and greens, it is more feasible to live on products available in the near range rather than opting for exported food stuffs. Due to lengthy transport, exported products are nearly as unsustainable as eating red meat. Overall, it seems that in the Drury, the number of more orthodox vegetarians is greater than in the Juuttiputiikki.

We aim to have food that is produced as close to us as possible. When you are a vegetarian in Finland, it would mean quite a lot of something like beans transported by air. But then we do avoid mass produced cows and pigs, P (husband) has been moose hunting, however. ... I think, that here in Finland, in Arctic regions to eat meat is ecological and viable. (J2.)

**Consumerism** is examined through volunteers' opinions and practices on products not tested on animals and products of multinational companies. These are but two of several potential aspects of so called aware or critical consumerism. These terms are coined in the world shop circles to designate modesty in consumption. As a whole, excessive consumption is looked down upon by volunteers. Some volunteers conceive it, in principle, as contradictory, that world shops simultaneously disapprove and promote consumption. Nevertheless, they are aware of the distinct nature of fair trade. Critical consumption was addressed previously in connection to the special characteristics of volunteers.

Animal rights issues are raised by a number of volunteers in both world shops. Nearly all volunteers are familiar with products that are not tested on animals, either Body Shop, or other companies included on the lists of relatively clean companies. A few volunteers belong to animal rights organizations.

- How about then, do you pay attention to, when you buy chemicals, that they are not, well by being a member in Animalia\* you certainly check that they are not tested on animals?
- Yeah. ---
- When did you join Animalia?
- For about a year or two ago.
- Was it through a friend or?
- No, it was quite on my own initiative. ---
- I think, that people haven't got the right to treat now.. the way they treat and raise. that animals have no chance in living naturally. And all these practical aspects with butchering and the living of animals are so wrong. (\*an animal rights organization) (J4.)

Awareness of the impact of multinational companies in world market is relatively high among volunteers. The Juuttiputiikki volunteers frequently boycott such companies as Lipton, Nestlé, Lever, Dole, Del Monte, and Eldorado. They prefer smaller companies. In the Drury, volunteers do not seem to be quite as often aware of the impact of multinationals as the Juuttiputiikki volunteers.

- I never buy anything Nestlé. I try to shop at shops owned by individuals as opposed to multinationals. The thing is that unfortunately being unemployed it is difficult, because of the income is smaller and it is cheaper often to shop at a multinational. We do make an effort not to. We don't buy things like Coca-Cola, although I smoke, I buy hand-rolling tobacco as opposed to buying cigarettes. I'm conscious about that sort of thing. (D4.)

**Pacifism** Some volunteers understand pacifism as an individual responsibility of peace. They participate in peace demonstrations more than a decade after the hey day of peace movement. There are a few extreme pacifists who do not support national defense forces but the majority of volunteers perceive them, even if regrettingly, still important. The problem with the military system is that it forces people to obey even irrational orders, and to kill people. Nobody takes responsibility in such cases. Volunteers call for personal responsibility and detachment from such conforming systems undermining individual choices.

- Are you in your opinion a pacifist and on which grounds?
- Yes, in that way that all these wars that we have, where people have to be in the army. They are not individual against individual, but it is the systems, the states, that force people to. They don't listen to individual people. ...it is the state defending itself and the government. ---
- But do you support national armies?
- It is the way to maintain the system. (J7.)

### **No complementary activities**

The opinions of volunteers interpreted to represent the opposite end of the bipolar continuum include choices of not having complementary activities. These choices may be grounded on disinterest, or lack of knowledge on these issues. This section covers basically the same topics as the previous section on complementary activities, stressing, however, an opposite position.

**Little interest in international issues** Practical international orientation manifests itself in all volunteer's responses. It is difficult to find any examples of little interest in international issues. In one way or another volunteers are in contact with other countries. The reasons are not necessarily humble such as a drive to get to understand other cultures. Young people are keen on exploring new lands for the sake of adventure and new experiences. Lack of interest in learning languages could be taken for disinterest in international issues, as in the case of a volunteer who do not make any efforts to learn his father's native tongue.

**Not leading an environmentally conscious way of life** Not all volunteers recycle at home at all even if the facilities were there. They know of the topic, but do not make any personal efforts to contribute to it. One volunteer is direct, but does not explicate his disinterest in detail. Generally, volunteers almost feel compelled to give explanations or even to make up excuses for their disinterest. The question is hard to formulate in a fashion that does not appear to hint for a moral judgment, and therefore, be offensive. Volunteers probably have an impression that most volunteers are environmentally conscious and do not want to appear different themselves.

- Do you recycle any of the waste that comes...?
- No, I don't actually. I'm not very aware, I mean I am aware of those issues, but I am not as aware as some other people are here on the ball for environmental issues and politics and stuff like that. (D7.)

The most preferred means of communication was selected as another variable to manifest environmental consciousness. The use of public transport is practical in any city, therefore the volunteers were asked about their preferences for a means of communication for a longer trip. A few volunteers do not pay attention to the way they travel, even if most volunteers consider the environmental issues. This comes up in both world shops. They know of the impact of personal choice on environment, but do not want to act on that. Some volunteers see it as a matter of convenience, other volunteers as a matter of time. Air travel saves time and is convenient despite being environmentally unsustainable.

- Do you own a car or a bike?
- Neither.
- Do you use public transportation?
- Yeah....I wanna go to Paris next year. If I could afford, I'd fly.
- Is that a question of comfort?
- Not really. I mean, it's a question of convenience, you get there quicker. That's all.
- You don't think of environmental issues connected to the....?
- No. for me the environmental politics aren't very strong, I'm afraid. (D7.)

**Not an aware consumer** Animal rights issues are not inquired from all the volunteers. Only one volunteer who is asked about her choices in cosmetics and necessary chemicals, does not know about Body Shop, that possible being the most known symbol of consumption aware of animal rights. A few volunteers seem not to be aware of the concept of multinational companies. Oxfam is understood as an alternative to them, but merely in terms of money. Oxfam is cheaper than some of the high street stores. The following person is not critical to consumption in the sense of being against excessive consumption, even if she wants to give such an impression.

- Do you try to avoid buying products of some multinational...?
- Yes, 'cos I feel it's exploitation.
- Which ones especially?
- All of them. You know, which is why I like shopping at Oxfam, because it has a range of things. If you need clothes, there's clothes. If you need food, there's food. If you need presents, paper and things, you know, it's there. I just wish there were more things they did, you know. Almost like a supermarket. An Oxfam supermarket where you get everything. All the major high street stores are just exploitation, especially clothes shops where they have jackets like for £110. Perfume places, 'cos perfume is such a waste of money. Cosmetics, I think it's all such a waste of money. I don't know. *Y buys products not tested on animals. She buys in the Body Shop. She gets all her stuff for the baby in the Boots, that has a variety of baby products.* (D8.)

**Non-vegetarian** Only a few volunteers are not vegetarian. One volunteer nearly get offended of the question and replies that he would eat meat even if it was poisonous. Another volunteer is amused of the enthusiasm of other volunteers of being vegetarian and yet another does not want to be a fundamentalist even in this sense. Non-vegetarians do not regard their eating habits as an important issue.

- ... Do you think there is something else that is in common with the different volunteers, not just the left-wing politics?
- Vegetarian.
- Vegetarian?

- Most of them are vegetarian.
- Are they? Are you?
- No-o. I'm not. I eat everything that moves.
- Runs away from you sometimes.
- Not just human beings. (D2.)

**Realistically pacifist** Nearly all volunteers are realistic about the state of affairs in the world. In principle, they are against the military forces, but in practice, the military is still needed. In their individual, lives they avoid violence, but would defend themselves or their friends even with arms if compelled to.

- Would you define yourself being a pacifist? Yes?
- Yeah, I am but again as I said, if I believe that someone is wrong in you then you should be, you should defend yourself. Because I believe, if someone attacks and is allowed to get away with it that would encourage him to do it even more so. I don't agree with violence as a whole, but I believe that there are times when one has to defend sort of oneself and what one believes in, things like that. (D4.)

## 6.5 Moral foundation? - ethical aspects of volunteering

The social movements of the eighties are characterized by their basically ethical dimension, which refers to "personal responsibility for a collective future at a local, national, and planetary level" (Hegedus 1987a; Hegedus 1990, 266). The movements of the seventies were cultural, stressing the impact of such activities on state and the society internally (Hegedus 1990, 266). The practical outcome of ethical thinking was addressed in the previous section. The aim of this section is to go a step further towards the spiritual and ethical foundations of volunteering although rather superficially. A more profound approach would be a matter of another piece of research. This section supports the overall set of factors volunteers identify in volunteering.

The ethical thinking of volunteers is summed up in some central factors retrieved from the interviews. Long term personal philosophy based on either religion or other spiritual systems of thought supposedly backs up volunteers' participation in world shop activities. The previous section on social dimension discussed altruism as a trait that volunteers identified volunteers to possess. Here, it is viewed in different light having its roots in personal philosophy. Another issues taken up here is the goodness of man. Volunteers were asked if they think human beings to be ultimately good or bad in nature. Finally, possible guilt over heritage of colonialism is mapped in order to illuminate the long term historical sensitivity to global matters. Another issue that could have been included, is volunteers' attitudes towards racial or other kind of discrimination. This was unfortunately not inquired from them.



**Figure 6.5** The bipolar continuum of the ethical dimension of volunteering.

Volunteers responses on ethical matters tell both of ethical commitment as well as of little ethical concern. These make the two ends of the bipolar continuum in ethical dimension. Whereas the ethically concerned volunteers ground the choice to volunteer ethically (along with other reasons), volunteers with little ethical concern do not link their personal philosophy with volunteering. In research of voluntary sector, values and attitudes are the subject of behavioral sciences and psychology. Volunteers' attitudes and values, alongside roles and statuses, are seen to explain behavior leading to volunteering (Sundeen 1992, 272). The research recognizes that "the attitudinal and value substratum of volunteer activity does not appear to be unidimensional; that is, volunteering for different types of activities and to different types of organizations is related to varying combinations of attitudes, values and demographic characteristics (referring to various researcher besides himself)" (Sundeen 1992, 272). The bipolar continuum of ethical dimension acknowledges variations in values even within one organization.

In Anglo-American literature, volunteering has been frequently understood as a product of internal causal mechanisms. Hence, volunteering is caused by social or selfish reasons: pure altruism, self-interest, or guilt. To broaden the perspective, it is necessary to combine the self and other oriented factors of volunteering. In such a way, volunteering is conceived worthwhile and even existentially meaningful to people. (Story 1992, 4-5.) Here, both ends of the bipolar continuum address the self- and other-regarding aspects of volunteering, although the other-regarding aspects come forth strongly if volunteering has a sound ethical grounding. The self- and other-regarding factors intermingle in volunteering. Hence, volunteers are expected to get also something to themselves, not only to sacrifice themselves. As a result, there are numerous constraints involved in the bipolar continuum of ethical dimension making it hard to place an opinion in either end of the continuum.

