Eli Marie Farstad Johnsen

Volunteerism - An act of good will or a heritage of colonial power structures?

A qualitative study of sport volunteers at East Africa cup, their motivation and the applicability of 'Western theory'

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Abstract

East Africa cup is a youth sports tournament in Tanzania that gathers youth from several East African countries. The tournament is depending on volunteers to fill different positions. These volunteers are youth from different countries who have an engagement throughout the year in their local community. And through this engagement they get the opportunity to travel to Moshi, Tanzania to participate in the tournament. This is a qualitative study based on a fieldwork in Tanzania and Kenya. It makes use of semi-structured interviews and observation as methods. 16 volunteers were interviewed, and the observations took place during East Africa cup 2012.

The study has two points of departure. First, I have looked at the motivation for engagement and what makes these young people spend a high amount of time in their organisations. What factors that motivate the volunteers at East Africa cup and how these volunteers can be linked to Hustinx ad Lammertyn's (2003) framework on collective and reflexive volunteerism. The data indicate that the volunteers were motivated by three main factors: network building, capacity building and intrinsic motives. Secondly, the focus was on the use of Western developed literature in an East African or Tanzanian setting. Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework on volunteerism in the late modern society was used as a starting point for a discussion were both modernity theory and postcolonial perspectives where used. The study indicates that some volunteers experience resistance from their family and friends regarding their choice to volunteer. This point, together with the difficulty recruiting and retaining volunteers, can indicate that there is little understanding for the volunteer phenomenon. In this light I discuss how the volunteer sport model is implemented at EAC. Key concepts in this connection are volunteerism, postcolonialism and culture.

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Foreword

It is with gratitude and pride I write this foreword. I made it! I finished my master thesis. It has been a long, exiting, frustrating and educating process. Now I am at the finish line and have overcome the challenges and the frustrating periods. I can hand in a product that is mine, and that I am proud of. Even though I at times have felt alone in this process, there are several people that have helped me along the way and that must be mentioned.

First of all, I want to thank all the wonderful people I met during my fieldwork who wanted to talk to me, give me information and who openheartedly shared their experiences and knowledge. Thank you for including me in your activities and made me feel at home. Without you there would never have been a project. Asanteni sana.

Secondly, I need to thank the East Africa Cup organisers. The staff in CHRISC, both in Norway and East Africa and NPA Norway has helped me in all phases of the project from the idea up until the finish.

Thirdly, I want to recognise the work that my supervisors have done. They have answered all my stupid questions, given me guidance and helped me finish on time. Thank you Eivind Skille and Hans K. Hognestad, you have helped me through this process. The financial support from the 'Sport, development and reconciliation' project (cooperation between NIF and NSSS), with project leader Anders Hasselgård, made this project a reality.

Last, but not least I want to thank my fellow students for important and motivational academic (and non-academic) discussions, long lunches and guidance when it has been sorely needed. Also my family and friends have been important, with comforting words and unconditional support when the frustration has been hard to bear.

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Eli Marie Farstad Johnsen

1.   Introduction

This study focuses on the link between sport, development and volunteerism. This will be connected with what is believed to be globally relevant theories. The western model of sport has for decades been exported to developing countries on the basis of a two-fold argumentation. On the one hand sport is seen as a human right and on the other hand, it is seen as a useful 'ingredient' in broader development work (Coalter, 2010; Darnell & Black, 2011). Volunteerism is a part of the sports model that is used also in Africa south of Sahara. The question is if this sports model is sustainable in a context founded on other principles and premises than in the context where the model was formed.

East Africa cup (EAC), which is the event that is studied in this project, was founded in cooperation between different stakeholders and partners. Both Norwegian and local forces, the main partners today are Christian Sports Contact (CHRISC), Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA), Kristen Idrettskontakt (KRIK) and the Norwegian Peoples Aid (NPA). A further presentation of EAC will be made in chapter 1.5.3. How this composition of partners affects the use of volunteers is one of the questions that have been considered and discussed in this study.

This thesis has two points of departure. Firstly, I will look at the motivation for volunteerism among local East African volunteers at EAC. Why do youth choose to work for an organisation for free in, what we in the western hemisphere would see as, a poor society? Secondly, I want to look at theories based on the western world that are seen as global and valid in all cultures and societies. As an example, I will use Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework on volunteerism in a modernisation process and see how this will fit with the data gathered at EAC. This will lead to a discussion on the application values of these types of 'global' theories, where post-colonial theory will be applied. Hustinx, Handy and Cnaan (2012) point to Musick and Wilson (2008) and state that volunteer theories are mostly relevant to Western countries.

In the following I will briefly present my two points of departure, which also will be further elaborated in chapter 2. I will then outline the delimitations and the research

questions before I briefly describe how this study can contribute to the field. Lastly the context of the study will be drafted.

1.1 Introduction to sport and international development

Sport as a tool for international development has over the last 20-30 years gained increased attention and recognition. The United Nations (UN) recognised the potential contribution of sport through resolution 58/3 and the selection of 2005 to be the international *Year of Sport and Physical Education* (Darnell, 2012). Sport has been praised as an important contribution in many different fields of development like poverty reduction, health work, human rights, democracy development, women's rights, peace and reconciliation work etc. Sport has especially been argued to contribute in the work with reaching the Millennium Development Goals (Bendiksen & Lending, 2005; Darnell, 2012; Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group [SDP-IWG],2008; United Nations, 2003). Sport has been seen as a 'perfect fix' on development issues (Darnell & Black, 2011). Important stakeholders in the peace and development field have hailed the potential sport have to influence on development. To quote Nelson Mandela:

> Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire, it has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope, where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination (Mandela, 25 May 2000; section 1).

Also the UN shows a great belief in sport as a tool for development.

> By its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides. Sport provides a forum to learn skills such as discipline, confidence and leadership and it teaches core principles such as tolerance, co-operation, and respect. Sport teaches the value of effort and how to manage victory as well as defeat (United Nations, 2003, p. i).

There has been a tendency that sport is used relatively uncritically to reach development goals. Few have asked how or why it works or what negative consequences sport can

bring, although sport in recent years has been criticised for lack of monitoring and evaluation of the outcomes of the work that is done (See for exampel Coalter, 2010; Darnell & Black, 2011; Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009b). Despite the exploding numbers of sport and development initiatives, there has been relatively little research on the field, especially the interest has been low among development scholars (Coalter, 2009; Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009a). One of the challenges on the development field, not only for sport and development initiatives, is the difficulty to measure the results of the work that is implemented (Coalter, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009b). How do you measure the effects of an education program on HIV and Aids? Or how can someone say that my project develops leaders for the future? So sport and development organisations have now to a greater extent started to focus on monitoring and evaluation (M & E) where aims and objectives have to be measurable. This field will be introduced further in chapter 2.1.2.

1.2 Introduction to volunteerism

Volunteerism is a term that is used in a variety of contexts and fields. It is referred to as an important part of the civil society. Governments often use volunteers to attend to different issues in the society, like care for children and elderly or public health (Anheier & Salamon, 2006). In Norway, sports activities for children are run by the fundamentally voluntary organisation The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF). Despite of the widespread use of volunteers in sport, this part of civil society has gained little attention (Doherty, 2006). UN wanted to acknowledge this field and give it more attention, and named 2001 to be *The International Year of Volunteers* to increase the knowledge on the presumed contribution voluntarism gives to the society (Hodgkinson, 2003).

Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth (1996) did an analysis of volunteer definition in a variety of literature and found that there are four dimensions that define a volunteer. First, the work has to be voluntarily, out of free will. Secondly, there is limited or no reward of the work that is done. The work should also be in an organised setting. Lastly, the work should benefit someone else than the volunteer, even though some scholars include participation in self-help groups as volunteer work.

According to Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) there has been changes in the voluntary sector over the last decades. They base their statement on researchers such as; Hustinx, Olk, Rommel et.al, Eckstein and Beck, who have all studied the changes in voluntarism in different fields. Still, Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) claim that there has been few attempts on creating a theoretical framework to explain the changes. In other words, there is not much done in terms of putting changing volunteerism into a system and a context. Anheier and Salamon (2006) shows that the civil sector, included volunteerism, varies depending on culture. Volunteerism is not the same in Norway and Germany or Tanzania and South Africa. This will be a part of the further discussed in this thesis.

On the SDP field there are few scholars occupied with volunteerism. Despite the presumably common use of volunteers, in the meaning of people working for an organisation with no or limited monetary compensation. The term volunteerism or volunteers is, as fare as I have seen, seldom used in literature regarding local people working with SDP schemes. Instead, researchers use terms related to their function like coach, peer leader, leader and referee. Often these categories are per definition volunteers. On example is Nicholls (2009) who contributes in Levermore and Beacom´s (2009b) book *International Sport and Development* with a chapter on the importance of young peer educators as a driving force for community development through sport, but she do not connect this to volunteerism. Despite that most peer leaders work for no or little pay.

Through this master project I wish to look at volunteerism in an SDP setting, at an African grass root sports event. The event that is chosen is EAC that takes place in Moshi, Tanzania in June every year. The event will be further introduced later in paragraph 1.5.3. I wish to focus on volunteerism within the frames of EAC and link this to theories on volunteerism, culture and development. I started this project with an opinion that there are differences in the volunteerism that we find in our affluent society in the 'western world' and in Tanzania where the resources, for many, are scarce. These relations will be discussed throughout the thesis.

1.3 Delimitation, structure and research questions

I will in this part briefly present the theoretical boundaries in this thesis, together with the research questions. The context of the study will be outlined in 1.5 and the theoretical framework will be further clarified in chapter 2, but some thoughts will be summarised here. The structure of the thesis will also be presented.

This thesis looks at volunteers at EAC. Even though these volunteers have different nationalities, I have chosen to limit the context description to Tanzania. This makes it easier to focus the discussion and implementation of the theory. In some connections I will talk about East Africa, in this term I include all the countries that participated in EAC 2012 (Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda). I use this term or East African volunteers to point out that there is a larger context. EAC is an organisation registered and stationed in Tanzania. The employees who work with the cup on a yearly basis are also located here. East Africa is also a part of the world with great variations within culture, language, traditions and ethnicity, and because of that it is difficult to generalise to an East African context.

The EAC volunteers and their motivation will form the basis for the discussion on the applicability of Western theory and a volunteer model imported from the 'Global North' in a different cultural setting. If we see this thesis as a bicycle with training wheels, the volunteers will form the frame of the bike that keeps it all together. The two main points of departure that drive the thesis forth are volunteer theory and postcolonial thinking in relation to SDP. To make sure the bicycle goes in the right direction I use the social and political context this study is a part of, in addition to reflection on culture. All of these parts are working together to create an entirety and balance between description of the volunteers and critique towards the uncritical use of western theory in a Tanzanian or East African context.

The Tanzanian context will be outlined in 1.5.2 some cultural concepts will be introduced little by little throughout chapter 4 and 5. Postcolonial thinking and volunteer theory have been briefly mentioned and will be further sketched out in the next chapter. This theoretical framework that is now drafted, is used to answer the research question that is the headlight on the bicycle. They are showing the way ahead

and guide the project so it stays in the right lane and does not end in a ditch. In this project I have worked with several temporary research questions throughout the process. They have been changed and adapted as the project has progressed. It has ended up with a twofold set of questions. One set looking at volunteer motivation and another looking at the validity of western founded theory as globally valid. The research questions are:

- What factors motivate the volunteers at East Africa cup?
- How can the volunteers at East Africa cup be linked to Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework on collective and reflexive volunteers?
- How is the volunteer sports model implemented at East Africa cup?

Within these questions lies a discussion regarding culture and the use of volunteerism in a context outside of what this field is usually concerned with. Volunteerism is a central part of the SDP field, but is seldom in scholars' searchlight. In this thesis I want to focus on an issue that I have developed an academic curiosity towards through several years of interest with SDP field.

1.3.1 Structure

The thesis is divided in 6 chapters. The introduction gives an overview of the context and limitations of the project. Second, an outline of the theoretical frames of this thesis will be presented. In chapter 3 the methods of the study will be described and discussed. In the following two chapters the findings will be presented and discussed in connection with earlier research and theoretical perspectives. At the end I present some ending comments on the findings and recommendation regarding further research.

1.4 Contribution to the field

This thesis can be a small contribution to filling the gap in research on sports volunteerism in an East African or SDP context. There is, as far as I have seen, little research done on volunteers and their motivation in other places than in European, North American or Australian contexts (see for example Auld & Cuskelly, 2001; Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Eley & Kirk, 2002; Johnston, Twynam, & Farrell, 1999; Wollebæk, Skirstad, & Hanstad, 2012). There are some research done in other settings for example in developing countries, and these will be presented in 2.4 and through out

the thesis. In the preface of the book *Sport and International Development*, Read and Bingham (2009) from Right to Play and UK Sport write about the popularity of the sport and development field and their surprise over the fact that little research has been done. They claim it is a field of great potential to contribute to new reflections and agendas to the development field. Even though there is an increasing body of literature, there is need for more critical evaluation to improve the work that is done on the field and increase the credibility of the sport and development programs. I hope that this thesis can be a contribution to this critical literature and contribute with reflections on the work that is done and the current theory used.