### **Ethically grounded volunteering**

Freedom of choice, an essential ingredient in volunteering, can be understood as the fundamentally spiritual foundation of voluntary activity (Story 1992, 3). When asked about the reasons for volunteering people prefer their contribution to be meaningful. In regard of bringing purpose to people's existence, volunteering is spiritual. The purpose of existence lies beyond ourselves and our natural environment. (Story 1992, 5.) This section includes accounts of volunteers' clear views on their personal philosophy, and its relations to volunteering and altruism. It also aims at reviewing the potential guilt complex, and volunteers' perceptions on the nature of human beings. The selected extracts illuminate volunteers' moral concern of human existence.



**Clear personal philosophy** The personal philosophy of volunteers reflects frequently either Christian or other spiritual attachments. In the Juuttiputiikki Christian thinking is more visible than in the Drury. Many Drury volunteers are keen on Buddhism instead. Buddhism seems to appeal due to its emphasis of the love of all creatures. All volunteers recognize some ethical issues in their thinking. They mention for instance specifically solidarity, flexibility, tolerance, loyalty to friends and quality of thinking. Some volunteers stress that one should do what one believes in, or "you do what you preach" (D4). In both world shops, those volunteers who feel strongly about ethical issues justify their volunteering accordingly as personal inclination to want to help other people. Some volunteers conceive their entire existence, volunteering included, as a moral duty to do good deeds to the humans and the nature.

My aim is of course to live here in harmony with other people and with the nature. And do as much good as possible to other people and the earth. ... I am not here for myself but for other people's life and for the nature. (J3.)

Religious institutions do not appear to appeal to volunteers as such. Volunteers define their thinking rather with personal interpretations of various religions. Their arguments against one way of thinking and for another are based on personal likings, influence of friends, and assumptions or heard anecdotes of the differences of them. It seems that few volunteers actually study the differences more profoundly. The idea of being recycled as material beings attracts some volunteers. They perceive themselves as an ingredient in the cycle of life of the nature.

Yes, I just love people and we were always taught not to take people on face value, 'cos sometimes you think you don't like them, but you can always find some good in people I think. And well, what comes to the religion I've done an awful lot of soul searching over the years and I just cannot believe in a lot what is in the Bible. And refuse to be a hypocrite and follow along the lines. I mean, a lot of the priests have been expelled because they talk against what's written and all the rest of it. So I've come to the conclusion I'm more in the way of the Buddhist, because I love all living creatures and as well as people and the Buddhist people are against war. The only protest I've learnt the Buddhist monks to make, which was horrific a few years, actually quite a long time ago, they actually poured petroleum on themselves and put light on themselves to protest something, you know. So that was self-destruction, but, and I'm a great believer in being recycled, I mean, as part of the earth I would love to, when I'm buried, to be buried in a cardboard coffin underneath the trees and I nourish the tree. (D3.)

**Altruism** Altruism is not a simple black and white issue to most volunteers. They regard their volunteering as personal benefits, but also want it to be useful to other people. In most cases, it is perceived as a balance between the personal and the common good. The balance leans on either direction depending on a particular situation and time. The following extract displays an illuminating example of such a balance, however leaning slightly towards altruism. The person is responsibly volunteering for the cause of fair trade, an ideal that he believes in, although acknowledging that he also gains a better compensation from the government by volunteering.

Unselfishly? Eh, yes and no. I mean obviously, when I first came here as a volunteer, I did it unselfishly and I'm doing it unselfishly now, but the thing about it is that I get paid an extra £10 a

week, because I'm on a government scheme, OK? So I get an extra £10 a week. but I would still volunteer, if I wasn't getting that £10 a week. I, you can call that being selfish, well, yeah, I suppose so. But no, I am not doing it for me, I am not doing it as an ego-trip, I am not doing it as a holy ever (unclear) thing, I'm doing it because I believe in it. (D4.)

Altruism is essentially a complex issue. It consists of a set of multiple variables. In the interviews, volunteers comprehend altruism as personal and voluntary sacrifices towards other people and nature. They regard their own volunteering, however, as both altruistic and egotistical. Only a few volunteers do not acknowledge any selfish reasons for volunteering. Generally, it can be more fruitful to highlight the interrelatedness of the self-regarding and other-regarding factors in an individual's behavior (Story 1992, 3). This section clarifying both self- and other-regarding aspects of volunteering, the other end of the bipolar continuum contains mainly self-regarding factors of volunteering. In a sense, I maintain partially the division of social and individual factors affecting in volunteering.

**Guilt complex** In the Juuttiptiikki, some volunteers say they feel guilty of colonialism, and especially neo-colonialism. In the Drury, all volunteers take the issue less personally. For them it is unnecessary to feel guilty, because it is not really their fault. Yet, it is their duty to try to amend the prevailing situation favoring industrialized nations. They are not personally responsible for the past events but they have a moral duty to do their best to change the current situation. Guilt can be paralyzing according to some volunteers: whatever they do is not enough. The guilt manifests itself in feeling oneself privileged in relation to the people in developing countries. Longer serving volunteers say they have come into terms with the guilt.

- Have you ever had any feelings of guilt of your belonging to the richer half of the world's population...?

- --- I have had them. Certainly all the time there is some sort of feeling of guilt and or guilt over the fact that we cannot do here anything to change it. --- I believe quite a lot in thinking acknowledging that we have robbed from there and that we are now living on that here. Just like the gold that we took from the Latin America ---You are privileged if you understand it in terms like my mother, when she gave birth to me, she didn't think 'Oh, dear, it's a girl.' And then I have got to go to schools and to travel and see things. In that way, I am certainly privileged ---(J1.)

**Bad or good humans** Most volunteers note that human beings are both good and bad in nature. Volunteers conceive that there are apparent differences in the degree of good and bad in human beings currently. Some volunteers pay attention to relativism in everything people do. One cannot say that something is bad unless one considers the context. Another stance that volunteers take is that human beings are given the choice to do both good and bad deeds. Hence, it is down to an individual what happens. A functional explanation is found as well: a civilized person may turn cruel in extreme circumstances.

Relativism in regard to good and bad was treated above as reflecting flexibility of thinking. Good and bad of human nature can be also seen in a more straightforward way. This kind of approach can be understood to represent a more rigid stance on human coexistence. Some volunteers believe that human beings are either good or bad in the end. Evil aspects of

human nature seem to be dominant in volunteers' definitions rather than positive aspects. This may imply that eventually volunteer do consider humans to be evil.

Do I need to choose one from the other? Both exist, both good and bad in human beings. Could I say that more evil, however. I don't know. --- Or I don't know, maybe intentional evil. They (human beings) don't seem to learn from mistakes. (J4.)

A minority of volunteers consider human beings as predominantly good. An optimistic stance states that human beings are ultimately good in their nature. This means that a volunteer sees chances to change the state of the world in some ways. It is merely a matter of time and good will. However, depending on the situation both views, emphasis on good and on bad, enhances volunteering in a world shop. It is the context that makes the views valid. Exact correlation between different issues related to good and bad cannot be drawn together, but overall it appears that people volunteering for ethical reasons would not volunteer if they did not believe in the goodness of human beings. Besides, they tend to think that they can make a difference, even if it is small. People who openly confess certain way of thinking, for example, Buddhism, tend to define human nature in positive terms, and hence ground volunteering ethically.

What we derive from it (volunteering) is good, and love. --- There are evil powers as well or that there are both good and bad exist anyway but what people really are like is good. (J3.)

### **Volunteering for personal good**

Some volunteers are not really concerned about ethical issues, or simply do not argue their volunteering in ethical terms. Other factors are more prominent in their volunteering. In this research, self-regarding factors of volunteering constitute of political, social and personal matters. An individual's political conviction requires practical outcomes such as volunteering for a fairer world. A person needs something significant to do and wants to meet people. Additionally, a volunteer gains personal satisfaction through their contribution. All of these issues are extremely complex. It proves hard to keep the self-regarding aspects separate from the other-regarding aspects: even volunteers stress the interrelatedness. Intriguingly, when asked if they consider their volunteering to be an unselfish or a selfish act, some volunteers appear almost offended. As if they think, it is not a question one would ask a volunteer.

**Little personal interest in ethical questions** A few volunteers do not consider their volunteering in ethical terms at all. The predominant reasons for volunteering are elsewhere. While volunteering is not a moral act for them, they do find other principles in their lives that determine some of their activities. These are separate from any broader way of thinking, or religion, although indebted to some more general ideologies. They are principles a volunteer learns throughout life, from friends, and from incidents. In one regard, they make the moral foundation of an individual's activities; in other regard, they are rather distinct and not necessarily determinants of a voluntary act.

- So being here as a volunteer is not a moral act?
- For me it's not a guilt-trip, maybe for others but it's not for me. ---

- Do you believe in any kind of spiritual thing? (modified)
- No.
- How about any kind of principles that you follow? (modified)
- Yeah, principles like what? There are principles, sure. There's also a lot of hypocrisy. Saying you believe in something, and doing something else.
- You mean yourself?
- No, no. I'm saying there are a lot of principles, but there are a lot of hypocrisy as well. Oh, yeah, just about me. Yes, there are certain. I do have some. When I have some, I just stick to them.
- Can you name any? You said loyalty earlier on.
- Oh yes, loyalty. Loyalty to close friends is the most important kind of relationship anyway. Nothing else seems to last. (D7.)

**Self-interest and altruism** Personal benefits are identified in diverse ways. Some volunteers value the social aspects as personal gain, others say directly that they keep themselves occupied by volunteering. It can mean that one gets some ideals or thoughts put into practice. Even gaining good consciousness by volunteering is seen as selfish by some volunteers. Additionally, volunteering offers many volunteers a chance to learn new things, to get work experience, and even to gain merits for their future careers. Interestingly, volunteers describe widely the selfish nature of the activity, but seldom the unselfish nature of it. This may give an impression that, in a sense, volunteers do volunteer for personal rather than ethical reasons. Especially, if a volunteer does not necessarily show any great interest in the actual mission of world shops, this impression becomes even stronger. Another case is that of the unemployed volunteers. Their genuine interest lies often in making their lives meaningful. The sense is found in doing something for other people and the community.

- Do you think you are volunteering unselfishly or selfishly...?
- It's a balance really. It's a bit of both, because I get so much out of it, that I do feel that it is selfish, you know. I just love it. As I said it gets me out of the house and it gets me meeting lots of young people and I love it, and gives me a different outlook on life. It literally gives me a purpose, somewhere to go and getting routined. Because although we all are looking forward to the retirement, I mean, I'm quite capable of entertaining myself, and doing things at home. And I mean, I go out, I go out to art galleries, I adore those sort of things when I've got free time. I just felt somehow useless. I felt that I needed to be doing something that was part of the community, you know. (D3.)

**No guilt complex** Most volunteers both in the Juuttiputiikki and the Drury do not feel guilt of colonialism. Therefore guilt seems not to be the driving factor in making and keeping them to volunteer. They note that guilt is not a fruitful starting point to any activity. They point out that it is one thing to feel guilt, and another to actually be guilty of something. The question of guilt provokes reactions which prove that the issue of guilt appears ambiguous to volunteers. First, most volunteers seem perplexed, and then often off-hand reply negatively that guilt has nothing to do with their volunteering. They may be frustrated at hearing about the "burden of white man", which they do not think applies in the present world. It is new dependency relationships that characterize today's world.