1.5 Context

In this part of the thesis I will outline the context this study is a part of and try to clarify what the preconditions are. A study is always a part of a bigger picture and this particular study is linked to three different, but overlapping contexts, namely the field of sport for development and peace, sport and civil society in Tanzania and East Africa cup. I will start with the general context and then aim in at the specifics of this study.

1.5.1 Sport for development and peace

Sport as a tool for reaching development goals has, as mentioned, gained increased attention over the last couple of decades. Even though the attention and recognition of sport as a part of development is fairly new, the idea of sport as a catalyst for means other than the activity it self, is old. Sports have been used to disciplining boys, and make them ready for military service, for health purposes and also for making peace among nations. The Olympic truce was established from the start of the Olympic movement. Also sport and physical education was stated as a human right as early as 1978, and sport was included in the Rights for women and children 1979 and 1989 (SDP-IWG, 2008).

Sport is used with different rationales in the field of development. First of all, sport, physical education and play is integrated in different sets of human rights. So organisations offer different sports activities, events and build structures because every man, woman and child has the right to these kind of activities (Levermore & Beacom, 2009b; SDP-IWG, 2008; United Nations, 2003). On the other hand, sport is by, among

others, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP-IWG) (2008) assigned different positive outcomes that can be part of reaching development goals. First of all, they state that sport has a universal popularity that makes it a good tool to engage people. Sport has also the ability to connect people and communities in a way that tears down barriers and stigma. Thirdly, sport is claimed to have potential to be an influential platform for communication, with global sporting events reaching billions of people at the same time and sport celebrities that can be ambassadors and role models. Sport has also, they claim, a cross cutting nature with the ability to address several development fields. In addition, sport has the potential to: "empower, motivate and inspire", in this way sport can contribute to increased self-esteem and self-worth (SDP-IWG, 2008, p. 6).

Today, many of the recognised development organisations have adapted sports programs into their daily work with health information, reconciliation etc. In addition, there are several organisations working with sport as a way to reach children and youth and give them an alternative life path from 'hanging on the streets'. You find these kinds of programs all over the world in different extents, varying organisational forms and with different aims, but they have one thing in common; they use sport as a tool in one way or another. There are also several different actors on this field of development, with different sports bodies and institutions, like sports associations, governing federations and sports clubs, big multinational sports companies like Nike and Adidas and non-governmental organisations (NGO) like Right to Play, CHRISC and MYSA (Darnell, 2012; Levermore & Beacom, 2009a).

By 3 October 2012, there are 434 registered organisations or initiatives on the sport and development platform[1] ("All Organisations," u.d). There are many organisations that are not registered on this site. Levermore and Beacom (2009a) also used these numbers when they gave an indication of the size of the field in their book. They found that in 2009 there were 255 projects, so there has been an increase of 70 per cent over the last 3 years. In 2009 they also found that 93 per cent of the organisations where started after 2000. According to Levermore and Beacom (2009a) there are six main areas that these organisations focus on. First, conflict resolution and intercultural understanding is used

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[1] This is a platform that wants to connect different sport and development organisations and establish an information base for the field of sport and development.

[2] For more information see http://www.fotball.no/nff/Internasjonalt/Internasjonale-

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by for instance *The Norwegian Football Association* (NFF) in their programs in the Middle East like *Norway-Middle East Girl's Football Festival*[2]. Secondly, the organisations build physical and social sport and community infrastructures. Several organisations use this approach by building up sports structures like league systems, sport fields and playgrounds. Raising awareness, particularly through education, is the next point identified by Levermore and Beacom (2009a). Many of the organisations that use sport have this element as a part of their program to varying degree. One organisation that focuses on education is the Kicking Aids Out Network (KAO). They have developed a concept for teaching about HIV/Aids by using sports activities to illustrate the issues that are discussed afterwards[3].

Empowerment is the fourth area where sport is used. Inclusion of girls in sports schemes is widely used and it is argued to be an arena for building up self-esteem and give the participants life skills that can be used both on and off the sports field. Moving the Goalpost is an organisation that focuses on giving girls opportunities to participate in sports and empowering them to take responsibility in their own lives [4]. Direct impact on physical and psychological health and general welfare is another focus area in these schemes. Sport is used to give people the joy and health benefits that come with physical activity. Lastly, sport is used for economic development and reduction of poverty. Giving developing countries the chance to stage a mega event like the Olympic Games or World championships is justified with the chance for the country increasing their income and infrastructure in a way that the whole community will benefit from, some organisations also connect sport schemes with micro finance groups (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a).

1.5.2 Sport and civil society in Tanzania

To put this research into context it is important to say something about the development of sport and civil associations in Tanzania. This is closely linked to the historical development. In this section a very brief overview of sports and civil society in Tanzania will be presented.

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[2] For more information see http://www.fotball.no/nff/Internasjonalt/Internasjonale-prosjekter/Midtosten/Norway---Middle-East-Girls-Football-Festival/
[3] For more information see http://kickingaidsout.net/Pages/default.aspx
[4] For more information see http://www.mtgk.org/

Tanzania was claimed as a part of German East Africa around 1890. There was great resistance against the colonial rule, but little could be done with the Germans' grip of the country. After the First World War, Germany was forced to give up their land, and Great Britain took over the rule of Tanzania. This has led to a great influence of German and British sports in modern Tanzania. Sport was used both for the immigrants from Europe to mark a class difference and for the locals, to 'civilize' them (Chappell, 2007). Missionaries used sport as a way to divert the local Africans from what they saw as 'sinful' activities, like traditional dance (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a). On the other side, sport was used to give the local population something else to focus on than to rebel against the colonial rule (Chappell, 2007).

Sport has been an important political tool in Tanzania. Sports clubs were connected to political parties and were used to spread information and attitudes towards the colonial rule. Politicians often used sport events to cover meetings to discuss the fight for independence (Chappell, 2007). Also after the independence in 1961 and during the merger between Tanganyika (mainland) and Zanzibar (islands) in 1964, sport was used as a national symbol to unite the people of the new country, Tanzania. Sports clubs could no longer bear English names, but had to find a Kiswahili name. Sport, and in particular football, became a place to gather all Tanzanians independent of tribe or religion (Chappell, 2007).

Today, there are few governmental sport structures dealing with sport on a grass root level in Tanzania. One can argue that some NGO's have taken this responsibility and are building league systems and events for kids and youth. There are national federations supporting different sports, but these normally deal with elite level sports only. Even tough there is established a National Sports Council of Tanzania (NSC), the individual sports have to fund themselves. For instance, the Tanzanian Olympic Committee (TOC) is based on voluntary efforts and gets most of their support from the Olympic Solidarity Fund, even though the government covers travel and training expenses for a few athletes going to the Olympics (Chappell, 2007). In the 2012 London Olympics, Tanzania sent six athletes in three different sports. In comparison, Tanzania's neighbouring countries Kenya and Uganda had 49 and 15 athletes representing their country ("Athelets," u.d.). Chappell (2007) interviewed Mujaya, the general secretary of Athletics in Tanzania about the lack of school sports. He emphasises that without the

school sport system there are few, if any, arenas to spot talents and develop them to become elite athletes on a high level.

When it comes to the civil society Tanzania is among the developing countries with the strongest engagement in this sector. Among the economically active population 2,1 per cent is engaged in this sector as employed or volunteers of these 75 per cent are volunteers. This is above the average for the middle and low-income countries in the study, but below the average of all countries in the study which was on 4,4 per cent (Kindo, Ndumbaro, Sokolowski, & Salamon, 2004).

1.5.3 East Africa cup

The event that I am basing this study on is, as mentioned, East Africa cup. EAC is a multisport tournament where children in the age categories under 12 and under 16 participate in football, volleyball or sitting-volleyball. The sitting-volleyball competition is an event where disabled and able-bodied youth of both genders play together. In addition, there is a cultural program where different organisations send their 'teams' to learn more about music, singing, acrobatics and dancing. The cultural teams get the opportunity to perform on the stage during the evening ceremonies. All participants have to take part in an educational program before the sports activities start. There are different seminars they can choose to attend, with different topics like leadership development, first aid, HIV/Aids awareness and peer leader education (East Africa cup, 2012; Olsen, 2013).

EAC was founded in 2004 (with a pilot project in 2003) and has since then grown to be the biggest tournament for youth in East Africa. 2011 was a peak year with 75 teams from 8 different countries. In 2012 EAC gathered around 1600 youths from 5 different countries (East Africa cup, 2012). The EAC project started in 2003 with a representative from KRIK Norway living in Tanzania, he wanted to have a football tournament for children. He contacted NPA Tanzania to get in touch with other teams and invite them to the CHRISC tournament. NPA had just gotten involved with a sports scheme and they became a part of the event. In 2004 the tournament was moved to Moshi and more teams where invited, the partners where CHRISC, KRIK, NPA, MYSA and

Fredskorpset[5]. The idea was to use EAC as an arena to educate youth particularly on HIV/Aids awareness. Through the years it has been an increasing awareness on the impact EAC can have on inspiring youth to take responsibility in their home communities[6]. The EAC model is based on volunteerism to survive, so the Organising Committee are dependent on people that offer their services as referees, teachers, coaches, guards etc. for free.

The main stakeholders today is CHRISC, MYSA, NPA and KRIK. CHRISC is an organisation that was founded in 1993 by the Norwegian youth and sports organisation KRIK, but is today an independent organisation registered in the countries where they are established. They reach approximately 20 000 children in Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania. MYSA is a Nairobi, Kenya based organisation that was founded on initiative of the Canadian UN worker Bob Munro in 1987. MYSA is based in the slum areas outside Nairobi and have been a popular organisation among supporters and researcher. NPA and KRIK has been important funding partners of EAC for several years.

EAC has several stakeholders that are affecting the organising of the tournament. There is one person employed in Tanzania who has the main responsibility for the organisation of the cup, in addition, the national coordinator of Tanzania is partly hired in EAC to follow up the cup. In addition to this, there is an Executive Board with representatives from CHRISC, MYSA, NPA and KRIK. All of these organisations are also represented in the organising committee (OC) that consists of both volunteers and paid staff from these organisations. Each of the members of the OC has one field of responsibility, for instance education, environment, referees etc. To carry out the cup there are several different tasks that are filled by volunteer, unpaid staff. Volunteers are contributing as referees, coaches, first aiders, organising leaders, environmental team, KAO-facilitators, field managers, team managers and coaches. The security is partly voluntary, the service is given for free from a large East African security company, but all the staff who are present are paid by the company. ("East Africa Cup - History and

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[5] Fredskorpset is an Norwegian organisation that is occupied with internation exchange among Norway and developing countries (more information on http://www.fredskorpset.no/en/about-us/)
[6] Information retrieved from E-mail correspondence with Svein Olsen, Advisor East Africa, Norwegian People's Aid 5-10 May 2013. Also country representative for NPA in Tanzania in 2003.

strategy," 2011). Furthermore there were in 2012 over 40 organisations participating in the sport event.

In addition to the main stakeholders there are other organisations involved on the thematic sector at EAC. Right to Play has responsibility for the seminars regarding activity for disabled people called 'Ability first' and a course in conflict resolution. NIF is present through their engagement in the Kicking Aids Out network. Other organisations participating in this sector are The Norwegian Church Aid, YMCA/YWCA, Disney/Egmont, UK Sports and initially BBC. Funding have been the latest years been provided manly by NPA and Statoil (Olsen, 2013).

The sample in this study consists of volunteers and paid staff from the central stakeholders at EAC. A more detailed presentation of the sample is to find in 3.2.3. All interviewees had their origins in East Africa and the paid staff had started their career as volunteers. I tried to focus on getting interview appointments with people from different levels in the society so I interviewed people who grew up in refugee camps and people with middle class background with higher education. My observations where conducted during EAC, and it was a mix between participating observations and direct observation. I wanted to see how the organising of the cup took place and how people interacted with each other. This will also be further discussed in chapter 3.

In the following I will present the theoretical foundation of this thesis and clarify the use of different terms that are central for the understanding of this study.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical concepts presented in this chapter will form, together with the data, the foundation of the discussions in this thesis. I will start with defining some notions or concepts that are important to understand in connection with this paper. The concepts that are defined are; sport, SDP and volunteerism. Then there is a presentation of the volunteer theoretical framework that forms the foundation of the discussion in this paper. Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) theoretical framework of the changes in volunteerism in the late modern society is central to explain volunteer motivation (Eckstein, 2001; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). Postcolonial theory as presented in the following will together with Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) form the backdrop to a discussion on the applicability of theories formed on the basis of western volunteers, in and East African setting. Also some earlier research will be presented in the end of the chapter.