I always feel guilty of everything, but looking in another point of view. If you really look it at the point, I don't know if I feel guilty, because, one thing is I feel guilty and another is that I really am guilty. We don't make history, we don't make life like this. So I didn't. So I am not responsible for

that neither. But now I can do something for improve this. If I just say there are poor people there having too much pain just like that. I will feel guilty for that, because it's quite selfish. If you really feel you should do something, do something. --- It's like when some people say where the fifth centenary meeting of the two cultures when Colombo went to America, Spanish was there. I was not born at the time I'm not responsible for those things. (D1.)

**Bad or good human beings** The question of good and evil of human nature does not make any clear categories of volunteers. It appears puzzling to nearly all volunteers. Only a few volunteers with strong ethical conviction seem to have explicitly thought about the topic. Yet, a volunteer can believe in goodness of human beings, but still does not volunteer with that in mind. Similarly, a volunteer may conceive the evil side to dominate, and yet volunteers. The only substantial way to approach good and evil is to view if the issue is crucial for individual volunteers. As stated previously, volunteers perceive the question to be characteristically relative: you cannot really distinguish the good and the evil elements of human existence, just as you cannot say if volunteering is an unselfish or a selfish act. Volunteers admit not having considered the issue in depth although most volunteers give elaborate responses on it. Most volunteers give an instant opinion first, and reconsider its accuracy after a while. They have no clear opinion on the quality of human nature. As a result, they shift their view along the way of explaining it as in the following citation:

Good. --- I think people are, I mean every day you see effort of how people are, how the people care for one another. I'm an optimist, not, I'm not. I think I'm fairly pessimist. On the fundamental things, I'm optimistic and idealistic. On other levels, no, pessimistic, yeah, cynical. (D5.)

## **7 Do I really want to do this? - transformation of volunteering**

There are several stages in volunteering at which volunteers decide the direction of their volunteering. The issues at stake when talking about the change in volunteering constitute a complex set of factors simultaneously influencing a volunteer. Since transformation implies that change occurs over time, chronological approach seems most appropriate here. Chronologically, the points of potential change are the intention to volunteer, the decision to volunteer, the initial phase as a volunteer, the routinized phase of volunteering, and finally, the continuity of commitment. Volunteers were asked about the possible changes in their attitudes towards volunteering as well as about tasks. The responses, however, are not readily available from all interviewees. Altogether, the accumulated data is adequate for the purpose.

There are some particular constraints in the chronological approach, that have to be paid attention to. For instance, some volunteers know from the very first day that their contribution is limited in time. They may be volunteering during their holidays or during their stay in a particular town. The commitment to voluntary activity may last over holidays as well as in a modified fashion during the period in paid work or at school. Furthermore, the limited length of stay in one town does not prevent the volunteer to get involved in volunteering in another town.

### **7.1 Intention to volunteer - decisive issues**

The most decisive issues making a volunteer join in voluntary action are commonly known in voluntary action research. It is predominantly a mixture of personal and circumstantial reasons that prompt a person to volunteer. This applies in this research as well. An intriguing question is to what degree the decision is intentional. A British research on volunteers' motivations unfolds that "the majority of people appear to become volunteers almost by accident" (Andrew & Finch 1990, 39). This hints that initiating volunteering is not a predetermined act, but something people drift to do. However, when asked for reasons for volunteering, people look for causal reason and make it appear intentional. For example, the questionnaire results discussed previously (Table 3.10) show that only a fraction of volunteers even mentions the impact of circumstantial chance. They rather mention directly a number of other reasons they consider real or proper.

The questionnaire results also (Table 3.10) imply, that the most commonly mentioned cause among other reasons to initiate volunteering seems to be the good cause, even if volunteers were not given space to specify what they understood by the cause of world shops. In the Juuttiputiikki all respondents selected this option, and in the Drury, a vast majority (26/34). Interestingly enough, the interviews reveal that the good cause is not necessarily the primary reason even if it influences on the background. Only a few volunteers name it first. They tend to be volunteers with strong political orientation.

According to the questionnaire results, the second most frequently mentioned reason for volunteering varies depending on the shop. The need to use up free time and social reasons score high in the Drury. The interviews support this result. All interviewees notify the importance of meeting other people in varying degree. It is not only volunteers with little activities outside the world shop, it can be also volunteers with strong political orientation. In the Juuttiputiikki results the social reasons are valued high as well. Previously gained familiarity with the shop and the volunteers (knowing someone at the world shop and having been a customer at the shop) is likely to encourage for volunteering. Juuttiputiikki interviews affirm this notion. Oulu being a small town people tend to get recruited by hear-say. Additionally, most volunteers in the researched shops being single (Table 3.4), and many unemployed (Table 3.7.) can be taken to affirm the significance of social aspect in volunteering. Both the single and the unemployed interviewees confirm this point. People seem to want to occupy their time constructively, and preferably, in good company.

The willingness to learn new things rates high in both world shops in the questionnaire results. However, in the interviews this is not mentioned particularly. To learn English in the Drury is important to some foreign volunteers. Some younger volunteers do their school work experience in the shop. For them, it is a primary reason to learn something new in a world shop. Most volunteers do not explicitly express any particular skill they want to learn by volunteering, although the overall experience of volunteering in a world shop attracts them. The aspect of learning new things becomes important in later stages of volunteering, because it is linked with the motivation to continue volunteering.

To some extent the underlying reasons influence the direction volunteering takes eventually. The linkage between the reasons for volunteering, and the course volunteering actually takes is hard to unfold. The next section on routine volunteering attempts to address this relation.

## **7.2 Routine volunteering**

As discussed previously, the tasks to which volunteers commit themselves vary greatly. There are the basic tasks of sorting out donated goods, pricing donated and fair trade goods, cleaning up the shop, selling and cashing up. There are some more demanding tasks in terms of involvement such as correspondence with trading partners, doing accounts, preparing public relations events, and campaigning. The most responsible involvement designate organizational tasks such as a membership on the board of the developing country association in the Juuttiputiikki, and the shop management team in the Drury.

Routine volunteering involves volunteers' readiness to take responsibilities in the world shop. This includes either taking initiative as well as specifically getting involved in organizational tasks. In the Drury, volunteers preferred the basic and slightly more responsible tasks to greater involvement in the organization. After working for some time, it can be frustrating to commit the same tasks repeatedly. The basic tasks are often rather monotonous, especially, if there are not other volunteers to accompany, hence compensate it. Some volunteers value the new practical skills they learn. They tend to want to become

even more committed. An extract from a volunteer to take more responsible tasks shows that it can be rewarding to become more engaged:

It (volunteering) has changed quite a lot. --- In some ways I feel, this sounds quite pretentious now, I am quite important in the shop now. --- I do the cashing-up. --- But I mean the daily, the daily accounts, the cashing-up sometimes I do. (D2.)

Some volunteer, however, are interested in dealing with the basic tasks of the shop. They do not care for campaigns or other more organizational tasks. Their contribution is limited in practical tasks. They are not striving for furthering fair trade by campaigning, or other more ambitious or involved tasks. They are happy with what they achieve as it is.

To be quite honest, I don't have a great deal of interest in Oxfam's organizational side or, I am not saying it's not important, it's just that it doesn't appeal, it just doesn't interest me that much, you know. --- I like working in the shop, doing the cashing-up, training people, stuff like that. That's what I like the best. That's what really interests me, you know. (D7.)

In the Juuttiptiikki, the pattern is similar in regard to routine volunteering. Routine tasks are the basis of everything else. That is with which volunteers start. In weekly Monday meetings open to all, volunteers come together to share acute questions and discuss future activities. The meetings appear to be less popular among the volunteers than what the overall number of volunteers indicates. The meetings take place in the evenings which demands time. It seems that volunteers are not interested in taking on additional tasks on top of shop routines. Therefore, it tends to be the more active volunteers attending. Specific tasks are passed on to volunteers in the those meetings. In the Drury, the open for all monthly meetings are mainly for disseminating information of the shop activities and on Oxfam policies in general. The meetings are not, particularly, crowded either.

In the Drury, the shop management team consists of about six volunteers the manager has asked to focus on some central tasks. Hence, it is not an officially elected body. They come together with the shop manager according to need, to discuss acute questions in each respective area. Other volunteers do not necessarily even know of the existence of such a team. In the Juuttiptiikki, more engaged volunteers attend in trading partner meetings and board meetings. Trading partner meetings make decisions over the next orders and purchases from the producer cooperatives. Its members are responsible for the availability of goods in the shop. The board is an elected body to take overall responsibility of the shop activities, finances and policies, which makes the membership responsible also in legal terms. Overall, it seems that most volunteers tend to keep away from these most demanding tasks.

The questionnaire results on volunteers' views on their level of activity in the world shop (Table 3.11) reveal that most of them regard themselves as active both in the Juuttiptiikki (10/21) and in the Drury (21/34). About a third of volunteers do not want to comment on the issue at all. However, the interviewees in both shops express their regret for not being active enough. Many of them feel that they should contribute more than what they actually do. Where does this pressure stem from? If it is self-induced and the routine volunteering proves the experience worthwhile, volunteers are likely to become more committed or at



least continue their current commitment. Generally, volunteers' assessment of their contribution in a world shop determines if they continue volunteering. The next section identifies some aspects in the continuity of commitment.

### 7.3 Continuity of commitment

Volunteering is grounded on freedom of choice, and is constantly being reassessed by volunteers. Over time, volunteers feel either contentment with volunteering or disenchantment with it. In the interviews, volunteers were asked of the highlights and the worst frustrations of volunteering in a world shop. The replies to these questions manifest volunteers' general stance towards the tasks they are involved in. In the questionnaires, volunteers express (descriptively) their views on the positive and negative aspects of volunteering in their particular world shops. The analysis of the continuity of commitment leans on these two sets of material.

**Positive assessment** When identifying positive aspects of volunteering, some volunteers regard it as just generally rewarding. Most volunteers name specific events or issues that make volunteering worthwhile. Satisfaction with volunteering is often attached to meeting people and making friends. Accomplishing tasks becomes enjoyable in good company. The questionnaire results confirm this (Table 3.14). Volunteers appreciate the company of other like-minded volunteers and the atmosphere both in the Juuttiputiikki (13/21) and in the Drury (25/34). Additionally, it gives personal inspiration to see people with different perspectives on life as in the following case.

I just love being here in general, I don't see much highlights. It's meeting different people and hearing their view point and finding out what parts of the world they come from and that. Just generally how (unclear). Oh, I tell you what, how I've changed since I've been here, my way of dress. Because I always used to, I tell you what I did, I always used to try to be prim and proper, you know, but since I've been here, I've started wearing jeans and I started designing my jeans and wearing them, being casual, you know. And now, I don't think I want ever dress up again. (laughter) --- I feel like a different person, I feel like I'm what 20, 30 years younger. (D3.)

The next citation demonstrates an interesting contradiction existing between volunteering and its possible transformation. Despite stating that his opinion on volunteering has not changed, the person is clearly a more dedicated volunteer now than when starting his career. The change in his attitude towards strengthening of his commitment to volunteering accounts for by taking dislike to standard commercial entrepreneurship making profit. For him, volunteering is a conscious alternative to paid work in the private sector.