2.1 Defining concepts

In this part of the thesis I will define some of the concepts relevant for the discussion and presentation of theory. My understanding of the concepts; sport, SDP and volunteerism will be presented in this chapter and are central when reading this thesis.

2.1.1 Sport

Sport is a term that is used in many contexts, and can be interpreted in several manners. It is one of the central concepts in this thesis. The perception of sport is an important part of understanding the mechanisms in the field of study. Sport has a different meaning for an athlete participating in the Olympics, a teenager in Norway playing football for fun and a girl in a disadvantaged community in South Africa who plays netball because there is a minor chance that she can use it to make a living. If you look at different scholars, they have very different views on how to define sport as a concept, and what activities to include in the term (See for example Levermore & Beacom, 2009a; Tangen, 2004). A thorough discussion on the sport concept could have been included here, but I have chosen to present only one definition of sport that represent the understanding of sport in this context.

Because of the specific field of study I have chosen a wide, practical definition that include a broad spectrum of activities and are not so strictly tied to winning or loosing. This kind of definition are often used on the SDP field For example the UN states that sport is;"...all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include play, recreation, organized casual or competitive sport, and indigenous sport and play" (United Nations, 2003, p. 3). In the sport and development field the most commonly used definitions are the ones that include different activities from play, dance, exercise activities to competition sports like football and volleyball, even though many organisations try to limit the focus on competition (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a). Sport can be leisure activities like walking, playing, but also includes elite sports.

2.1.2   Sport for development and peace

The growth of the SDP field has been explosive over the last couple of decades. From a small beginning in the 80s with among others NIF's 'sport for all' project in Tanzania (See Straume & Steen-Johnsen, 2010) and the establishing of MYSA in Kenya (See Hognestad & Tollisen, 2004; Willis, 2000). Today the SDP field has gained recognition with international institutions like a UN department, The United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) and organisations are mushrooming all over the world (as shown in chapter 1). The SDP-IWG (2008, p. 3), organised by the UN, has developed the following definition: "Sport for Development and Peace refers to the international use of sport, physical activity and play to attain specific development and peace objectives, including, most notably the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)." The name of the field is in alteration and there are several terms used in the literature; sport-in-development, sport and international development, sport for development and peace, sports development aid, sport and development, development through sport, sport-for-development (Darnell, 2012; Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009b; SDP-IWG, 2008; Straume & Steen-Johnsen, 2010). In this text I follow Kidd (2008) and Darnell (2012) and use the term Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). This term includes a variety of initiatives, while it clearly states the aim of the use of sport.

It is crucial that these terms are not mistaken with sports development or development of sport, which have a different meaning. Sports development has the aim to develop

the world of sport with all its institutions, organisations and athletes. It can be everything from development of talents for the purpose of international competition, to development of the organisation culture of national or international sport bodies (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a). For people engaged in sport for development sport is used as a means to reach other development goals (Darnell, 2012). These initiatives can be everything from using sport to gather youth for educational purposes, to award a developing society a major sport event.

Despite the growth, there is a research gap on the mechanisms of sport when used for development purposes. Several important stakeholders in the international development world have proclaimed that sport can be an important contributor and tool in several development factors, as described earlier and as mentioned in 1.1. Even though organisations like the UN see sport as a positive contribution to development there is little research and evaluation. Critics state that we don't know how or why sport contributes to development, and that it is difficult to measure results of the work, which is a problem also found in other fields in the development business (Coalter, 2009, 2010; Darnell, 2012; Levermore & Beacom, 2009a). This criticism has lead to an increasing body of literature on the field, but there is still a lack of academic knowledge about sports projects for development purposes.

Much of the SDP literature that is written use theoretical ideas and inspiration from sociology and other academic fields. Darnell (2012) uses mainly three perspectives in his book 'Sport for Development and Peace – a Critical Sociology'. He claims that these perspectives are present in much of the literature on sport and development. First of all he points to the Gramscian hegemony to explain how groups of people use culture to secure their hegemonic position. Hegemony refers to a relationship between a powerless and a powerful partner where the powerful will use their common arena, conscious or not, to reproduce the power structure. Sport is used as a channel to implement certain ideas and meanings to the community. Sports organisations are created through a dynamic process of interaction and negotiation between the powerful and the powerless, where the powerful group sets the agenda. Secondly, Darnell (2012) uses Foucault's bio-power to say something about how the body can be used to generate positive change. Lastly, postcolonial theory is central in the sport and development field, as well as other fields of development. It is used to explain how power structures from the

colonial times are maintained in sport organisations. That sport is seen as a universal activity that can be used in every culture without any need of translation has its roots in the power structures of this period. The western world see the developing countries as someone they need to help develop to the standards they find proper. Of these sociological perspectives only postcolonial theory will be used in this thesis, but in this relation hegemonic power will also be central. Postcolonial theory will be presented further in 2.3.

To organise and try to make evaluation of outcomes easier, Coalter (2009, 2010) has tried to divide the SDP initiatives in two groups; sport plus and plus sport. Sport plus initiatives are those organisations that work to establish long term sports structures and in this way contribute to sustainable development. Their main focus is on sports, however, these organizations can also address other issues like HIV/Aids education and gender equity, but this is not the main outcome targeted. The plus sport initiatives are those who use sport for its utility values. Sport is used in social and health programs to reach other goals than to build sustainable sports structures. Short-term outcomes are more important than long-term development of sports. Sport is mostly used to gather and engage young people. This categorisation will be used in the discussion and is important in order to understand the dynamics of the SDP field.

2.1.3 Volunteerism

Volunteerism is a term that is much discussed in the literature (See for example Cnaan et al., 1996; Dekker & Halman, 2003a; Hustinx et al., 2012; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003; Wollebæk et al., 2012). There are several definitions of volunteerism, most of them are connected to a person giving time and resources to an organisation, issue or event without expecting monetary or other clearly visible compensation in return (Surujlal & Dhurup, 2008). Hustinx, Handy and Cnaan (2012, p. 57) say that "volunteering is commonly understood as a free act, where individual choices is motivated by a variety of factors such as satisfying religious values, building social capital, or enhancing one's career prospects". Other criteria like; the work has to be done out of free will and in an organised setting are also added to the definition. Even though it can seem simple to define a volunteer there are many grey areas within the term (Dekker & Halman, 2003a). The view on what monetary compensations a volunteer can receive varies greatly. Some volunteers get refund of expenses, some

might get paid under marked value, some get a uniform and others do not receive any compensation at all. There is no clear picture of who is considered a volunteer. For instance, are people getting paid by their employer to volunteer in an organisation or at an event volunteers? Parents and other people can be engaged in voluntary service because of peer pressure and feel they have to do what is expected of them, is it still a voluntary action (Dekker & Halman, 2003a)?

Sports organisations and events are in many cases highly dependent on people offering their competence for free to be able to survive. Most sports events, from local events to major international events like the Olympics, utilise volunteer capacity to carry out the activities (Cuskelly, Auld, Harrington, & Coleman, 2004). Civil society organisations and initiatives, not involved in sport, also use volunteers to reach goals, raise founds and conduct activities whether it is to support old people in the neighbourhood, keep children in activity or support a hunger stricken community in a developing country. On a general level, volunteerism benefits three parties; the volunteer herself, the organisation and the community (Surujlal & Dhurup, 2008). So basically the volunteer is doing a deed not primarily to satisfy herself, but to contribute for someone else.

Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) are critical to the often one-dimensional focus on volunteerism. They point out that volunteerism is a complex matter that needs to be understood within several different dimensions. They claim that you cannot study volunteerism without taking into account the different sides of the phenomenon. The authors try to systematise the different fragments of volunteerism into a theoretical framework. They propose six dimensions: "…(1) the biographical frame of reference, (2) the motivational structure, (3) the course and intensity of commitment, (4) the organisational environment, (5) the choice of (field of) activity, and (6) the relation to paid work(er)" (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003).

Volunteer motivation is one of the aspects that are central in this thesis. The issue will be further introduced, but as a starting point I will divide motivation in two main groups *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*. These will I now shortly define. Intrinsic motivation is when you do an activity out of joy and pleasure, and you find it satisfactory. By doing an activity, you can find intrinsic motivation on three levels; *to know* something is to your satisfaction, *to accomplish* something and *to experience stimulation* from the activity. If

you, on the other hand, are extrinsically motivated, you are motivated by instrumental reason, and the activity is not something you do for your own sake, but to achieve something outside of the activity it self (Vallerand & Ratelle, 2002). In the context of this study can an intrinsic motive be an experienced joy in the volunteer work. An extrinsic motive can be to volunteer to increase job prospects.

In this thesis, a volunteer is understood as a person giving time and effort without receiving monetary payment other than coverage of expenses for travel, bed and board. He or she does the job out of free will. Also, an EAC volunteer is in this thesis defined as a person that voluntarily takes a specific responsibility at the EAC, this means that players are not considered as volunteers, the volunteers have duties to make the tournament run well.

2.2 Volunteerism in a modernised world

There is a discussion among the researchers on the field of voluntary research whether or not the structure of volunteerism is changing (Dekker & Halman, 2003a; Handy et al., 2010; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003, 2004; Rehberg, 2005; Wollebæk et al., 2012). Some scholars imply that this will lead to a decrease in volunteer engagement and that the voluntary sector will 'die' with the 'long civic generation' (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2004). Others suggest that these changes will not end volunteerism. Individualisation and modernisation will contribute to changing the face of volunteerism, but not necessarily end it (See for example Anheier & Salamon, 1999; Hustinx et al., 2012; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003, 2004).

2.2.1 Collective and reflexive volunteerism

The thesis is based on the theoretical framework developed by Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003). The model is based on the sociological modernisation theory and tries to link the general society changes within the modernised society to the volunteer field. Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) use a six factor model to categorise two groups of volunteers; the collective- and the reflexive volunteers. In a new, modernised world, every human being creates their own biography or they 'write their own life story', therefore the first dimension is the biographical frame of references the volunteers hold. The second dimension relates to the motivational structure behind the commitment.

Thirdly, the authors describe the course and intensity of the commitment. Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) also refer to the organisational environment, choice of (field of) activity and the relation to paid workers. In their description of the volunteer groups, they divide the dimensions in subjective and objective factors within each dimension. In this thesis I will mainly focus on the motivational dimension, but to be able to understand the framework and to discuss where the EAC volunteers belong, I will in the following explain Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) theoretical framework. First, the backdrop of the framework will be discussed.

The theoretical ground Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) build their framework upon is Giddens' and Beck's theories on modernity and risk societies. They seek to explain development from the industrial- to the late modern society. An important factor that brings the modernisation process forth is individualisation within the society. The 'new' modernisation process is called reflexive modernisation (Beck, Giddens, & Lash, 1994). This forms the term reflexive volunteerism that Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) use. Lash (1994) points out that in a modernised world where the individual actor is in the centre, the individual is freed from society structures, like family and class, and is therefore free to make independent choices. The individual is also free to reflect upon itself and its own life, without any concern for anyone else, except the people it chooses to relate to (Lash, 1994). In a late modern society the flow of information is greater and the participants in the society have access to more information before they make a decision (Lash, 1994). Examples of these decisions can be the choice to volunteer or not, what activities to engage in and what is expected of a volunteer. The individual gathers information from multiple sources and in this way the volunteers make more 'reflected' choices, based on greater access to knowledge. By questioning all social structures like the nuclear family, church or the village community combined with an increasing knowledge about what happens around the world, participants in a modern society are more occupied with what is best for the individual rather than a social group. This is what Giddens calls simple modernity because the abstract structures like class, nation and nuclear family are replaced with other social structures (Lash, 1994). The question remains, do individuals make free choices autonomously, without considering tradition, and to what extent has this modernisation process been evident in East Africa? This will be further discussed in chapter 5.2. In the following, the two volunteer types will be presented.

Collective volunteerism is founded on the idea that as an individual, you are supposed to give something back to the group, milieu or community you are a part of. The group's identity is also the identity of the individuals, there is a strong collective 'we'-feeling and all participation is based on membership and belonging to this particular group. The ethical guidelines that the group has determined apply to everyone within the group. A strong need to be included in the group also affect the volunteers' choice of activity. Having a similar set of values, moral guidelines, interests or religious conviction unite the volunteers. The reflexive volunteer, on the other hand, is more independent and an individual actor on the volunteer field. The individual writes its own story within the frames he or she chooses to relate to, opposed to the collective volunteer who writes its story within the frames of the group. For the reflexive volunteer it is decisive that the activity or assignment fits with her expectations. It is also less likely that the volunteer is a member of the organisation she works for. The volunteers build a 'fellowship' based on self-interest and how you feel your biography fits the volunteer activity. This leads to a visible individualisation, and a weak relation with the organisation and it's values. Reflexive volunteers only stay members for a short period of time, if the become members at all, until they find something else that is more suited to their interests and goals.