If you study economics more and more, as I studied economics more and more, should I say, I began, the whole idea of capitalism just became abhorrant to me. Even though I went to work for the City for three years after I had done that. I was trying to build a career and that sort of stuff. But yeah, I strengthened my views on life, going to college. And it made me sort of more determined to try and equalize some of the inequalities of the world. --- No, I haven't changed my opinion on volunteering at all. I am even more determined not to work for a company that just exist and make profit. It's made me in fact, the longer I am here the more it makes me determined to do

anything like that. --- I really like to work for a charitable organisation, but if I cannot get a paid position, I am quite happy to still be a volunteer anyway. (D4.)

Sense of achievement is important for a number of volunteers. At personal level, learning new things bring satisfaction. This comes up in the descriptive questionnaire responses as well as in the interviews. Besides, the sense of achievement may derive from small practical things in the world shop. Volunteers experience satisfaction with tasks, when seeing the results of their work.

When I started here, I started pricing books, I got kind of personal pleasure when a book that I priced was sold. --- I'm responsible for some money that is in this till now. That's the kind of pleasure I remember having. (D2.)

Satisfaction can also stem from a feeling of solidarity or fellow-feeling. Volunteers sense they accomplish something together as a group. An individual contribution does not show results as easily as collective efforts.

I'm very happy, for example, the whole of January, when we renovated here and all the people were working very hard. That one day, the day we moved house, that there were about twenty people and that they stayed here all. So that it was not only that we carried in the things but they actually started working and we got an awful lot done. (J3.)

Benefits of volunteering constitute also some more personal reasons such as spending time in a constructive way and a place to go. Apart from coming up in the interviews, they are mentioned in about a third of the questionnaire replies in both world shops (Table 3.14). A few volunteers explicitly appreciate the voluntary nature of world shop activities, this referring mainly to the overall flexibility of work. One volunteer even jokingly say that he is too lazy to have a proper job, which is why volunteering is a perfect option for him (D7.).

**Negative assessment** The disadvantages of volunteering are similarly manifold as the benefits. Volunteers feel frustration and become demotivated for personal, organizational and social reasons. However, according to the questionnaire results only about a fourth of volunteers feel frustration both in the Juuttiutiikki (5/21) and in the Drury (9/34) (Table 3.14). The interviewees take up their frustrations as well. Only a few volunteers cannot identify anything frustrating in volunteering. In voluntary sector research, the disadvantages of volunteering are identified as over-commitment, time constraint, expenses, the nature of voluntary activity, and being taken for granted (Andrew & Finch 1990, 45). Volunteers in this research notified similar negative aspects in volunteering. Because volunteering is not merely great fun "Disillusion, heartbreak, frustration in the face of injustice and indifference, physical and moral fatigue - all there may have to be endured" (Fielding, Reeve & Simey 1991, 98).

Exclusiveness of fair trade movement annoys some volunteers. They would prefer a less orthodox approach in business, because that would in the end benefit every party. Similarly, a certain monopoly of opinion causes distress among some volunteers. They experience the world shop as a restrictive environment to work.

It is the introspection of the fair trade movement. The dispraising of other commercial entrepreneurs. --- It derives from the leftist background of the activists. It is an attitude, it is not an opinion. They view all salesmen as exploiters. That prevents the spreading of fair trade ideals. (J6.)

The lack of volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki causes distress among the volunteers. It makes the activities more time-consuming and the tasks tend to accumulate to only a few volunteers. Volunteers end up doing tasks that they are not ready to do or that they would not have time for, hence affecting the fundamental freedom of choice central to volunteering. Some volunteers are readier to make greater sacrifices than others. A question on how often a volunteer comes to the shop would have further specified the issue. It is often in the meetings in which future tasks are discussed, that this shows; the atmosphere is, at times, nearly oppressive. The accumulation of tasks is also due to the turnover of volunteers. For the sake of continuity, the same group of volunteers tend to take responsibility of most tasks.

It is most burdensome that the people change, so that it is the same group of people who take the responsibility over there, whom I do not belong to at the moment, I have to admit. I have been neglecting it lately. And then when, in my opinion, it changed when we chose the new paid manager. (J1, 5.)

The high turnover of volunteers relates to the nature of voluntary activity. People are working in world shops on a voluntary basis, and cannot be expected to be as disciplined as in a paid job. They choose when they come, for how long they stay, and what they do. This kind of freedom and flexibility does not suit all volunteers. Some of them would require clear instructions as to what to do. Comparing achieved results some others get annoyed at volunteers who do not work hard enough for their standards. The next extract illuminates the inner tensions of the nature of voluntary activity.

It is quite difficult to change something when you are, you have people always changing. You have quite a lot of volunteers here. Everybody has a different time here, sometime people come here once a week, sometime peoples comes here every day, sometime they come once a month. And everyone just start one thing and move one thing and things just happen and you cannot control it as they happen. Everybody here is a volunteer, you cannot say that do that, and do that. You do your task, you do your job and you just leave the others to do what they want to do. --- Look, it's a voluntary basis, you cannot say people, you cannot tell the people they must do or they must not do. You do what you want to do. That's very important to understand the difference between voluntary work and a paid job. (D2, 1.)

The seemingly unorganized manner to operate is a characteristic of voluntary activity. In the Drury, the poor organization of activities is related to amateur and ineffective leadership, which is addressed both in the questionnaire responses, and in the interviews. This may indicate that the paid manager in the Drury is expected to achieve results, as opposed to unpaid volunteers who have freedom of choice. In the Juuttiputiikki, the shared management, even if with half-time paid shopkeeper, is not under such a pressure. It seems to be accepted that things do not always work out well, or at least the tensions are less visible. However, in the Juuttiputiikki, the discontinuity of initiated activities frustrates as well, because it manifests lack of determination in organizing things.

Certain little things are, as I got mad in the meeting. --- A small individual thing. Other people do not understand the significance of a certain thing,, or forget to do it or they just leave it without attention. --- In that way, in a sense it is a multiple task for someone else. --- accumulates and causes an awful lot of work for someone else. --- In a sense, the fact that there is a lack of determination in dealing with some things. ---That I cannot take it that people are so phlegmatic in some things. (J3.)

Frustrations derive also from the rudimentary principles of practicing fair trade. Mainly politically motivated volunteers tend to be concerned about the very small impact of fair trade in changing the world. The outcome is inadequate, which results in disillusion of the potentials of fair trade. Volunteers do not see any changes in world politics, and yet think that if they do not contribute, there might not be anyone else to do it either. It is a question of feeling inadequate in the face of global problems, or as a respondent in a questionnaire puts it: " Because you can only do so much". The interviewees with sound understanding of the political nature of fair trade acknowledge this as well.

Doing the accounts. Rectifying the same mistakes every day. Also obviously the frustrations, as I said before. I would love it Oxfam not to have to exist. Those are the frustrations that the ongoing problems seem to be continuing. And one problem gets solved and there's another one that needs to be rectified as far as famine is concerned and justice is everywhere and that sort of thing. (D4.)

For some other politically engaged volunteers, the feeling of inadequacy relates sometimes to moral matters. In one regard, volunteers do want to do their bit in advancing fair trade; on the other, they do not think their efforts are morally any better than those of any commercial entrepreneur or the national development agency. They put into question the moral justification to intervene in the lives of the people in the developing countries. For example, despite being small scale and on a personal level, fair trade can be perceived non-egalitarian to a certain degree. The Western world shops are the dominant party in the trading cooperation.

- Have you ever had suspicions over the continuity of your commitment...?  
 - Well, there has been some. For example, when the book *From beyond the empire\**, I somehow felt that the criticism was addressed to us and well, then I had that, I felt that now we need to reconsider all of our principles from the very foundations, to have a housecleaning, and think over if this really makes any sense in the end. --- I went over gradually then. --- the greatest inspiration that we are doing a good thing. Perhaps more realism came in, that this is not anything wondrous eventually. (\* Imperiumin ulkopuolelta is collection of critical essays on development by Southern academics and writers.) (J1. 1.)

Volunteers who are generally less motivated, and not apt to take initiative may feel bored at the tiring routines and notify a lack of tasks. If they do not initiate anything themselves they end up doing monotonous routines. Some volunteers feel that there is not enough to occupy themselves with. In reality, there are always numerous practical things to do, besides potential new ideas to be realized in both world shops. If a volunteer experiences the lack of activities as a source of frustration, the real reason may also lie in volunteers' disinterest in world shop activities in general. Some volunteers admit their inadequate self-motivation, and that it would be more motivating to get paid.

**Length of commitment** By asking if a volunteer has ever thought of quitting volunteering is another approach in analyzing continuity of commitment. In light of the questionnaires, a vast majority of volunteers have not had any thoughts of giving up volunteering either in the Juuttiputiikki (16/21) or in the Drury (28/34) (Table 3.13). Most of the interviewed volunteers similarly deny having any intentions of quitting volunteering, although many of them add that the changing circumstances, such as changing houses or work, may enforce them to do so. Even so, they would continue volunteering in one way or another, for example, during the weekends, or in another world shop.

I would feel like a betrayer, if I quitted with so little effort, or in the sense of not giving up so easily, that I haven't (thought of giving up). Anyhow I give my little contribution in this system according to time and resources available. (J7.)

It proves interesting to compare the above rates on intentions of quitting volunteering with the rates on the length of volunteer careers (Table 3.10.). In both world shops, short volunteer careers, less than 12 months, are the rule. In the Drury, however, they are often even shorter (less than six months) and more common than in the Juuttiputiikki. Volunteers staying 1-5 years comprise nearly half of the volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki. As a conclusion, it seems that people do not volunteer with the idea of quitting in mind. Besides, volunteers cannot anticipate any possible changes in their lives that result in quitting volunteering. Similarly, even if some volunteers foresee that their contribution has a limited scope, they may have understood the question to refer to their plans to give up volunteering before the end of the time for which they have intended to stay.

According to the questionnaire results, there are only a few volunteers in both world shops, who have pursued a more permanent commitment in volunteering, that lasts longer than five years. One volunteer had volunteered for twelve years and still intended to continue. Among the younger volunteers, who make the majority of respondents in the questionnaires as well as most interviewees, it seems rare to go on volunteering for more than a few years. They seem to have a phase in their lives they commit to voluntary activities. The interviewed volunteers had generally volunteered longer than an average questionnaire respondent.

The phenomenon of lifelong political commitment and aging have been examined in a British piece of research from the point of view of psychology. The central theses of the research claims that growing up does not necessarily mean growing out of ideals. Instead, by sustaining ideals, people also sustain themselves. There is a continuous sense of meaning in them existing in the unjust world. (Andrews 1991, 206-207.) However, based on the material of this paper, it appears that most people do quit volunteering after a relatively short active period. It would be a matter of another paper to ask whether former volunteers continue being active in other fronts of life of political activism, or for that matter, what are the reasons for quitting volunteering. This would require interviews with ex-volunteers.

## **8 Ideal volunteering**

When searching for the symbolic aspects of volunteering, the idea of an ideal volunteer underlies the process. In a sense, as volunteers describe their own volunteer experiences, they reflect those against the same of an ideal volunteer. The ideal volunteer does not necessarily even exist in reality, but still dictates what it is like to be volunteer. For example, in the eyes of younger volunteers, to some extent, longer serving volunteers play the role of an ideal volunteer.

The analysis of the ideal level goes beyond the description of every day practices. However, it is these descriptions that manifest the contradictions between practices and ideals. The ideal level can be detected through these contradictions. Furthermore, the ideal level does not make a unified entity, but consists of totally fictional ideals, realizable ideals and reality affected by perceptions rather than real observations. Hence, these conceptions are distinct from actual experiences. (Mero 1991, 39.) This kind of division to real activity and conceptions of it applies well here in order to understand more implicit aspects of volunteering. Mero utilizes the concept of cultural stereotype in integrating the fictional, realizable and imagined ideals. It provides means to analyze cultural coherence. (Mero 1991, 40.) Instead of searching for the cultural stereotype, I detect the cultural meaning of volunteering. Basically, they are the same, but cultural meaning emphasizes the actual phenomenon of volunteering, the activity conducted by volunteers (the producers of a cultural stereotype). Therefore, the analysis of cultural meaning of volunteering involves definitions of the cultural stereotype of a volunteer found in volunteers' descriptions of their own volunteering done frequently in third person.

What are then the characteristics of an ideal volunteer? If put into the world view model described previously, some of the characteristics of an ideal volunteer would be the longevity of commitment, the implicit requirement to know about developing countries and non-governmental organizations, socially modest participation (relates to hard work), overall alternative life style, and ethical involvement based on altruism. The research imperative is to detect the ways the ideal volunteer comes forth in the interview material. This is done through a further analysis of the dimensions of the world view model.

Volunteers own descriptions of the reasons why people generally volunteer make a good starting point in analyzing an ideal volunteer. Another way is to interpret volunteers' answers for the characteristics of volunteers in world shops under social dimension. By comparing these two, it should be possible to draw a picture of an ideal volunteer according to the interviewed volunteers. Comparison is embedded in the search for an ideal volunteer. Volunteers consider themselves, or some other volunteers, to be ideal. They make this clear through comparison.

The dimensional division of characteristics of an ideal volunteer is merely a way to structure the information and does not necessarily reflect the actual circumstances in the way volunteers' would have done it. The ideal identified in each dimension does not portray an

ideal to all volunteers. The ideal elements manifest moral judgments of volunteering, that is, the criteria how a true volunteer should be like.

Lifelong commitment characterizes an ideal volunteer. Some volunteers seem to have always been volunteering. Other volunteers respect them for their persistent commitment. The true and earnest volunteers pursue their interest in fair trade for good ever since they initiated it. For them, it is a matter of honor to continue volunteering even under changed circumstances, for example changing houses. They do not let down the world shop and other volunteers. In other words, they are trustworthy and an asset in shop keeping.

Political activism attached to volunteering is often grounded on profound knowledge on the complexities of development. Ideal world shop volunteers understand the interrelationship between their activities and the assistance of developing countries through fair trade. They act for the cause of fair trade believing that they can address the structural problems of world trade. Besides volunteering in the world shop, they participate in campaigning and demonstrations. Their contribution is not only practical assistance, but also ideological.

In the citation below, an ideal volunteer is expected to be hard-working and only modestly social. The excessive orientation to the group makes volunteers less effective. Even if the flexibility of volunteering is frequently stressed by volunteers it seems to be a contradictory issue. Volunteering reflects similar achievement ethic to regular work. People control each other's actions even in volunteering. The more they achieve, the more they are respected. In that way, they advance the fair trade substantially more.

I think that when jobs are less interesting that tends to motivate people for sort of a chat more. That actually frustrates me sometimes, because I do, when I'm here I do wanna feel that I've given my four-and-a-half-hours worth. I've noticed that certain ones just sort of chat and stop working. If I want to talk I want to keep working at the same time. (D5, 3.)

An ideal volunteer leads an appropriate overall way of life and makes sacrifices for the sake of humanity and environment. As came up previously, volunteers expect each other to be critical consumers. Vegetarianism is also a requirement of a proper volunteer. In the following excerpt, a volunteer notifies that there is some kind of heroism attached to critical consumption. The less a person can do with, the better. This nearly leads to a competitive attitudes. Volunteers need to prove their qualifications of a true volunteer. It is only travelling that volunteers can do in excess. It is valuable to have visited a developing country, because that gives volunteers authority in the eyes of less travelled volunteers.

It is something like in the Emmaus ideology... admiration of modesty, that you admire modesty and simplicity... But there are plenty of contradictions there as well. Many swallows like travelling and such. Some people might want to say that the swallows merely consume in a different way in a consumer society... There is probably something like that and when it is cheap or generally like that. You don't need to get luxury service and in a way, that. For some it is kind of heroic to be able to do with that kind of things. It doesn't have to be any luxury. (J1, 6.)

Altruism is mentioned by all volunteers as a characteristic of a volunteer. However, volunteers discern also other issues affecting volunteering. In most cases, volunteers

acknowledge that they volunteer both for altruistic and egotistic reasons. Even volunteers with strong political motivation, have initiated volunteering as a result of a coincidence. Therefore, appropriate circumstances play the greatest role in initiating volunteering. Furthermore, moral concern and altruism are almost ridiculed by some volunteers. The reality of volunteering is different from the ideal volunteering as the transcript reveals.

I must say that it's altruism, sometimes I say, but I sometimes think people do that as well because they don't know what to do, they feel this way, they don't know what to do with their spare time sometimes. And they feel symphathetic, of course you have to feel symphathetic to those things. We don't do very much, it's not a big deal. It is, everything is important. But I mean giving the solution to the with the little thing we do ourselves individuals. As a group it is different.

- For most of the volunteers it is just spare time that...?

- No, for a lot of them. I think people do that. Some people do that because of that this, some people are doing this because they feel like doing this, and they are doing it because they want to do it, they want to change the world and they want to do something to the people which are just not so lucky. (D1, 11.)

Most volunteers identify negative and selfish aspects of volunteers' involvement, however, tending to give them moral undertones. Volunteering is, hence, primarily expected to take place altruistically. Such selfish motives as getting fares and references for the CV, as well as seeking for respect from the wider society through bragging are disapproved. The picture of an ideal volunteer seems to remind of the ideal of an philanthropist in the 19th century.



## **9 The return to self-reflection**

Constructionist approaches require positioning of the research parties in relation to the topic. Self-reflection strengthens, hence, the hermeneutic interpretation by making the emic insider perspectives open to the readership. Therefore, being part of the process, the final product demands also attention. In this way, self-reflection makes a full circle, and returns to the original setting. In the beginning, I was a volunteer and a researcher. In the end, I am an occasional volunteer, and still, I was able to finish the research. I want to highlight a few points regarding my position in the research process. The end product is essentially based on volunteers' views included in the field material but reflects also my ideas of volunteering especially through the world view model. First, however, I draw together the main points of this investigation.

In the beginning of the study, I set a goal to investigate volunteering from an anthropological perspective. The original aim of examining the cultural meaning of volunteering through a world view model was to illuminate volunteering from an anthropological point of view. How and why did I select such model for examining volunteering? The answer lies in the nature of volunteering for world shops, which manifests local action in a global framework. Multi-sited ethnography is a useful means in emphasizing the simultaneity of local and global aspects of volunteering in world shops. Overall, multi-sited ethnography is yet another name for a contextualizing approach in anthropology. It enables a construction of volunteering with two sets of material from varying locations, and acknowledges that the local setting of individual world shops has congruence to the global context of world trade. Volunteering as a phenomenon is constructed through arguments with both local and global references equally from the Juuttiptiikki, and the Drury material. This is achieved through a holistic analysis of the material.

In this analysis, the basic premise of holism argues for a metaphor of network. The three angles of the network are the individual, collective and global level phenomena, them being, to varying degree, part of the everyday consciousness of volunteers. As stated previously, individual level refers to internal factors, collective to a combination of both internal(ized) and external factors, and global to external factors affecting people's perception of life and the world. Hence, in this research, the collective and individual world views (in Helena Helve's sense) are not clearly separated. They support equally the construction of volunteering.

In order to obey the demand for holism in analysis in a practical fashion, I created a five-dimensional world view model to illuminate individual, collective and global level influences in volunteering. The model constitutes, therefore, biographical, political, social, way of life, and ethical dimension. This dimensional world view model is structural, hence, mapping volunteers' experiences and concerns in a classificatory manner. It is a tool to view the verbal construction of volunteering.

I seek for support from Rauste-von Wright for the application of the model. She approaches world view from a pedagogical perspective as a socialization process. (Rauste-von Wright 1975, 2-3.) The main aspects of studying social orientation of world view are the attitudes towards social field and the perception of the world in general, of its problems and its future. Within each aspect, central issues are identified in terms of perception, attitude, value and intention. Therefore, according to Rauste-von Wright, perception, attitude, value, and intention are the key elements directing the examination of world view. (Rauste 1973, 8, 18-19.) In this research, I attempt to distinguish perception, attitude, value, and intention in relation to volunteering, which process should also manifest more general social orientation. Hence, I use volunteers' perspectives on biographical, political, social, way of life, and ethical questions as elements in constructing volunteering. These five facets are constituents of a world view model. I do not seek for a single world view of volunteers in a universalistic sense, but rather use the world view model to illustrate the variety of perceptions on volunteering.

How can this world view model be applied in the analysis of the material? I designed a bipolar continuum of key issues under each dimension to answer to this challenge. The bipolar continuums were established with regard to the notion of common sense and analytical knowledge. Similar polarization helps to identify the opposite ends of the continuums in volunteers' perspectives. Volunteer's responses are interpreted through some key questions in the interviews as well as through some supplementary questions. Therefore, I collect volunteers' views to support central issues in each end of the respective bipolar continuums. This model encloses volunteering, essentially, by reviewing the opposite ends of each dimension in volunteers' speech.

The cultural meaning of volunteering arises in the review process of volunteers' perceptions within the bipolar continuums. In biographical dimension, the degree of consistency of choices towards volunteering is investigated. In political dimension, it is the expressed knowledge base on developmental issues. In social dimension, the stress on the likemindedness of world shop volunteers to designates the appreciation of social dimension. The way of life dimension links volunteering with other similar interests a volunteer may pursue in free time. Finally, profound responses on questions of personal moral are assumed to emphasize the ethical dimension of the world view model.

Biographical aspects of volunteering include the effect of past events on present volunteering as well as the impact of parents and school on a person. They highlight the effect a personal history may have on volunteering. In a sense, the bipolar continuum tracks the length of personal history ending up in volunteering in a world shop. Regarding the continuity of decisions towards volunteering in a world shop, there are several matters that result in such a continuity. There is, first, the family background, second, intentionality of volunteering, and lastly, longevity of commitment. As opposed to a coherence of decisions made over time, there are volunteers whose volunteering is not in any apparent connection to distant past events, but only to the present circumstances. The factors identified leading towards the sporadic end of the continuum contain unemployment, contacts to people,

improving language skills, something to do, influence of friends, and little impact of the family.