The motivational structures of the two groups are quite diverse. Expectations from the surroundings, and a feeling of duty towards the local community are often the most important motivational factor for a collective volunteer to get engage and continue a volunteer commitment. Ideology, religion and altruism are other strong incentives for this group. This does not mean that all collective volunteers are 'self-sacrificing volunteers'; they can also have a desire to climb the career ladder within the community or see other benefits for themselves as an individual. Reflexive volunteers, on the other hand, are often motivated by self-actualisation, and hold to a greater extent egocentric motives for volunteer work. This does not necessarily mean that collective volunteers do not have any egocentric motives or that reflexive volunteers do not consider what their effort means to others, these are flexible ideal typical characterisations and will have flexible boundaries (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). Regarding cause and intensity of the engagement Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) found clear differences between the two volunteer ideals. A collective volunteer bases her engagement on commitment over a longer period of time, because the work will symbolise a part of the volunteer's

identity. They often put down a great deal of effort and time on the tasks they are given by the organisation, and they do often possess some kind of power within the organisation, in contrast to a reflexive volunteer who will not waste a lot of time and resources over a long period of time. They will often engage in events that have a short time frame and flexible tasks that fit with what the volunteer wants to achieve.

There are special characteristics of the organisations that appeal to the two different groups. Collective volunteers are drawn to traditional organisations that are founded upon a hierarchical, democratic structure based on membership. The members are obliged to act upon the organisation's basic values and the interests of the organisation is more important than the duties of the volunteer. These collective organisations are historically based on voluntary effort and democratic principles, but today many have employed workers that have taken much of the power from the volunteers. This power shift can lead to conflict between the paid staff and the volunteers within the organisation. Many organisations leave this traditional power structure and focus to a greater extent on specific issues and events, and not the members of the organisation. The organisations are less based on democratic principles and are more often run by professionals and therefore attract reflexive volunteers (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). Reflexive volunteers do not join an organisation primarily to socialise or to build a new identity, but to reach personal goals; these centralised organisations are therefore a good fit for this group of volunteers. The volunteers have to operate in a professional environment based on efficiency and high standards of result delivery. This is suitable with the volunteer's desire to achieve learning, skills and experience. The framework presented here will influence the discussion in chapter 4 and 5. In the following, postcolonial theory will be introduced to lift the discussion of volunteerism in East Africa up to a more theoretical level.

2.3 Postcolonial perspectives

Postcolonialism is a set of perspectives that seeks to explain and systemise knowledge production about the global world (Smukkestad, 2008). As Smukkestad (2008, p. 221) puts it: "postcolonialism can be said to be a point of view that turns the world upside down, and tries to see the world from a village in Mali or Bangladesh rather than Washington or Berlin" [my translation]. In this thesis, these perspectives will be used to

discuss the use of sport and volunteerism in a Tanzanian context. I will in chapter 4 and 5 try to present a discussion on the use of 'global' theories in a context outside the global north.

Postcolonial theory has its roots in different fields within social sciences and is especially used as a critique towards much of the development work we have seen after the liberation of the colonies. The link between knowledge and power is emphasised by the postcolonial thinkers and issues like gender, identity production and race are addressed (McEwan, 2009). Colonial states produce and use knowledge of the colonized or earlier colonized nations to promote their own benefits. Postcolonial thinking tries to say something about how an image about 'us' (as developed, sophisticated people of the 'North') and 'them' (as primitive and helpless people in the 'South') emerge. Stereotypes and stigma is produced and reproduces through media, school curriculum and political rhetoric etc. (McEwan, 2009). Postcolonial thinkers want to focus on the relationship between colonies and their colonists. They claim that the development aid that is given is just an extension of the colonial relationship with the same power structures, but with a new face. It is claimed that the power structures and the mind set in the development aid have their roots in colonial thinking (McEwan, 2009; Smukkestad, 2008).

Most people in Europe and North America have an image of Africa and most of the 'third world' as a homogenous society where everyone is the alike (McEwan, 2009; Smukkestad, 2008). It is from this the mentality that Africa is *one* country and Africans are *one* people, come in. Few know that seven of the ten fastest growing economies are found in Africa (Schia & Eggen, 2012) and there is a growing middleclass with secure jobs and good education. You can find positive development on the continent, but what is represented, to use a postcolonial expression, to the societies in the Northern hemisphere is the food crises, war, corruption and people living in absolute poverty. There are still major challenges on the continent, but the stereotypical image with starving African children and 'primitive' tribes is not an accurate picture of a continent that consists of 56 nations and a large number of ethnic groups. This is part of what postcolonialism points to as a problem. Stereotypes and the West's wish to 'develop' the economically poorer South, contribute in reproducing and constructing the image of 'the others' (Darnell, 2012). This process is seen as a part of what is maintaining the

uneven power structure and development and this is a process that needs to be accelerated in 'other' parts of the world and not in Europe or North America (Darnell, 2012).

SDP and the use of sport is claimed to be a heritage from the European colonial project (Darnell, 2012). Darnell (2012) asserts that there is a need for critical analyses of the SDP field and the way sport is used. Sport is not an empty, apolitical phenomenon even though many 'global' sports like football, basketball and cricket have been adopted in a variety of cultures. Historically, sport was used in a social project to control and improve the lives of the others and the same power structures can be observed today. The organisations are often funded by northern organisations that set the agenda based on where the money can be found. The focus is often set based on governmental guidelines and focus. HIV/Aids problems and health promotion are examples of 'trendy' development focuses adapted in SDP (Levermore & Beacom, 2009a). Even though there is a partnership focus in development organisations, there is a power balance that is difficult to discount. Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011) urges precaution when exporting 'western' ideology and values through sport to other cultural settings. Sport as a global language has been criticised on the grounds that is just laid out here. Sport is popular around the world, but it has at some point been exported from one culture to another and it is not an apolitical phenomenon without cultural preferences. One example of the political use of sport in Tanzania was presented in 1.5.2. These aspects have to be considered when using sport for development and peace work. Volunteerism is a part of sport in the northern hemisphere, and at EAC and in the central partner organisations it is mentioned as a decisive factor for executing the work they do. The question remains; can we export volunteerism to an East African context without translating the phenomenon?

Postcolonialism has been criticised for being too theoretical and that there has been too few attempts to create solutions to e.g. better the everyday lives of the poor. The postcolonial approaches have been said to be too abstract and of little relevance to the actual work that is being done. In other words, their critics uphold that the postcolonial thinkers cannot criticise the work that is being done without trying to present a better solution (McEwan, 2009; Smukkestad, 2008). On the other hand postcolonialism can be a productive contribution to the development research by asking constitutional and

structural questions regarding the work that is done on the field. And in this way create a constructive discussion on the purpose with and the way development, and in this case SDP can be run in a sufficient way. In this text, the postcolonial perspective is used to see how global theories initiated by 'Northern' researchers can be relevant in a part of the world that has been both under colonial rule and has received extensive amount of development aid. Therefore, this perspective can lift the discussion up to a theoretical level and can provide perspectives and approaches that will be useful to illustrate this issue.

2.4 Earlier research

According to Anheier and Salamon (2006) there has been a growth in interest and research on the non-profit sector in all parts of the world over the last couple of decades. The knowledge has increased, but the non-profit sector is a complex and culturally dependent phenomenon so there has been few attempts to develop one dominant theory. Actually, the research has triggered questions of whether or not we can trust the theories that are built on the western world's non-profit sector in other cultural settings (Anheier & Salamon, 2006). This study aims to look at this issue; the issue of Northern theory used in a Global South context. Before the results are presented and discussed in the next chapter, I will refer to some earlier research done on the fields of volunteerism, SDP and a combination of the two.

Volunteerism is a field that has received relatively much attention, as mentioned. The motivation of these volunteers has been in the interest of researchers for some time now (See for example Akintola, 2011; Auld & Cuskelly, 2001; Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Handy et al., 2010). On the other hand, there is limited research found on volunteerism and the civil society outside Western Europe and North America (Hustinx et al., 2012) in the developing world and especially East Africa. The theories developed on how, why and who volunteers are, are rarely tested in a global perspective and is to a large extent relevant for Europe and North America (Hustinx et al., 2012). In the following, I will present some of the research done in the field and then look at volunteerism in the modernised world that will form the basis of my theoretical discussion.

There has been conducted some research on volunteerism in connection to the SDP field. Some of this literature is on western volunteers travelling to a low- or middle-income country (LMIC) to work as sports volunteers (See for example Darnell, 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Stai, 2012). Volunteer tourism is also a growing field of interest for volunteerism scholars, not only in connection to sports, but also in fields like child care, health, education etc. The concept is based on western travellers going to the developing world to contribute to development, at the same time as they get a cultural experience, get to see new places and are able to have a 'meaningful vacation'. It is not a new phenomenon, but has over the last years become popular among youths whishing to do something worthwhile (Raymond & Hall, 2008; Sin, 2009).

In the following, I will briefly present some studies looking at volunteer motivation. Cnaan and Goldberg-Glenn (1991) did a study on human service volunteers. They found that volunteers are motivated on a one-dimensional scale, which contradicts what other scholars have found. Their study was based on a literature review where 28 factors of motivation was identified and tested on 258 volunteers in the USA. The three most important factors were 'opportunity to do something worthwhile', 'makes one feel better about one self' and 'it creates a better society'. Other studies imply that career and education are important factors for motivation. When Akintola (2011) studied volunteer HIV/Aids caregivers in South Africa, he found that very few of the volunteers had paid work, and that they devoted a large amount of time to the volunteer commitment. Some of the factors that motivated the caregivers were: to support their values like showing compassion, contributing to the community, enhancing their career prospects, to keep busy and increasing understanding and skills. Few said directly that they were volunteering to enhance their career, but it was obvious after discussions with leaders and key-informants that this was important for their motivation. Akintola (2011) presumes that the volunteers did not want to seem selfish and egoistic and it was much easier to talk about value based and altruistic volunteerism.

Handy et.al (2010) did a cross-cultural study of motivation among student volunteers. They found that there were variations among the 12 countries they studied (non of them in Africa). Handy and his colleagues (2010) tested three main categories of motivation for volunteerism: altruism, résumé building and social motives. The students ranked the importance of motivational factors in this order. Khoo and Engelhorn (2007) found that

students volunteering at the Malaysian Paralympiad was most motivated by gaining practical and educational experience. These differences in research show that volunteer motivation is a complex field that is dependant on the context, the demographics of the volunteers and the activity itself. This will be further discussed later in the thesis. Other studies than these could have been presented, but due to space limits these other studies will be used as references throughout the thesis.

There are also done research on the organisations involved in EAC. I will here only present studies done on the East African partners CHRISC and MYSA. MYSA has for several years been the leading star on the SDP field and there has been conducted several studies on the organisation. A few examples will be presented here. Hognestad and Tollisen (2004) base their paper on Tollisen's (2003) fieldwork in Nairobi. They looked at MYSA's history and linked it to postcolonial history and patron/client relationships. Willis (2000) looked at MYSA and the organisation and significance of the work conducted in the Mathare slum and link this to the possible contribution of sport on development issues. Wang (2012) looked at CHRISC and how the local volunteers and employees felt ownership to the work they did and the relationship between the Norwegian and Tanzanian partners.

There are also published some books on the subject of volunteerism in a global perspective. In *The Values of Volunteerism – Cross-Cultural Perspectives* different authors look at volunteerism as a part of civil society and how volunteerism varies from different countries, cultural contexts and among individuals. Data has been collected from different studies, but mainly the *European Value Study*[7], the *World Value Surveys*[8] and the *John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit project*[9] (Dekker & Halman, 2003b). In *The Non-Profit Sector – A Research Handbook* Anheier and Salamon (2006) contribute with a chapter on the sector in a comparative perspective. Here they use the John Hopkins data to look at the non-profit sector in different countries all over the world (Anheier & Salamon, 2006). Another book based on this project is the *Global Civil Society* addresses over three chapters the civil society in East Africa (Salamon, Sokolowski, & et.al, 2004).

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[7] More information can be retrieved from http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/
[8] More information can be retrieved from http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/
[9] More information can be retrieved from http://ccss.jhu.edu/research-projects/comparative-nonprofit-sector

3. Methods

In this part of the thesis I will elaborate on the methodological choices I made when planning the project, during the fieldwork and in the process of analysing the data. My reflections will be linked up to relevant literature and I will also include some critique of the work that I have done and the methods used. Dalland (2000) claims that research methods are a way to test and find new knowledge. The method a researcher chooses to make use of is the method she believes will give the most suited data and answer the research questions most accurately. This study is a cross-cultural study and this is a challenging type of research because there is a risk for misinterpretation and poor communication (Patton, 2002). In this chapter I will elaborate on how I dealt with these challenges.

3.1 The study

This study had clearly set frames from the beginning when it came to time, choice of field of study and funding. As a master student I have ten months to complete the project from start to finish, the time frame was set from the school's side. I wanted to look at event volunteers in an East African sporting event, and for reasons that will be presented in 3.1.2 I chose to study volunteers at EAC. The choice of event determined the time of the fieldwork, which was June up to July 2012. This turned out to be the most hectic period for the organisations involved in EAC. In retrospect it would have strengthened the study if I had travelled back and met the volunteers again to do follow up interviews, but this was not possible due to limited funding and time at disposal. A second round of interviews would also have given me more time with each interviewee since the week at EAC was very busy for everyone. My plan was to conduct interviews in the period from when I arrived up to the start of EAC (15 June-25 June), but it was not possible due to the amount of work for the leaders and volunteers. Therefore the data collection was centred from 24 July to 1 July. When it comes to funding, I got a grant form the project Sport, Development and Reconciliation (cooperation between NSSS and NIF). This gave me the economic conditions for travelling to East Africa. To summarize; what set the limits for this study were time at disposal, funding and dependence on being present at EAC 2012. In the following I will present the fieldwork further and argue for my choice of event.

3.1.1 Field work in Tanzania

The data material of this thesis is based on observations and interviews with local volunteers and employees at East Africa cup 2012. In total I spent five weeks in Tanzania and Kenya from 16 June to 18 July. I arrived in Arusha, Tanzania 11 days before the cup started. Prior to the cup I spent quite some time at the head office of CHRISC Tanzania in Arusha. This is where the staffs who are most involved in the cup are based. Four days before the participants arrived I went to Moshi to be a part of the preparations. Moshi is located about one and a half hour east of Arusha, and I travelled there with some of the volunteers from Arusha. Referees, KAO educators, media volunteers and first aiders attended seminars one to four days prior to the EAC. In addition, parts of the OC came a few days before the cup started. The cup itself lasted six days, from 26 June up to 1 July. During these six days most of the data collection took place. The time before EAC was used for preparation and the time after to go through the material and do the first reflection and to discuss some of the instant findings with local staff and volunteers.

3.1.2 Connection and background for choice of event

The background for the choice of subject for this thesis is my interest for development issues and sport used as a tool in this relation. In 2010/2011 I was a sports volunteer in CHRISC, one of the organisations behind EAC. I used my contacts from this period to get access to the field and the informants I needed to complete my study. It was also this nine-month stay in Tanzania that sparked my curiosity of volunteer effort in this context. Thagaard (2009) indicates that familiarity with the field can help reduce the differences between the researcher and the interviewees. The researcher has knowledge that increases understanding and empathy for the people in the sample. Practical experience and acquired theoretical knowledge can prepare the researcher for some of the cultural issues that she can meet as a foreigner in a different cultural setting. These factors and the fact that there is a lack of research on volunteers in this context made it an interesting event to look at.

EAC is a cooperation between CHRISC, MYSA, KRIK and NPA. There are also several organisations that contribute on various educational programs. For example, NIF and Kicking Aids Out are present to conduct KAO trainings and courses, Right to Play educate on integration of people with disabilities in sports activities and they have

a seminar on conflict resolution. YMCA/YWCA was present at EAC 2012 to educate on issues regarding gender based violence and transformative masculinity. In addition, there are several organisations from eight different countries that send teams to the cup (Olsen, 2013). To be able to participate, both as a team and as a volunteer, you have to be part of an organisation that runs a whole year program in a local community. EAC is meant to be an arena for networking and increased knowledge that can be used in the participants' home community throughout the year. Their motto is: "One week in Moshi, a whole year in the community".

My experience from the field will be used to support the discussion on volunteer motivation and the use of 'globally' accepted theories in this context.

3.2 Qualitative method and design

My research is based on a qualitative study of EAC volunteers, with main focus on interviews and observation. The study is, as described by Flick (2007), based on a loose research design where the concepts are not so clearly visible from the start of the project. This particular field has to little extent been exposed to research earlier, which makes a qualitative design suitable because of limited knowledge. The research questions are adjusted to fit the data, and the answers are not so easy to spot at an early point. In this project I want to understand how volunteerism plays a role in East Africa, specially linked to sporting events. In other words, I have tried to use the principles of grounded theory as found in Charmaz (2006). I wanted the data to show the way forward and let the discoveries during the study be leading for the conclusions in the paper. The thought was to let the data influence the choice of theories used as an analytic framework. In this way, the researcher does not try to make the data fit the theory, but let the data shape the choice of theory and even develop new terms (Charmaz, 2006; Johannessen, Tufte, & Kristoffersen, 2010; Patton, 2002). The intention from the start was to use the data to choose a theory that would be adequate and could say something about the facts discovered in the field. As the project evolved, I saw that the theories that are developed in the volunteer field have an alleged universal validity. In the case of my study, these theories where not so suitable and the question that appeared was whether the theories based on 'western volunteerism' really are universal or if they are a result of the Eurocentric attitude found in the western world? Is

volunteerism a universal phenomenon or is it a result of Eurocentric thinking, where what we do in 'the developed world' is the ideal? This thinking has been a strongly criticised part of development work, especially by postcolonial thinkers. These are questions that caught my attention and is the reason why Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework is an interesting starting point for a discussion on use of 'western theory' in an East Africa context. This will be further elaborated throughout the thesis.

According to Thagaard (2009), qualitative methods can help the researcher understand the background of a social phenomenon. Qualitative methods are a flexible approach to a research question, and is therefore suited in a project where you want the data to influence the direction of the project and discover things 'along the way' (Thagaard, 2009). Using qualitative methods demand that the researcher gets involved with the people on the field to be able to understand how the field function. This can create a close relation between the researcher and the people on the field, and can create ethical and methodological challenges. First of all, the researcher can become so attached to the field that she has troubles seeing it with the critical eyes a researcher should use. Also, the people that make up the sample can create an emotional relation to the researcher that can be harshly broken when the researcher leaves the field (Thagaard, 2009). The ethical implications will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Familiarity with the field can also be a great advantage, if it is used rationally. Lofland, Snow, Anderson and Lofland (2006) points to that. By 'starting where you are' the researcher can use his or her knowledge to create an intellectual curiosity on a subject or phenomenon that he or she is a part of. This starting point gives the researcher a unique entry to the field and an acceptance that an outsider most likely will not be able to obtain. Also, the close relation can help the researcher get a different insight and see patterns in the material that would have been difficult to see for a researcher with no experience within the field (Johannessen et al., 2010; Lofland et al., 2006). When Ronglan (2000) started his Ph.D. project he was reluctant to study the Norwegian women's handball team because of his close connection to the group as he at the time was the assistant coach. He concluded that this connection gave him a unique position and understanding of the dynamics in the group that he would not have been able to get access to in any other elite sport group. If he had studied another elite milieu he would have compared his findings with what he already knew from the handball group. He

also suspected that he would have linked everything to how things where done in the Handball association, and therefore not been able to evaluate the findings objectively. I had to do the same considerations when I started this project, and I have chosen to use my experience to gain access and as a starting point for investigating a few of the questions that I have wondered about in correlation to sport and development. During my first stay in Tanzania I started wondering why people spend so much time in the organisation when they often have other more pressing issues to attend to, for instance education or paid employment. Also, how volunteerism is valued in the society was something I never found out. These questions formed the starting point for an academic curiosity that has developed to this project.

This project is a qualitative study focusing on one particular event, EAC. The choice was made on background of a strategic sample, where accessibility and knowledge of the organisations was emphasised. The unit of analysis, EAC, is relatively complex with different boards, different people in charge and several programs running, for instance there are three different sports played, a cultural- and an education program. At the same time, it was possible for me as a researcher to get a good overview. Reasons for this were that I had visited the tournament before and knew my way around. Also I have contacts on all organisational levels and used them to gain more knowledge of EAC. A unit like this can often be divided into smaller units and you can find personal stories and individual actors that can help understand the dynamics in the event (Grønmo, 2004). In my research I wanted to listen to the actors on the field and hear the stories of both volunteers and staff. The interviews became an important source to find the stories of the individual actors, and these stories became the basis of my analysis.

In the following I will present the methods used, the process of collecting data and discuss on the basis of literature and my experience, the issues regarding methodological choices, the analysis and the quality of the data.

3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

The data I will focus mostly on in this thesis, are the interviews that where conducted in the period I spent in Tanzania before and during EAC. In total, I conducted twelve interviews where three of them where group interviews. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. I used semi-structured interviews with an interview guide I had

prepared before departure (appendix 4). A research interview can be conducted in different ways. My choice to go with the semi-structured interview was based on the presumed contribution this method could have in the process of answering my research questions. It also gave me the flexibility needed when there is little research on the area and I wanted the project to adapt to the data (Patton, 2002; Thagaard, 2009).

The semi-structured interview is an interview form that is based on an interview guide with topics and general questions that are discussed in a natural order. It is not a question-and-answer session, but a 'controlled' conversation (Johannessen et al., 2010). The interviews were carried out where it was most suited for the interviewees. This meant that I had to meet them where they spent most of their time; we did interviews on the fields, in hotels, in classrooms etc. This made it difficult to do the interviews uninterrupted, but still the interviews where completed in a satisfactory manner. I chose to conduct the interviews in places the interviewees where familiar with and felt relaxed in. I hoped that meeting them at their 'home field' would show that I was eager to learn, trustworthy, and hopefully it took me out of the stereotypical impression of white people as distant and 'more important' than other people. The interviews and the role as a researcher will be further discussed in chapter 3.4.

3.2.2 Observations

During my time in Tanzania I also made observations. These observations were both participating and nonparticipating. At EAC I was not assigned any specific tasks, but I participated if there was something they needed me to do. For example, I helped with organising the dormitories, registering the participants when they arrived and followed up some of the Norwegians at the cup. This gave me a unique opportunity to show that I was 'one of them' and I got acceptance in the group. I also played football with the volunteers in the evenings. All these settings gave me opportunities to talk to volunteers and staff I did not have time to formally interview. In addition, I observed without participating on workshops, at the fields, during ceremonies etc. In conclusion, I switched between being what Johannessen, Tufte and Christoffersen (2010) describe as an open participating observer and just an observer. I did not hide who I was and why I was present. I did not presume that participants' knowledge of my role would change their behaviour on the field. The phenomenon I was looking at is not of a private or intimate nature. I would even argue that the fact that they knew why I was there gave

them a greater understanding of my presence and my role and this opened up for a good dialogue.

The observations where unstructured, meaning that I had not planned in detail what I was looking for. This was a challenge for me as an inexperienced researcher, because I did not know what I was looking for. To try to compensate for this I focused mainly on conversations with participants in the field. This gave me an opportunity to 'practise' for my interviews and it lead to many good conversations. I took notes either while I was observing or as soon as I got some spare time, but because of a very tight schedule the descriptions are not as rich as they could have been.

3.2.3 The sample

The informants in this research were people that could in some way shed a light over the chosen theme. I wanted to talk to African volunteers and staff working with the cup. Figure 1 gives an overview of the people interviewed and their role, and in table 1 there is a schematic summary with more information on the interviewees. Of the 16 people I interviewed, four where women, all of the interviewees were over 18 years old. I will though the thesis use different terms referring to the sample. A person who has a task during the cup and work without pay is a volunteer. A leader, staff or an employee is a person employed in the organisation he or she represents at EAC. A participant is a
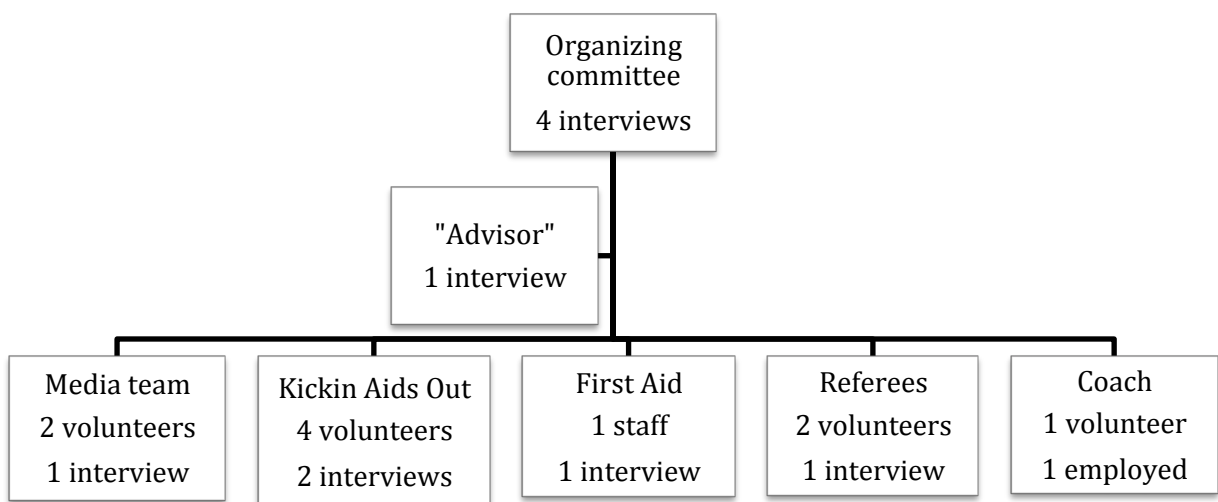

Figure 1: Interviewees and their position

Table 1: Information on the interviewees

Name	Gender	Position	Status	Interview
Rose	F	Referee	Volunteer	Group
Calvin	M	Referee	Volunteer	Group
Martha	F	Referee supervisor	Staff	Individual
John	M	Kicking Aids Out leader	Volunteer	Group
Joshua	M	Kicking Aids Out leader	Volunteer	Group
Matt	M	Kicking Aids Out leader	Volunteer	Group
Elijah	M	Team leader	Staff	Individual
Hope	F	First Aid supervisor	Staff	Individual
Mary	F	Kicking Aids Out leader	Volunteer	Individual
Thomas	M	Team leader	Volunteer	Individual
Rashid	M	OC-member	Volunteer	Individual
Mark	M	OC member	Staff	Individual
Fred	M	Advisor	Staff	Individual
Juma	M	OC member	Staff	Individual
Charles	M	Media team	Volunteer	Group
Peter	M	Media team	Volunteer	Group

player or a youth that is attending the activities at EAC. I have limited information on their backgrounds, for example occupation of their parents, where they grew up etc. The reasons for this will be further discussed in chapter 3.4, but due to limited time in the field and cultural diversities, I chose not to ask in detail about their background and family where it did not come naturally into the conversation. How I chose the sample will be further elaborated later, but I want to point out that I have only interviewed people from three organisations, 11 from CHRISC, four from MYSA and one from Right to Play. The reason for this was accessibility and the point that most of the volunteers, with exception of team leaders and coaches, are from CHRISC and MYSA. The countries that are represented in my sample is Tanzania (4), Kenya (8), Uganda (2) and Burundi (1). Nationality was not one of my selection criteria other than I wanted to interview people from several different countries.