The bipolar continuum of the political dimension juxtaposes profound understanding with common sense knowledge of developmental issues and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in development. The aim is at mapping volunteers' understanding of the politics of their action in terms of the role they may play in contributing to the fair trade as well as the role such an activity may play in the field of development. To be knowledgeable on development, and on the role of voluntary organizations designates, first, a conscious political decision to volunteer, second, understanding of the complex nature of development, and last, involvement in more responsible tasks in a world shop. Reversedly, the common sense knowledge implies that the decision to volunteer was not necessarily political. Volunteers with such views tend to give relatively straightforward replies concerning development. They have only little interest in getting more involved in campaigns, or more responsible tasks at the shop. Finally, they are commonly not interested in international news.

The social dimension of volunteering derives from volunteers' perceptions of the world shop as social scene. The social dimension defines their level of commitment to other volunteers as well as, overall, characteristics of volunteers at that particular shop. Involvement in social life with the volunteers in world shops is approached mainly with help of two interrelated concepts: that of group identification and of group boundaries (to non-volunteers). Group identification deals with the feeling of togetherness, or inner cohesion of the volunteer pool. Group boundaries imply that volunteers perceive themselves to be somehow distinct from the rest of the people. In general, volunteers do not seem to recognize world shop volunteers to make a special group of people. This may reveal that the group is rather loosely formed. However, social aspects of volunteering rank high in most volunteers' experiences. For a minority of volunteers, they do not play any significant role as such.

The main concern with the way of life dimension is to map certain everyday activities relating to volunteering, or even complementing it. I concentrate on the personal features of the way of life, which do not necessarily manifest themselves in public appearance, but rather domestically. The complementary nature of everyday activities with volunteering in a world shop is the key to the bipolar continuum of the way of life dimension. The factors identified here include international orientation, environmental awareness, consumerism, and pacifism. In one regard, volunteers pursue these ideals; on the other, there are volunteers with little complementary activities.

The ethical thinking of volunteers is summed up in some central factors retrieved from the interviews. Long term personal philosophy based on either religion or other spiritual systems of thought supposedly backs up volunteers' participation in world shop activities. Altruism is viewed in light of having its roots in personal philosophy. Another issues taken up here is the goodness of man. Finally, possible guilt over heritage of colonialism is mapped in order to illuminate the long term historical sensitivity to global matters. Volunteers' responses on ethical matters tell both of ethical commitment as well as of little ethical concern. These make the two ends of the bipolar continuum in ethical dimension. Whereares the ethically

concerned volunteers ground the choice to volunteer ethically (along with other reasons), volunteers with little ethical concern do not link their personal philosophy with volunteering. The self- and other-regarding factors intermingle in volunteering. Hence, volunteers are expected to get also something to themselves, not only to sacrifice themselves. It proves hard to keep the self-regarding aspects separate from the other-regarding aspects: even volunteers stress the interrelatedness.

The analysis of volunteering aims to go further by addressing the questions of the transformation of volunteering. Transformation of volunteering explains the changes volunteers go through during their volunteer career. Volunteering is a process, not a static phenomenon. Volunteers constantly reassess their activities and decide whether they want to continue volunteering, and to what extent. Volunteering is grounded on freedom of choice, and is constantly being reassessed by volunteers. For some volunteers, it is a lifelong commitment, but for most, only a temporary occupation. Political involvement tends to enforce long engagements. Chronologically, the points of potential change are the intention to volunteer, the decision to volunteer, the initial phase as a volunteer, the routinized phase of volunteering, and finally, the continuity of commitment.

This study hints that initiating volunteering is not a predetermined act, but something people drift to do. However, when asked for reasons for volunteering, people look for causal reason and make it appear intentional. For example, the questionnaire results imply, that the most commonly mentioned cause among other reasons to initiate volunteering seems to be the good cause. Intriguingly, the interviews prove otherwise; the good cause is not necessarily the primary reason even if it influences on the background. Routine volunteering involves volunteers' readiness to take responsibilities in a world shop. This includes either taking initiative as well as, specifically, getting involved in organizational tasks. Overall, volunteers prefer the basic and slightly more responsible tasks to greater involvement in the organization. After working for some time, however, it can be frustrating to commit the same tasks repeatedly. The basic tasks are often rather monotonous, especially, if there are not other volunteers to accompany; hence, to compensate the tiresome routines with people.

When identifying positive aspects of volunteering, some volunteers regard it as just generally rewarding. Most volunteers name specific events, or issues making volunteering worthwhile. Volunteers appreciate the company of other like-minded volunteers and the atmosphere. Satisfaction with volunteering is often attached to meeting people and making friends. The disadvantages of volunteering include feeling frustration, and becoming less motivated for personal, organizational, or social reasons. The identified disadvantages are over-commitment, time constraint, expenses, and the nature of voluntary activity. However, according to the questionnaire results only about a fourth of volunteers feel frustration.

Apart from construing cultural meaning of volunteering, I also analyze some symbolic aspects of volunteering. The analysis of the symbolic aspects of volunteering attempts to highlight some long-standing assumptions about volunteering in world shops. The interpretation of an ideal volunteer relies on my comprehension of the topic. The concept of folk ideas applies here for detecting ideal volunteering. In one regard, volunteers are

assumed to represent an active citizen in a society, and in other, they are expected to be volunteers for altruistic reasons. Overall, the symbolic interpretation manifests that the reality of volunteering differs from ideal volunteering. It is not only an altruistic activity but a circumstantial coincidence. Volunteers seldom become volunteers with clear intentions.

Considering the biographical aspects, lifelong commitment characterizes an ideal volunteer. Some volunteers seem to have always been volunteering. For true volunteers, it is a matter of honor to continue volunteering even under changed circumstances. Political activism attached to volunteering is often grounded on profound knowledge on the complexities of development (political dimension). Ideal world shop volunteers understand the global relations between their activities and the assistance of developing countries through fair trade. An ideal volunteer is expected to be hard-working, and only modestly social (social dimension). Even if the flexibility of volunteering is frequently stressed by volunteers, it seems to be a contradictory issue. Volunteering reflects similar achievement ethic to regular work. An ideal volunteer leads an appropriate overall way of life and makes sacrifices for the sake of humanity and environment (way of life dimension). Volunteers expect each other to be critical consumers. Vegetarianism is also a requirement of a proper volunteer. Traveling is respected: volunteers who have traveled in developing countries seem to gain authority in the eyes of less-traveled volunteers. Altruism is mentioned by all volunteers as a characteristic of a volunteer. However, appropriate circumstances seem to play the greatest role in volunteering. The reality of volunteering is different from the ideal volunteering.

How does the selected methodology succeed in reviewing volunteering as a cultural phenomenon, and particularly, with respect to the ideals of anthropological research I outlined in the beginning? As stated previously, I take a pragmatic stance towards cultural relativism in research. I argue for openness in explicating the means of investigation as well as in positioning of the researcher throughout the investigation process. Consequently, I have managed to fulfill the requirement of transparency regarding the means of research. The choice of having a world view model as a holistic approach to investigate volunteering is explained thoroughly. The local and global aspects can be incorporated in such analysis. As a consequence, the process of explicating the steps towards an analysis seems extensive and lengthy in relation to the actual analysis.

The role of the researcher, however, is not put forward as clearly throughout the research process. I assess the role relationships between the volunteers and myself in the beginning, but I fail to clarify explicitly how the authority of researcher is construed in later phases of research. If reflected against the notion how authority has traditionally been established in anthropological representations, it seems that I repeat this mode, namely, externalization of the research topic as the other, an object, and timeless existence (Fabian). First, I apply a world view model to make the chaotic other organized. The presumption argues that volunteering needs to be organized in a conceptual manner to make in comprehensible. I do not contemplate on other potential ways of making sense of volunteering apart from the world view model. Second, I claim that the object of research, that is, volunteers constructing volunteering, is given a voice. Despite having the world view model enhanced with bipolar continuums as a structural tool in the background, it is volunteers who

eventually signify various aspects of volunteering. They construe the meaning of volunteering with help of the researcher. Third, I seem to avoid, to some extent, the fallacy of treating the researched topic as a timeless phenomenon without historical past. In addition to providing a brief history of world shops, I also treat volunteering as a process. This is acknowledged, particularly, by incorporating the biographical dimension, and transformation of volunteering in the analysis.

The rationale to encompass self-reflection in this research lies mainly in three issues. First, being a volunteer myself, I have had to consider the implications this may have on the study, and on other volunteers. Therefore, I have incorporated sections contemplating various roles of the research parties (interaction analysis), and myself as a volunteer. Second, the world view model was originally grounded on my own ideas about various aspects of volunteering in world shops. Personal proximity to the topic required special attention. For this reason, I review the history of world view studies, and their relevance to this work, hence, aiming to contextualize the model. This proved a strenuous task due to the extend of world view studies in various disciplines. Eventually, I incorporated some ideas from previous works on world view, particularly, by Alan Dundes and Marja-Liisa Rauste-von Wright.

Third, the rudimentary question of what motivates a researcher to study a particular topic needs to be issued. It appears that in this case, it is the familiarity with the field. I wondered if it was purely for altruistic reasons people volunteer. Was I doing it altruistically? How do people conceive volunteering? Apart from being selfishly motivated to grasp volunteering, I wanted to contribute practically to the world shops through this study. It has, unfortunately, become clearer and clearer, that this work belongs to the academia. The practical relevance to the world shops seems minuscule. In other words, I may have touched upon relevant issues in volunteering theoretically; however, being unable to translate them into practical terms.

Admitting the theoretical nature of the study of the cultural meaning of volunteering, it is essential to contemplate on how this investigation relates to the general body of anthropology. First, as mentioned earlier, the world view model plays merely a role of third culture in the communication process between volunteers, and the academia. It is a structural tool, and as such non-existent in reality. This anti-essentialist stance makes one distinction. Second, while volunteers describe their views on volunteering, they simultaneously create a way to speak about volunteering. This constitutes a construction of volunteering. Consequently, this kind of approach belongs to the vein of constructionist research in the social sciences, and humanities. Finally, what makes volunteering cultural is the process of signification volunteers create as they provide their views. Culture is primarily about meanings given to volunteering. These meanings are demonstrated through a bipolar setting of volunteers' views. As a result, there is a multitude of meanings organized in bipolar continuums. They highlight the variety of simultaneous influences on volunteering over time. The cultural meaning of volunteering arises in the multiple perspectives.

The research process has faced a number of problems in many rudimentary issues of anthropology. The initial confusion of the concept world view continued to the end. I

pondered around structuralism, functionalism, constructionism, and symbolism. What is my position towards these? Is world view an existing mental structure, a functional set of arguments, a constructionist process of producing meaning or my interpretation of the signification process? The complexity of volunteering and the fundamental difference of essentialist and anti-essentialist perspectives hindered the progress frequently. In the end, I settled the problem by taking an anti-essentialist view: the meaning of volunteering arises in the research process of organizing volunteers' views in a world view model. Overall, the numerous changes in my position may even show in the final study.

The rationale of this paper is to examine cultural meaning of volunteering. The world view model raises significant issues in volunteering addressed by volunteers. However, it fails to be concise. The picture it provides of volunteering is rather obscure; the complexity of the model makes it hard to follow. The basic idea still conveys that there is no truth to be found about volunteering in world shops. There are only varying perspectives. I believe, that this research provides enhanced understanding of volunteering from a holistic perspective. It lets volunteers to express their views, even if categorized in bipolar continuums. The bipolar model displays a wide range of perspectives on volunteering under the world view model. The model belongs to the academia; the perspectives create the construction of volunteering.