With exception of one of the volunteers in a group interview, all spoke English at a satisfactory level. The choice not to use a translator was based on the practical and economic aspect of my project. It can be argued that this compromise the representativeness of the sample and the quality of the data, because many of the people with good English skills represent a higher educated part of the population. To back up my choice I did get in touch with people from all parts of the society, from people that grew up in refugee camps and slums to people that come from a middle class background and some did have higher education. I interviewed people from different countries where Tanzania and Burundi are the only countries that do not have English as an official language. Secondly, this study is not meant to be a generalising study. I wanted to capture the meanings about and motives for volunteerism at EAC, the main purpose was not to say something about all African volunteers. If the latter were the aim, other methods and research units would have been better suited. Still, I will use theory to try to say something about volunteerism outside of a western world context. On the side of the data quality, it can be argued that an interview between two people from different cultures can be challenging. In addition, the fact that the interview is conducted in a language that is not their mother tongue, can be problematic (Patton, 1990), but many of the interviewed persons use English as a language in their education or in their work and they have also had English education in school.

As an answer to the cross-cultural differences and possible misunderstandings, I could have used a translator from one of the organisations, but this choice would have had at least four main challenges. First of all, it was difficult to get an appointment with the interviewees; it would have been even more difficult to have a third party to coordinate with. Secondly, when using a translator the accuracy can be difficult to obtain since many translators, with best intentions, have a tendency to summarise what the interviewee is saying. This can lead to nuances and reflections being lost in translation (Patton, 2002). Thirdly, my informants are from different countries with different mother tongues so the translator would have to speak several languages or I had been forced to use several translators. Lastly Patton (2002) points to that use of a translator demands specific training which would not have been possible in this setting, due to, among other things, limited funding. This would mean that I would have to use a random person with good English skills, but with no training as a translator it would not have been an ideal solution.

I got in touch with the interviewees through central leaders or I meet them randomly in the fields or at seminars. In addition, I was presented at different meetings so that leaders and volunteers could contact me if they wanted to talk to me. I also asked some of the central interviewees to recommend other people that I should talk to. This way of selecting a sample is a mixture of different sampling methods. I wanted to interview people from different parts of the organisation to get an overview of the opinion and attitudes towards volunteerism in all levels of the organisation. This is what Patton (2002) refers to as a maximal variation sample. This sampling type is used when you want to describe both the variations within a small sample at the same time as common experiences and core values are discussed. Also, I decided to have an open mind and be able to make decisions about the sample after I started the fieldwork. This is what Patton (2002) calls opportunistic sampling. I wanted to take advantage of the opportunities that I got during the fieldwork and talk to people that I was recommended and that I meant could have a story to tell that would complement the study. The starting point was to use these methods of sampling, but for the most part, the sampling was based on convenience. Because of the difficulties in getting appointments with people, I had to interview people that could contribute when we were at the same place at the same time. This is not ideal, as pointed out by Patton (2002), but it was necessary in the situation I met in the field.

When I started to plan my fieldwork, I contacted central leaders in EAC and CHRISC both in East Africa and in Norway that I got to know during my last stay in Tanzania. They provided me with potential interviewees from the OC and people that have been central in the organisation of EAC for many years. I contacted these people by e-mail three weeks prior to my fieldwork with information about the project. Even though they did not reply, they had received and read the information. I contacted eight people, two women six men; I conducted interviews with five of these. The rest of the sample I got in touch with during the preparations for the cup and at the event itself. In the following I will present how I carried out the analysis of the data.

3.3 Analysing

During the work with the data I have used a hermeneutical approach where it is central to look at the material as a whole, but still look at the parts that make up the whole. An interviewee's statement is one part of the whole picture and has to be interpreted as both an independent unit and as a part of the context (Thagaard, 2009). Fangen (2010) points out that there are three different levels of interpreting qualitative data. First-degree interpretation is when you only describe the situation as it is. Second degree is when you try to read a meaning into the words spoken and actions on the field. Lastly, when you connect these two levels of interpretation to a theoretical background, you get the third degree interpretation. In the reading of the data I have tried to relate to these principles. In the following I will try to describe the process of interpreting the data.

3.3.1 Empirical coding

I did the analysing of the interview material in two parts. First I did an empirical or thematic coding where I first read the whole material and noted different categories or indicators that appeared in the material in connection with the research question 'What factors motivate volunteers at EAC?' Examples of these indicators are social network, finding friends, cultural exchange, inclusion, CV-building, being a change agent, altruism, passion, commitment, learning, knowledge, empowerment, talent development etc. After seeing all the interviews as one context I found that the indicators I had identified could be gathered in three core categories, which were all distinct in my material. These core codes where; network building (both professional and personal), capacity building and intrinsic motives. I used envelopes to sort the quotes fitting into these three codes and later organised them in a matrix. In table 2 you find examples of the empirical coding. Not all of the interviewees talked about all the categories, but at least two of them were present in every interview.

Table 2: Example on empirical coding

Interviewee / Category	Juma, staff, Tanzania	Thomas, volunteer, Kenya
Network	The most important thing is the aspect of interaction from different cultures. People learn from each other…	When you move in a place like East Africa [cup] you get to know different people and when you talk to different people you might even get you opportunity that might bring you jobs, opportunity that may even bring you education offer.
Intrinsic motivation	[Volunteering] Is being able to do something that you, yourself like doing or you like to contribute towards, without the expectation of getting rewarded…	…there is nothing like payment people are just coming here to enjoy themselves and to offer their services.
Capacity building	…those [volunteers] who are of an older age are the once who try to build their confidence, their competence in certain areas so that when an opportunity comes they are in the best place to be maybe employed.	[his organisation] is an organisation that uses sports to bring young people together. And off course when the young people come together they are taught different aspects of their lives.

3.3.2 Theoretical coding

When I had an overview of the data through the empirical coding, I wanted to see how the data fitted with the theoretical frames of Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) on collective and reflexive volunteers. This is a framework that uses six dimensions to categorise volunteers. Since the focus of this study is motivation, I used the motivational structures of this model to organise the material further. This coding together with the empirical coding formed the basis of the discussion in this thesis.

To visualise the idea behind the theoretical coding I used the basic motivational structures in the collective/reflexive volunteer model. I went through my data material again and organised it according to table 3.

Table 3: Modified table of the Motivational structures in Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework

	Collective volunteering	**Reflexive volunteering**
Objective: Structural-behavioural	• Coordinating religious and ideological meaning systems. • Clearly defined positions and roles in the community of relevance.	• Intensive interaction between biographical conditions and volunteer experience. • Biographical discontinuities in terms of crises and active re-orientations.
Subjective: Motivational-attitudinal	• Obvious sense of duty or responsibility to community or collectivity. • Tool for biographical stability and identity affirmation.	• Self-centred motivations. • Tool for coping with biographical uncertainty and for active self-realisation. • 'Solidary' or 'altruistic' individualism.

By using two methods of analysing, I had the opportunity to reflect over the meanings in the material and see the data from several points of view. It forced me to consider the statements of my interviewees several times and link them up to theory. This is in accordance with Fangen's (2010) levels of interpretation. In this process I also read earlier research and other theoretical work on volunteerism and sport and development, this gave me inspiration and helped me see how I could interpret the material into a meaningful discussion as will be presented in the following chapter. In the last part of this chapter I will outline some of the ethical implications that appeared in this study.

3.4 Ethical implications and critique of the study

In a qualitative study like this there are several factors that can reduce the quality of the data. In addition, there are a number of ethical implications that need to be reflected upon prior to, during and after the data collection. In this part of the chapter I will discuss these ethical factors and present how I tried to deal with them. Also the role of the researcher and criticism of the research will be presented.

In this study I have endeavoured to provide all participants full anonymity. This means that I have eliminated information that could have identified the participants, even though it could have been in the interest of the result of the study. It has also resulted in that some of the stories told have been adapted to avoid details that could identify the people involved, but still the point made by the informants is the same. All participants were given information and signed a consent form that was available both in English and Kiswahili (appendix 2 and 3). The Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD) has approved the study (the letter of approval is attached as appendix 1).

As a researcher, there are several aspects you need to be aware of as an actor in the field of research. When you meet people, you have an uneven power balance as a starting point, the researcher is an outsider who is present because of her level of education. In an interview setting she is the person that controls the conversation, institutionalises it and is the one to interpret the meaning of the conversation. During observation she will choose what to emphasise and what to overlook. This gives a power to interpret the world of other people (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Therefore it is important that the researcher is aware of her position and tries to avoid underpinning this imbalance. There are factors that can affect the situation and build up under these differences; gender, ethnicity, age and appearance are a few examples of this (Johannessen et al., 2010).

In the context of this research I also have to take into consideration the cultural differences. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) notify that there are several cultural pitfalls that can meet a researcher when studying a different culture. Therefore it is important that the researcher spends time in the field to get to know the cultural dos and don'ts. This was one of the reasons why I chose Tanzania, where I have lived for nine months. I know some of the cultural codes, even though you will never be fully capable in a culture that is so different from your own. I took some precautions to avoid the pitfalls based on my experience and advice from people with long experience meeting other cultures. To exemplify; I did not ask about private things like what the parents did for a living or their living conditions. Some times this came up naturally in the conversation, but if the interviewee did not bring it up, I did not ask. These types of questions can be emotional, maybe my interviewees grew up without parents, or their parents are unemployed. These questions could have made the interviewee uncomfortable and

therefore I chose not to ask them directly. If I had more time with the interviewees I might have been able to get to know more about their background.

Ethnicity and background can also affect the relationship between the sample and the researcher (Johannessen et al., 2010). I am a white female from rich Norway travelling to Tanzania to study volunteerism in a culture and a context I will never fully understand. A white skin colour automatically gives certain associations like wealth, power, and accessibility to resources and education. This can result in a feeling of exaggerated respect and subservience. Also my role as a woman in two strongly male dominated settings, the world of sport and the Tanzanian culture, can influence the conversation. On the other hand, the people I interviewed were all active in organisations that have many white people visiting and working as volunteers. There is also a focus on empowering girls and giving them important positions within the organisations. This means that they are used to meeting and cooperating with Europeans as well as working with women, so I do not anticipate that it had a particular impact on the interviews. Fangen (2010) discusses the issue of having a different ethnicity than the people that are studied. It can have both positive and negative impacts, it is important to be sensitive to what your appearance and ethnicity signalises and how you will deal with these signals. I tried to use my contacts and familiarity with the culture to disarm the cultural stereotypes. I was active in the volunteer milieu and used my contacts to get in touch with other volunteers. I played football with them, spent time with them during meals and tried to be 'one of them', by helping with chores and 'hanging' around. I spent much time in one of the hotels where many of the volunteers and staff where accommodated during EAC. I was also focusing on using the little Kiswahili I know to show that I am familiar with the culture and this worked as a good 'icebreaker' and it helped getting in touch with people.