If I identify further implications of this research, it could shed light on the nature of voluntary activities in society. By presenting a variety of volunteer perspectives it may help in focusing both volunteer recruitment as well as activities. Volunteers are not all alike. As a research approach, this investigation is still in a process. The holistic approach could not cover profoundly any particular phenomena attached to volunteering. Further research could be conducted, for example, on what so called critical consumerism is, or on how the setting of world shops in towns or cities affects volunteers. The ideas presented in this research are taking shape. We have caught an anthropological glimpse of volunteering.

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## III RECORDINGS

- Abantu, Sôna. Shop manager of the Drury. Oct 25 1994.
- The Juuttiputiikki Monday meeting 16 Jan 1995.
- The Drury campaign group meeting 4 July 1994.

## IV MAPS AND LEAFLETS

- Covent Garden Cityscape. Footprints.
- Map of Oulu. <http://www.ouka.fi/kartat/keskus3.gif>.
- Network of European World Shops (NEWS!) -leaflet
- Volunteer for a fairer world. Oxfam leaflet for recruiting volunteers. Order code 120405 Nov 1993.

## V INTERVIEWS

Letter D in the code of a volunteer indicates that she or he is from the Drury, and letter J indicates that the volunteer is from the Juuttiputiikki. \* = Age bracket is defined in the same way as in the questionnaires: 1 = under 16 years old, 2 = 16-25 years old, 3 = 25-35 years old, 4 = 35-55 years old, 5 = 55-65 years old, 6 = 60+ years old. \*\* f = female, m = male. \*\*\* interviews took place in January-April 1995 in the Juuttiputiikki and in June-October 1994 in the Drury.

### The Juuttiputiikki

volunteer code	age *	sex	occupation (page in field notes)	date(s) of interview
J1	3	f	student in medicine	4 Jan 1995
J2	3	f	graduate in sociology, shop manager	19 Jan 1995
J3	3	f	student in biology, teacher (108)	12 Jan 1995, 20 Apr 1995
J4	2	f	student in environmental education	7 Jan 1995
J5	2	f	unemployed (108)	16 Jan 1995
J6	4	m	technician in chemistry	21 Jan 1995
J7	4	f	teacher	20 Jan 1995

### The Drury

volunteer code	age *	sex	occupation (page in field notes)	date(s) of interview
D1	3	f	journalist	19 & 29 July 1994
D2	3	m	post-graduate in economics (47)	1 July & 8 Aug 1994
D3	5	f	house wife, jack of all trades (57)	14 July & 14 Sept 1994
D4	3	m	economist (57)	13 July & 3 Aug 1994
D5	2	f	student in art history (57)	4 July & 3 Aug 1994
D6	2	m	college graduate in arts	11 July 1994
D7	3	m	unemployed, part time history teacher (48)	1 July 1994
D8	2	f	dancer	14 & 27 July 1994

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1a The questionnaire for volunteers in the Juuttiputiikki.

#### KYSELY KEHITYSMAAKAUPAN VAPAAEHTOISILLE

Tämä kysely kuuluu kulttuuriantropologian pro gradu -työhön Jyväskylän yliopiston etnologian laitoksella. Aiheenani on vapaaehtoisten maailmankuva kehitysmaaliikkeessä. Juuttiputiikin lisäksi olen hankkinut aineistoa Lontoon keskustan yhdeltä kehitysmaakaupalta. Koottua aineistoa käytetään vain tähän tutkimukseen. Vastauksissasi voit joko rastittaa itsellesi sopivan/-vat vaihtoehdot tai kirjoittaa vastauksesi sitä varten varatuille riveille. Voit jättää vastauksesi Juuttiputiikkiin tai lähettää suoraan minulle seuraavaan osoitteeseen: Mari Poikolainen, Polttolinja 19 D 26, 40520 JYVÄSKYLÄ, p. 049-774 342, makapo@tukki.jyu.fi.

Annan mielelläni lisätietoja. Kiitos suuri vaivannäöstäsi etukäteen!

1. SUKUPUOLI  nainen  mies
2. IKÄ  alle 16 vuotta.  35-55 vuotta  
 16-25 vuotta.  55-65 vuotta  
 25-35 vuotta.  yli 65 vuotta
3. SIVILISÄÄTY  yksinäinen/sinkku  eronnut  
 avioliitossa  muu  
 avoliitossa
4. KOULUTUSTAUSTA  peruskoulu  
 lukio  
 opistoaste  
 yksityinen koulu  
 korkeakoulu  
 muu, mikä? \_\_\_\_\_
5. TYÖLLISYYS  töissä  opiskelija  
 itsetyöllistetty  eläkeläinen  
 työtön
6. AMMATTI \_\_\_\_\_
7. KOTIPAIKKA  Oulusta.  
 muualta, jos kyllä niin oletko  
 maaseudulta?  
 kaupungista?  
 muusta maasta kuin Suomesta, mistä? \_\_\_\_\_
8. MILLOIN MUUTIT OULUUN? (Oulusta kotoisin olevat eivät vastaa.)  
 alle vuosi sitten.  
 1-5 vuotta sitten.  
 5-10 vuotta sitten.  
 yli 10 vuotta sitten.

## 9. MILLOIN RYHDYIT JUUTTIPUTIIKIN VAPAAEHTOISEKSI?

- alle kuusi kuukautta sitten.  
 6-12 kk sitten.  
 1-5 vuotta sitten.  
 yli 5 vuotta sitten, kuinka monta? \_\_\_\_\_

## 10. MIKSI RYHDYIT JUURI JUUTTIPUTIIKIN VAPAAEHTOISEKSI?

- tunsit jonkun, joka oli Juuttiputiikin vapaaehtoisena  
 sosiaalisista syistä (ihmisiä tavataksesi)  
 terveys syistä  
 tarvitsit täytettä vapaa ajalllesi  
 sattumalta  
 halusit oppia uusia asioita  
 halusit työskennellä hyvän asian puolesta  
 olet ollut vapaaehtoisena samantapaisissa järjestöissä aiemminkin  
 olit ollut Juuttiputiikin asiakas  
 muu(t) syy(t), mi(t)kä? \_\_\_\_\_

## 11. MILLAISENA VAPAAEHTOISENA PIDÄT ITSEÄSI?

- aktiivisena.  
 myötäilijänä.  
 en kommentoi.

## 12. TOIMITKO VAPAAEHTOISENA MUISSA JÄRJESTÖISSÄ?

- kyllä, missä järjestöissä? \_\_\_\_\_  
 en.

## 13. OLETKO JOSKUS AJATELLUT LOPETTAVASI VAPAAEHTOISTYÖN?

- kyllä, miksi? \_\_\_\_\_  
 en.

## 14. KUVAILE, MITÄ MYÖNTEISTÄ JA MITÄ KIELTEISTÄ LÖYDÄT VAPAAEHTOISUUDESTA?

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## 15. ONKO MITÄÄN EDELLÄ TULLEEN LISÄKSI, MITÄ HALUAISIT KERTOA VAPAAEHTOISUUDESTASI?

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## 16. MIELIPITEESI TÄSTÄ KYSELYSTÄ?

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KIITOS SUURI VAIVANÄÖSTÄSI!

## Appendix 1b The questionnaire for volunteers in the Drury

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VOLUNTEERS AT OXFAM

The aim of this questionnaire is to find out reasons for why people volunteer. What makes them to do that? This questionnaire is field work for a research project on volunteers in non-governmental organisations. The final research will examine and compare motivations and views of the world of the volunteers at Oxfam in Great Britain and at Swallows in Finland, that is equivalent to Oxfam. The thesis will be done for the Department of Literature and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Oulu in Finland. All the information will be confidential and will be used only for research purposes.

You can either tick the suitable answer(s) and/or write your answer on the lines given. Please, do not hesitate to use the back side of the paper for extra space or an extra sheet, if you feel the need for it.

- 1 SEX  female  male
- 2 AGE  under 16  35 - 55  
 16 - 25  55 - 65  
 25 - 35  65 + years ago
- 3 MARITAL STATUS  single  divorced  
 married  other  
 common law
- 4 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND  
 comprehensive school  
 grammar school  
 public/private school (i.e. fee paying )  
 higher education (university, polytechnics or other)  
 other kind of education, what? \_\_\_\_\_
- 5 OCCUPATIONAL STATUS  
 employed  student  
 self-employed  pensioner  
 unemployed
- 6 OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_
- 7 PLACE OF ORIGIN Please, answer both A and B.  
A  Great Britain  
 other country, what? \_\_\_\_\_  
B  countryside, village  
 city
- 8 WHEN DID YOU MOVE TO LONDON? (You need not answer, if you are a native Londoner.)  
 less than a year ago  
 1 - 5 years ago  
 5 - 10 years ago  
 10 + years ago



9 WHEN DID YOU JOIN OXFAM AS A VOLUNTEER?

- 0 - 6 months ago  
 6 - 12 months ago  
 1 - 5 years ago  
 5 + years ago. How many? \_\_\_\_\_

10 WHY DID/DO YOU VOLUNTEER FOR OXFAM? Please, tick all the alternatives that matter/ed and/or tell about your motivation using your own words.

- you knew somebody already volunteering with Oxfam  
 for social reasons  
 for health reasons  
 you needed to use your free time  
 by chance  
 you wanted to learn new things  
 you wanted to work for a good cause  
 you had volunteered for similar organisations before  
 you had been a customer at Oxfam  
 other reason(s), what? \_\_\_\_\_

11 AS A VOLUNTEER DO YOU SEE YOURSELF AS

- more active or  
 more passive?  
 No comment.

12 DO YOU VOLUNTEER FOR OTHER ORGANISATIONS?

- yes, for which? \_\_\_\_\_  
 no

13 DO YOU SOMETIMES THINK YOU HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF VOLUNTEERING?

- yes, why? \_\_\_\_\_  
 no

14 DESCRIBE, WHAT YOU FIND POSITIVE AND WHAT NEGATIVE IN VOLUNTEERING?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

15 IS THERE ANYTHING IN PARTICULAR YOU WOULD LIKE TO BRING UP ABOUT BEING A VOLUNTEER?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

16 COULD YOU, PLEASE, GIVE YOUR OPINION OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

*WOULD YOU LIKE TO GIVE AN INTERVIEW ON THE TOPIC? I would very much appreciate your contribution. If yes, please, give here your name and address and/or telephone number?*

*For further details, contact Mari Poikolainen, 081-761 5768.*

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH!**

## Appendix 2 The structure of the interview.

### I Presentation

Who are we?

Names, age, place of birth, occupational status, and educational background.

### II The role of the interviewee in field work

Policy of confidentiality.

Subject and the aims of the research project.

Outline of the interview.

### III Decision to volunteer

1. Could you describe shortly the circumstances under which you made up your mind to volunteer for Oxfam?
2. When did it happen?
3. Where did you find out about Oxfam ?
4. Was there something to support the decision earlier?
5. Did you know anything of it before? Why (only) now to volunteer?