As a previous volunteer in Tanzania and a volunteer here in Norway I have a lot of friends and acquaintances in CHRISC. This made it easy for me to access the field, get in touch with interviewees, and I am of the opinion that they saw me as a trustworthy researcher. On the other hand, this gave me a mixed position where I could have been viewed as so 'into the organisation' that there was no need to tell me the things that everyone on the field take for granted. To cope with this challenge I tried to ask follow-up questions when I knew or suspected that something was left out. My acquaintance

with several of the informants also gave me some other ethical considerations to make. Even though the theme of the interviews was not personal in itself, I was told stories about the informant's personal life that could have been an interesting backdrop for parts of the discussions. I have chosen not to include this information, seeing that this information could identify the people involved and the information was given to me as a friend, not as a researcher. Another difficulty with my close relation to CHRISC is that I could have been viewed as a representative from the Norwegian or regional management, and that I would tell their supervisors or leaders what they where telling me. I tried to avoid this implication by emphasising that all interviews are anonymous and that I was an independent researcher. My strong connection to KRIK and CHRISC can make me appear as a representative for these organisations. This time I was not there because of these organisations. My aim was to study EAC as an organisation, including all its stakeholders. I emphasised this in meetings with the leaders at EAC. In addition, I chose neutral clothes and avoided wearing clothes with KRIK and CHRISC logos to show I was not representing them in any way.

As mentioned, I have attended EAC before, but this time I had a different role and came on different premises. This was challenging both for the volunteers I know and myself. To deal with this challenge, I tried to be clear about my mission and what I was doing. I tried to separate my researcher role and my role as a previous volunteer coming back to visit. I also interviewed a mixture of people I knew well, and people I had never met before. The recorded interviews were conducted in a formal manner were the consent forms were signed and we 'went into' the interview situation and left the 'friendly' talk to other settings. The closeness to the field has also made it a bit difficult to view the cup as an outsider, but I tried to use my experience as a positive factor both during the fieldwork and in the process of analysing the data, as also Ronglan (2000) did.

The fact that I know the organisation gives me a good starting point to analyse the situation, as pointed out earlier. In addition, the information that came up in the interviews was to little extent of a personal or potential damaging character, so it seemed that all the interviewees where open and answered honestly to my questions. There is still a danger that the interviewees tell you the things that they think you as a researcher want to hear. Especially the employed leaders are trained in writing reports and presenting the work that they do to outsiders. Therefore some of the answers can be

'text book' answers where the aim is to make themselves or the organisation seem well organised. There is no doubt that volunteerism is important for the central stakeholders in EAC and this could have coloured the answers given to me. Thagaard (2009) considers this obstacle and says that it is difficult to eliminate this issue, but the researcher has to be open-minded and attentive towards the interviewee.

When you are in the field over a period of time it is always a danger that the researcher get so involved in the field and the actors there that he or she adopts their values and meanings. In the terminology this is called 'to go native' (Johannessen et al., 2010). Of course the danger of 'going native' increases when you are familiar with the field already, and since I have been working as a volunteer for KRIK and CHRISC for several years this was a risk. What I have been trying to do is to look at the data and analyse them as an outsider, but still use my knowledge to back up the findings. I wanted to 'start where I was' and use this to my advantage (Ronglan, 2000).

For me it was a challenge to get the conversation to flow in the way a semi-structured interview is meant to be. There can be many reasons for this, but the main ones might be the challenges with the language, the cultural differences and, maybe the most important, my lack of experience as an interviewer. This was visible to a different extent in different interviews. I did not have enough experience and time for preparation when I started my research. It has been a steep learning curve and by getting more information and knowledge in the process of gathering and analysing data, I have been able to utilise most of the data material. Many of the interviews were conducted in a noisy environment where there where several distractions. I think this affected me more than the interviewees, in East Africa there is a different attitude towards being in a quiet place and being alone. Most of them are used to having people around them all the time. One example of this can be the disappointment of a Tanzanian volunteer when he found out that he was placed in a single room during EAC. He ended up moving into a room with four other men.

This study made, as mentioned, use of both observations and interviews. The interviews are the most important part of this study. Ideally I would have used the observation data to verify the findings I did in my interviews. However, motivation is difficult to observe when you are in the field for such a short period of time. If I had had the capacity to

follow volunteers over a longer period of time, I could have seen how they reacted if they were not chosen to go to a course or did not get the opportunity to travel to EAC. Would this change their attitude and working capacity? Also, the volunteers I interviewed where all selected to travel to EAC and you could think that their motivation was reinforced in this period. Observations over a longer period of time would have made it possible to go deeper into these issues. I have, however, used my observation data to tell stories about the cup, and to illustrate some of the points in the discussion. In addition, I have drawn on stories from my stay in Tanzania from June 2010 up to March 2011.

Lastly, it is important to emphasise that in the global North there exist a lot of preconceptions about Africa and the people there. What we see in the media are starving children living in terrible conditions in violent slums; we see war and ethnical conflicts. Poverty, corruption, dysfunctional governments, dictators and trafficking are a few words that come to mind when Africa is discussed. On EAC we find participants from all social classes. There are participating organisations that work with children who have fled their country because of war, children living on the streets or in slums, but there are also children who come from families with parents in stable jobs and an income that is enough to feed the family and give the children education. Some of the volunteers and staff have also been able to take the step out of poverty and are now taking care of themselves and their family. My point of writing this is to show that the volunteers and staff come from different backgrounds and have an individual story to tell. Some tell a story of a struggle of getting money for the next meal while some are wondering what cell phone to buy. East Africa is not *one* country with *one* culture and *one* people. It is several countries and a great number of tribes and cultures. It is important not to let stereotypes control how we read the data in this study. This makes it both more interesting and more difficult to analyse the data, but by looking at the motivational factors, this can form an interesting backdrop for the discussion on motivation and the use of theories of the global north.

In the following, the data will be presented and discussed in the light of postcolonial thinking and western volunteerism literature.

4.   Volunteers at East Africa cup

In this part of the thesis I will present and discuss the findings I did during my fieldwork in Tanzania. I will use the theoretical framework and earlier research, presented in chapter 1 and 2, to shed light on the data. The theory and the data will be used to answer the research questions and to discuss how the theory based on Western volunteerism will fit the volunteers in the context of this study. I have divided the discussion in two chapters, were this one deals with volunteerism and motivation, while in chapter 5 is the complexity of volunteer motivation in the context discussed. First, the importance of volunteerism for the actors on the field is examined, before a presentation of the factors for motivation that were significant in the data material. These factors were summarised by Martha: "You will come because you have the passion and you want to grow and build your CV" (Martha[10], staff). This will be used to see how this is compatible with the motivational structures of the collective and reflexive volunteer model (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). Then a discussion on the complexity of the phenomenon and the cultural implications is presented. In chapter 5 I deal with a discussion on whether the theoretical frameworks earlier used on Western volunteers are suitable in the context of East Africa, with the use of perspectives from postcolonial theory. The issues that will be guiding for this part of the thesis are the research questions presented in chapter 1.3. The first part of the discussion is based on what factors that motivate the volunteers and how the informants regard volunteerism as a part of their culture. The second part will deal with how the volunteer sports model is imported to East Africa and the power structures within the field.

4.1 The importance of volunteerism in sport

Volunteerism is a central part of the sports model developed in many European and North American countries (Doherty, 2006).Volunteers organise children's sport, they sell hot dogs at match days and they make sure that sports events go as planned, but is this phenomenon the same all over the world? EAC is dependent on volunteers to survive. With their limited budget it would have been impossible to run the tournament

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[10] All names are changed to protect the informant's anonymity.

in the scale they have done[11]. Volunteerism is important for the volunteers themselves and maybe even more for the organisations. In this part I will discuss the importance of volunteerism at EAC and draw some lines to sport in general.

I interviewed both volunteers and paid staff in organisations involved in EAC. All of the employed staff had started their career in the organisation as volunteers. All of the employees emphasised that the knowledge and experience they got from their time as volunteers, had been a decisive factor in the process of getting a job in the organisation. Volunteerism has in this way been important for individuals.

> …before I was employed I volunteered for a long time. And it is that long time that helped me where I am. So they [the volunteers] should understand that I learned more during this [time as a volunteer] (Juma, staff).

Mark told me the story of how he got employed in his organisation. As a little boy he started as a player and had little knowledge about the organisation that was behind the team and the league, and he did not care much about it. He just wanted to play football. When he got older, he attended HIV/Aids awareness seminars and coaching seminars and started to get to know the organisation from the inside. He started to realise that he was a part of a system that meant so much to so many kids like him, and he got even more involved as a coach and educator. This knowledge and engagement is important when you want a job in these types of organisations. You are already a part of the organisation when you get a job. As Mark puts it:

> I would say there is a lot that comes with volunteerism and it is through that that we also some of us got jobs in these organisations. Because you start as a volunteer and you learn a lot of things and you get a lot of skills. When there is an opportunity for employment then you already don't need a lot of orientation to be part of the organisation, you are already a part of the organisation and you have grown with it so it is easy for you to just get into a position and synchronise and be able to continue working as a staff (Mark, staff).

Volunteerism is also important for the organisations. All the employed interviewees highlighted their dependence on the volunteers, here exemplified by Juma's statement: "[there are] about four people who are employed in the organisation [change to

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[11] This is confirmed in informal conversation with Norwegian representatives at EAC.

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anonymise], but the membership we have are about 7000, so for all the core people we depend so much on the volunteers to implement programs" (Juma, staff). At EAC volunteers fill many crucial roles and if all these roles would have to be filled by paid staff, the expenses would have been tremendous and could never be covered by the NGOs. The volunteers where mentioned as a major stakeholder, both at EAC and in the home communities.

> I think the volunteers are the major stakeholders in East Africa cup. I think they are the most important people in this organisation. Because I don't know how…East Africa cup could have been without volunteerism or volunteers. And this is very important because these people they give their time, their services for this event to be a success. So volunteers I think they are the most important resource, because they make sure everything run smoothly (Hope, staff).

In East Africa many of the western organisations working with sport and development have difficulties finding volunteers that are motivated to work without pay, which might not be surprising. In conversation with leaders, I learned that there is a high turnover when people realise that there is no money or prospects of paid work. This is logical if there is no culture for volunteering and there are many that struggle in poverty and have a family to provide for. Many organisations have limited funding and are dependent on volunteers to make the activities run. These organisations need other incentives to attract people to attend their activities. The organisation with the most benefits often becomes the favourite. One incident that can exemplify this was when I in 2010 visited a CHRISC project in a rural area of Tanzania. Our group was present to visit the on-going activities, but the week we stayed there was a local politician who arranged a football tournament were he paid teams to participate. The result was that there was little activity in CHRISC during this period. The politician offered an incentive that was more tempting than what was normally going on in the community.

For some of the volunteers their efforts are paid in one way or another; it can be a small allowance or covering of expenses for food and transportation. Many people in the global north would probably think that money is a decisive factor for volunteer engagement in a poor community, but I talked to some volunteers at EAC that told me that if they did not get support form their organisation to travel to EAC, they would have tried to collect the money to cover the week in Moshi themselves. This indicates that EAC has managed to make a concept that attracts the volunteers' attention and that

they are not there for extrinsic motives alone. 2012 was also the first year that EAC did not cover travel expenses for all the teams that attended the cup. Because of cuts in the monetary support to the EAC, several of the teams had to pay for transportation to and from Moshi themselves. This did not, however, seem to make the cup less popular among the participating organisations around East Africa. Through conversations with central leaders I got the impression that this was something they were proud of and used as a success indicator.

EAC had from the beginning of the cup started to pay the referees a daily allowance for their effort. When the cup grew, this became a challenge. There was not enough money to cover all the expenses for the referees. In addition, other volunteer groups found it unfair that only the referees should be paid for their effort. EAC had to do something system so that the referees were willing to come without pay. Martha, the referee supervisor, told me; "I started in the year since 2004 and initially then it was not pure volunteerism. Some were being paid some were not being paid. But later on it changed, and it became entirely a volunteer thing" (Martha, staff). She added that today people came for a skills enhancement, to have fun and because they have a passion and that it was much better than the way it was before. Also in discussion with other leaders I was told that it was important to grow a volunteer culture at EAC, in the organisations and eventually in the local community. In return for their efforts, the volunteers get education, experience and diplomas. They are no longer paid other than coverage of transport and living expenses. Another incentive is that to be approved as a referee at a high level in East Africa you need to referee several international games. The referees get this experience during EAC in addition to education and certified competence. The organisers are of the opinion that this should be a good enough reward for the effort the referees put down during the cup. This choice lead to the use of younger and less experienced referees, but many wanted to come to learn more and get a higher rank in the refereeing system in their country, and maybe be approved to referee matches in the official league system and get paid.

This is not necessarily the opinion among the referees themselves. I interviewed two referees, Rose and Calvin, who both emphasised that, in some ways, they did not feel that their effort was valued. Both of them expected to receive more than they had gotten. They had expected equipment and hoped for monetary compensation. Rose also

said that in her home community there where matches running. If she had not been in Tanzania she could have facilitated these matches and received payment for the job. So they were both disappointed, even though they had both attended the cup before as referees and should be familiar with what to expect. According to the leaders, the referees have not been paid for several years. So where this expectation came from is difficult to say. This could cause that the referees are less motivated in the job that they do, but still many come back year after year, and there is a tough selection process in both CHRISC and MYSA to be able to go to EAC as a referee.