### IV Continuity

1. Has it been a right thing to do to volunteer?
2. Is there something in particular that keeps you coming here every week?
3. How often do you come to the shop?
4. Have you changed your opinion on volunteering or/and of your role as a volunteer over the time spent here? In which ways?
5. Have you so far had any thoughts of getting fed up with Oxfam? Reasons?

### V Background

#### *Family*

1. Parents occupation and education, "class status"
2. What do/did your parents do for living?
3. What kind of schools did they go to?
4. What class would you define them to belong?
5. What do they say themselves of their class status?
6. What about your grandparents?
7. Do you know anything about their livelihood, schools etc.?
8. Did/Do you meet them?
9. Do you think your parents have come up in class hierarchy compared to their parents?
10. Do you come/get along with your parents?
11. What did they think of your volunteering?
12. What kind of impact do you think your parents have had on your way of life and e.g. deciding to volunteer?
13. Are/Were you close to them?

#### *Childhood*

1. Is there something in your background/childhood that has stuck into your memory for good? Something that you think has had an effect on your life later?
2. In what kind of area did you grow up? Do you remember liking it? Did you move often?
3. Where did you spend your holidays?
4. What kind of hobbies did you have? Favourite one?
5. Any other special interests? Scouts?

6. Did you ever have any idols in your childhood? Could you tell any reasons for why them/he/she?
7. Did you ever have pen pals abroad?
8. How and when did you first come into realization that there are other countries existing outside your own? Can you remember? Which?
9. Did you have any friends from other countries?

#### *School*

1. At what age did you start school?
2. How did you like it all the way through?
3. What kind of schools did you go to? (policies, culturally?)
4. Which subjects did you take at A-levels? Why?
5. Which did you like most? Did not?
6. In your own terms how did you do at school? How about "officially"?
7. Did you get along well with your schoolmates? Why?
8. What things do you think had a greatest impact on you at school? (social life, subjects, teachers...?)
9. Same things about university or other kind of further education?
10. Was there something that contributed for volunteering?
11. What did you study? How did you like it?
12. Have you been able to work on your own field?

#### *Politics*

1. Do you remember your parents to discuss politics/ belong to any party/being active in politics? How? What?
2. Would you regard them as being socially conscious?
3. Which party ideologically would you say them to belong to?
4. Have you learnt anything from them? Something that has had an effect on your life later on?

#### *Religion*

1. Were your parents religious? Which church?
2. Did you go to Sunday School?
3. Confirmation?
4. How did you get to know about other religions?
5. Did religion play any important role in your childhood?
6. Do you think there is still something in your thinking that derives from your background?
7. How did you grow up religiously? Did you ever rebel against it?
8. Did your friends also belong to the same church?
9. Did you have religious education at school?

#### *Work*

1. What kind of work have you had over the years?
2. Which ones did/do you like most/least?
3. Do you like working?
4. What would be your dreamjob?
5. What do you do for living now?
6. Would you leave Oxfam, if you get a paid job?
7. Would you like to have a 9-5 job? Why?
8. If you were/now that you are unemployed would/do you feel somehow ashamed of that (living on society's support)?
9. Would you be ready to share your job with someone else to help to tackle the unemployment? Why?

#### *Own family*

1. When did you get married?
2. What did/do your husband do for living?
3. Where do/did you live?

4. Do you have children?
5. Has your family supported your decision to volunteer?
6. Does anybody else in your family volunteer?
7. Do you come together a lot?

## **VI World view dimensions**

### *Social dimension*

1. Do you feel you can relate to the other volunteers? In which ways?
2. Have you made friends?
3. Do you think there is some sort of feeling of togetherness amongst the volunteers? How can you see it?
4. Have you recognized any subgroups developing amongst them? Do you belong to any?
5. How do you think the foreign volunteers affect the social life of the shop?
6. Do you think it is burdensome with all the new faces around all the time (high turnover)?
7. Would you prefer a more permanent commitment from the volunteers?
8. Do you feel you can be yourself with other volunteers?
9. Are there any rules/norms (unspoken/open) that control the volunteers? E.g. in the way they behave/dress? Have you come across any yourself?
10. How strong commitment do you have to volunteers? Would you, say, go out/ do something with them on your free time?
11. Do you think the volunteers are anyhow a special group of people? Is there something they have in common, that makes them different from other people (altruism, social consciousness, political commitment, guilt, outlooks, behaviour...)?
12. What do you think you have in common with volunteers in general?
13. Can you name any common characteristics?

### *Political dimension*

1. Was it a conscious political decision to join Oxfam? In which ways?
2. Are you a member in any political party? Would you like to be?
3. Which party do you feel you are closest to ideologically?
4. How would you define yourself ideologically?
5. Have you volunteered for other charities/organizations? Which ones? Why?
6. How do you see your own role as a volunteer as for in contributing/ bringing about change/development in the world?
7. How do you see Oxfam's role as a whole in developmental issues? Can it bring about change?
8. Are there any particular policies of Oxfam that appeal to you in particular? Can you name any projects/campaigns?
9. Have you read any books about Oxfam? If so which?
10. What kind of role do you think voluntary organizations like Oxfam/grass-roots organizations (NGOs) play in bringing about development if compared to national development agencies/official aid sector?
11. What/How do you think/see will happen to voluntary organizations in the future/ long run?
12. Do you keep up with international news from the Third World regularly?
13. Has there recently been any something that has caught your attention in particular?
14. How do you like the news/reports from the Third World?
15. Have you read anything/something about the Third World even before joining Oxfam? Have you been aware of the Third World problems?
16. Have you sometimes tried to find solutions/remedies for the prevailing situation in the Third World? What do you think is the most urgent problem to be solved or where to start first? (dept, environment, infrastructure, immigration, wars, international division of labour...)
17. If you had the power, what would you do first?
18. How do you think the North-South relations should be arranged?

19. Have you done any campaigning for any of Oxfam campaigns/projects (Rwanda)?
20. Have you attended any campaigns/events?
21. Have you done attended any training by Oxfam?
22. Are you worried about the widening gap between the industrialized and the Third World?

#### *Way of life*

1. Do you have any special interests/hobbies?
  2. How do you spend your free time?
  3. Do you like reading/music/arts)
- Consumerism and environmentalism:*
4. Do you own a car/ a bike?
  5. Do you use public transport?
  6. Which means of transportation would you choose for your trip from London to Moskow? Why?
  7. Do you recycle your waste/the contents of your bin?
  8. Do you buy second-hand? Did you buy before joining Oxfam?
  9. Do you try to avoid buying products of some multinationals?
  10. How about "Body Shop" kind of "not tested on animals" products?
  11. Do you consciously avoid "notorious" products and companies?
  12. How do you see the future of the Earth will look like?

#### *Vegetarianism:*

13. Are you a vegetarian? On which grounds? (ethical, health...)
14. Could you imagine yourself living out on the country/ in a small community or even a commune?
15. Do you know someone who has "escaped to the country"?
16. Do you go to the country sometimes e.g. on your holidays or otherwise?
17. How do you see the relations between the nature and the humans? How is it now and how should it be like?

#### *Internationalism:*

18. Do you like travelling?
19. Have you been to other countries?
20. Have you been to any developing country?
21. Do you speak other languages apart your own? Which?
22. Do you know anybody abroad, who you keep in touch with?
23. Would you define yourself as being a pacifist? On which grounds?

#### *Ethical dimension*

1. What is your personal philosophy like? Do you have any?
2. Do you belong to any church/believe in any philosophy? Which?
3. Are there any principals you lead your life along with?
4. Do you think you are volunteering altruistically/egoistically? On which grounds?
5. Do you ever feel guilty of being privileged in relation to the people in the Third World? Do you think you are privileged? Why?
6. Do you ever feel responsibility for what has happened in the past with colonialisation?
7. What does good and bad mean to you? DO you think man is ultimately bad/good in his/her nature?
8. Do you believe in any kind of "creator"/God/primus motor?
9. Do you think there is life after death? What is it like? What is it?
10. Do you believe in the circle of life or rather in the line of life?
11. Concept of time: what do you think time means/is like to you?

#### **VII Comments**

1. The highlights of your volunteering?
2. Worst frustrations with it?

3. Is there something you would like to add to what we discussed previously?
4. What do you think of this interview? Was it too long and boring or suitable? (BE HONEST!)
5. Do you think I have forgotten something essential from the interview? How could it be better?
6. Do you find it hard/inconvenient to talk about these things with me who is also a volunteer? (Do you regard me as another volunteer?)
7. Would you be interested in discussing about volunteering in a group with other volunteers? ( Concept of volunteering, what does it mean to each of us?)
8. What do you think are the reasons for why people volunteer in general?

### Appendix 3 Central questions concerning volunteering.

Dimension	Total	Key questions
<b>Biographical</b> - decision - continuity - family - childhood - school - politics - religion - work - own family	69	1. Could you describe shortly the circumstances under which you decided to volunteer for Oxfam/Juuttiputiikki? When? Why now? 2. Have you changed your opinion on volunteering and/or your role as a volunteer over time spent here? In which ways? 3. What kind of impact do you think your parents have had on your way of life and e.g. your deciding to volunteer? 4. How and when did you become aware of the existence of other countries? 5. What do you think has had the greatest impact on you at school/at the university? 6. Have your parents' political inspirations influenced your thinking? 7. Did religion play any important role in your childhood/past? 8. What would be your dreamjob? 9. Does your (married) family support your decision to volunteer?
<b>Political</b>	23	1. Was it a conscious political decision to join Oxfam/ Juuttiputiikki? In which ways? 2. How would you define yourself ideologically? 3. Have you volunteered for other charities/organizations? 4. How do you see your own role as a volunteer as for in bringing about change/development in the world? 5. Are there any particular policies of Oxfam that appeal to you particularly? 6. What do you think will happen to the voluntary organizations in the future? 7. Do you keep up with international news from the Third World regularly? 8. Have you tried to find solutions to the global problems? If you had the power what would you do first? 9. What do you actually do at the shop? Campaigns? Training?
<b>Social</b>	12	1. Do you feel you can relate to the other volunteers? 2. Do you think there is some sort of feeling of togetherness among the volunteers? 3. Have you recognized any subgroups developing among volunteers? 4. Would you prefer a more permanent commitment from the volunteers? 5. Do you think volunteers are anyhow a special group of people? Is there something they have in common that makes them different from other people? Any common characteristics? 6. What do you think you have in common with volunteers in general?
<b>Way of life</b> consumerism vegetarianism internationalism	23	1. Do you have any special interests? 2. Do you own a car/a bike? 3. Do you recycle and buy second-hand? 4. Do you consciously avoid "notorious" products and companies? 5. Are you a vegetarian? On which grounds? 6. How do you see the relations between the nature and the humans? 7. Do you speak other languages? 8. Have you been to other (or any developing) countries? 9. Would you define yourself as a pacifist?
<b>Ethical</b>	11	1. Do you belong to any church/believe in any philosophy? 2. Are there any specific principals that you lead your life along with? 3. Do you think you are volunteering altruistically/egoistically? 4. Do you think you are privileged in relation to the people in the Third World? 5. Do you ever feel responsibility for what happened in the past with the colonialization? 6. Do you think man is ultimately bad or good in his nature?
<b>Comments</b>	10	1. Highlights and worst moments of your volunteering? 2. What do you think are the reasons for why people volunteer?
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>41</b>