Since the volunteers are so crucial for the organisations, they depend on having happy, motivated volunteers who want to come back to EAC so that the turnover will not affect the quality of the tournament. Volunteers are a group that is difficult to motivate because they are a very heterogeneous group, and what motivates a volunteer is a subjective feeling. In the following I will present the findings I did in the empirical data material of this study with regards to motivation. These findings will also be discussed in the light of theoretical frames and earlier research.

4.2 Volunteer motivation

As mentioned earlier motivation for volunteerism is an area of research that is complex and even though there has been conducted some research on the subject, there is no decisive answer to what motivates a volunteer to spend hours working with no or little pay (See for example Dhurup & Surujlal, 2008; Handy et al., 2010; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003, 2004; Johnston et al., 1999; Surujlal, 2010; Surujlal & Dhurup, 2008). In the following I will discuss the three main factors of motivation I identified in the data material; network building, capacity building and intrinsic motivation. These findings will be linked briefly to theory and research on the field. In the following parts the link between the data and theory will be further explored.

4.2.1 Network building – connecting people

The importance of building a network both socially and professionally is emphasised by several of the interviewees both the volunteers themselves and the staff. Through the network they get at EAC and the organisations they belong to, they meet people from different countries and cultures, they build down preconceptions and are able to see the

people behind the 'labels'. In addition, it is an opportunity to meet potential business contacts. This corresponds with research conducted on Kenyan volunteers by Kiangura and Nyambegera (2012). They found that 79 % strongly agree or agree that they volunteer when there is an opportunity for future employment and 80 % find 'making friends' an important motivational factor.

Elijah, team leader of a sitting volleyball team, said that the participants felt insecure and excluded in the beginning of the tournament, but little by little the disabled participants got to know other people through the different activities. "…it takes time to make them feel like that, but now they feel like they are included in the community" (Elijah, staff). Disabled people are a group that in many African countries are seen as a burden and do not have an accepted position in the society. Therefore, these kids do not have many opportunities to be active or to earn a living. Elijah explained that through the use of sport and the opportunity to travel to East Africa cup, the participants have gotten a network of friends in different East African countries and have gained a status in the local community because they were chosen to travel abroad. Also the network and the feeling of belonging to a group have made them stronger and more independent. "…they are together and they share problems they have among themselves instead of going to the community" (Elijah, staff). Connected to Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework these volunteers could have been placed within the collective volunteer group. They are motivated by a wish to be accepted and gain a position in their community.

Some of the informants also point out the fact that through EAC they get to know different cultures and are able to learn more and maybe discover that people are not that different. If you are from Kenya or Rwanda, have a disability or not they share at least one inters, namely sport. In other words, EAC is a platform to build and sustain an international network.

> Mostly the motivation that I have seen in the volunteers in Moshi is they expect interacting with people from different areas, making new friends. That has been the primary motivation for youths participating here. Because someone feels proud when they can say; 'I have a friend from Rwanda, I have a friend from Burundi'...So that interaction it is like what motivates them to come here: to socialise with their peers from different areas (Juma, staff).

Juma talks about youth that are curious and want to make new friends, meet new cultures and get to know sportspeople from around East Africa. EAC is an exciting event that the volunteers look forward to. Many have been there before as players or volunteers and look forward meeting both old and new friends. EAC might be the only opportunity they have to meet their international friends. This is a motivation that should not be underestimated. Friendship is a strong binding force and can be used actively by the organisers to motivate the volunteers.

Cultural exchange, or making a social and/or professional network across borders, was mentioned by several of the interviewees. They saw EAC as a multicultural arena where people could get to know each other across national and tribal borders. This opens for a new understanding and respect for other people that might have been difficult without a meeting point like EAC. "For me the most important thing is to appreciate other people's cultures and to make friends" (Joshua, volunteer). This was Joshua's answer on what the impact EAC has on the volunteers. John puts it in another way; "…we got to appreciate the value of unity now because of being with different people from different countries with different cultures, so we got cultural appreciation" (John, volunteer). Mary supported this by saying: "Yeah, really, I really get a lot of friends here different countries and different culture and also I get the friends" (Mary, volunteer). In a part of the world where ethnical conflicts at times are surfacing, cultural exchange and understanding might be especially important.

Charles and Peter have attended the cup several times. They describe the unity among the volunteers in their group as strong and very important for their motivation. The way they are able to communicate and have fun together even though they are from different countries and different organisations, is obviously an important experience for both of them. Friendship is a part of their motivation to continue working. The fun they have at the event and the friends they make there is an important boost for the work in their home organisation. Support and unity of friends is an important drive in a, at times, tough organisational environment with limited resources and leader conflicts.

Thomas talked about how making a professional network was important to him.

> I have been able to make different friends and of course I have been exposed to
> different leaders here so it is like my CV now has been taken by different people

and I know very soon in the future things will work out for me (Thomas, volunteer).

EAC is an arena where many different organisations meet. There are participants from 50 organisations (East Africa cup, 2012). The volunteers might use this as an opportunity to meet the top leaders from some of these organisations, people they might not be able to meet in any other settings. The hope is to get in touch with organisations that have resources to hire, something that the home organisation cannot provide. Martha points to a three -fold motivation to attend the EAC. Martha talked about how EAC can be a platform to build your CV and to grow. She also talked about how attending a referee seminar and officiating matches can give you an advantage if a referee wants to pursue a career in refereeing. It is also a meeting point for different organisations that can help referees get in touch with leaders of other organisations. If you have referee training you can also officiate matches for the national federations and get paid. In this way refereeing can be an income generating activity in itself These types of organisations have often limited resources and want to spend them in an efficient way. Therefore, they want to hire people they know, so that they are sure that they hire the right person. To get a job, it is a clear benefit in all types of organisations in different contexts to have good contacts. If you have been a volunteer in an organisation, they know what they are getting. They have seen what you are capable of and therefore they take a smaller risk by hiring a volunteer that they have been working with for several years.

Many of the leaders mention the importance of building a network on an organisational level as well. In this way, volunteers and paid staff are given an opportunity to learn from other organisations. They can connect with youth and leaders from other places and organisations in order to share the best practice.

> Like you know, East Africa cup is all about networking…these organisations are serving the same interest, but using different approaches…And you find that the key component is sport and you find having this kind of seminar is just to try to get the best of each partner organisation (Martha, staff).

The different partners want to use EAC as a way to attract talented youths in different fields and nurture their talent and develop it further. A regional network is a good way to let youth from different organisations meet and learn from each other. In addition, the

interaction and network building on an organisational level is seen as a very positive contribution to the daily work in the organisations. By providing a meeting point like EAC, they can exchange ideas and best practise to develop it further and get inspiration to continue the work. In this organisational environment, partnerships are formed. For instance, one of the leaders talked about how his organisation could get inspiration from the program for disabled youth that Right to Play has. By meeting these kids that now have an activity to attend, volunteers and leaders can be inspired to initiate projects or change the course of their organisation.

The wish to build a network can be placed within several of the factors in Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) model on volunteering, as presented in chapter 2.2.1. First of all, networks as a motivational factor can be linked to the wish of finding a position or a role in the community, which is central for the collective volunteers. On the other hand, building a network can also be important to a reflexive volunteer who has self-centred motives or a desire to conduct an active re-orientation in life, maybe the volunteer wants a new career or to progress in life. Differences can, presumably, be found within the group that wants to find new friends. These volunteers might be curious of different cultures, they can be very social people, or they just see this as a benefit that comes from helping other people. Network is a wide category, as shown above, but to make new friends and meet people from different countries is obviously something that makes the volunteers want to come back year after year. How this fits into the theoretical framework will be further discussed in chapter 5.

4.2.2 Capacity building – a step forward

Another aspect that was discussed in most of the interviews was the opportunity to learn new things, get more knowledge, experience personal growth, feel seen and get challenges as a person. These key topics were some of the indicators used when identifying capacity building as a factor for motivation.

Capacity building is something many of my informants mentioned as important for their participation. Through their engagement they get education in different fields like sport management, coaching, teaching etc. Many experienced a development from someone with few expectations in life to someone with goals and ambitions. This personal growth can be linked to the responsibility they are given and the roles they get the

opportunity to fill as volunteers. Some of them also expressed how the organisations nurtured talents, not only athletes, but also leader talents. In this way the volunteers found a place in the organisation that fitted their personality and goals. Elijah saw volunteering as an opportunity for the future, both on a personal and a professional level: "…a great number of volunteers is mostly based on building capacity, if they again are volunteering he gains capacity and he gets knowledge that he will use in the future" (Elijah, staff). In the following this will be further exemplified and discussed.

The motto of EAC is: 'One week in Moshi, a whole year in the community'. This reflects the idea that EAC should be a piece in a larger puzzle. What the organisations do in their home community is the most important. This is to support the sustainability of the organisations. EAC is meant to be something different, a boost in the daily work, something participants look forward to and it can be a source of inspiration to continue participating, and maybe even become more engaged. The EAC volunteers are coming to Moshi to learn, get experience and go back to their community and continue the work they are doing there with renewed motivation and knowledge. "…it is something that you have been doing the whole year in the community, but here you are coming like to learn more, to share what you know and learn from other people" (Juma, staff). EAC is supposed to be a catalyst for activity in communities around East Africa. This is a stated goal from the leadership of the organisations to try to make the projects sustainable and as a part of a long term plan. This is why education is so important at EAC. A central EAC leader put it like this:

> Football and the volleyball and the drama those are just sports, the things we do, but the seminars are what make this event different. It is what makes the EAC to be a unique event. Because ideally, what the organisations share in these seminars and what the different organisations learn from these seminars they go back and replicate it in their home organisations. So the seminars make the whole year in the community thing a reality. Because it is through these seminars that knowledge and skill is required (Mark, staff).

There is no doubt that the EAC leadership has a clear vision that education is an important factor in trying to get volunteers to stay. In addition, giving them new knowledge will be useful both for the volunteer and the organisation. This is a central part of their strategy to retain volunteers.

> If you come as a referee for the first year and the second year, then the third year you can come as an assessor…So we have that levels thing where you go from this level to this other level. So those levels they motivate you to keep on wanting to come. Because if you are in this level, and you know that in two years I can go to a different level then you get new challenges and you climb the ladder (Mark, staff).

This strategy is supported by Goslin (Goslin, 2006). He found that among sport volunteers in South Africa there was a gap between volunteers' expectations and how these where met. In his sample the average time of commitment was 2,9 years. Goslin points out that this is because of, among other factors, lack of specific education and training. The volunteers did not have enough knowledge on the field where they were working and did not feel that they were heard, there were a lack of routine and structure (Goslin, 2006). By having specific trainings, the organisations try to give the volunteers the knowledge they need to do a good job and feel that they have gotten something out of it themselves. Several of the leaders also said that they tried to have a balance between recruiting new volunteers and inviting back experienced volunteers to create a dynamic environment where the volunteers can learn from each other. EAC is used as an incentive for volunteers in the home organisations. Many of the volunteers wanted to come back to EAC and the opportunity of maybe being able to go back to Moshi worked as a motivation to keep up the work in their home organisation. This is were the levels of the trainings and the new tasks are used.

Another central point when it comes to capacity building is the practical experience that the volunteers can get. This experience can have two sides; a professional and a personal. To discuss the professional first; getting working experience for a young person in East Africa can be challenging in a society with high unemployment rates, especially among youth (Haji, 2007). One of the volunteers used his degree in the work he did in his community.

> I started volunteering…because I wanted to work with the youths. Yeah and because of the interest of my course I took at the university because I did social work and social administration I wanted to know more about the kind of behaviour and behavioural changes within the community I come from (John, volunteer).

John is a KAO facilitator both at EAC and in his home community. This group of volunteers had a four day seminar before the cup started where they got new inputs on

teaching, updated knowledge on HIV/Aids and they discussed how the organisations could best spread knowledge on this issue. During the cup, these volunteers had workshops for the participants in the morning session before the matches started. To compliment a degree with practical experience is assumed to be a positive contribution in finding your first job. Haji (2007) points to an applied employment theory that he uses when analysing the youth unemployment in East Africa. One of the factors that make it difficult for young people receiving employment is lack of employability. What he puts into this expression is the lack of adequate education and, most importantly, lack of practical working experience. By volunteering in organisations like CHRISC, MYSA and Right to Play youth get a variety of skills that could be used in a professional job and in this way increase their employability. It will also give youth references and diplomas on their skills, which they can refer to. Through this study I can only refer to people that have gotten a job within the organisations and what volunteers expect. I do not have numbers on how many volunteers that have received professional employment after their volunteer efforts.

One of the central employed staff reflected on his time as a volunteer. He was part of the group that started the organisation his country and has been a part of EAC and the organisation from the beginning.

> I think volunteerism to me is giving your time in return for something…I say that the time that I was volunteering…,I gave up my time just for skills development and knowledge development… [Later] I was able to gain different skills, I was able to gain different knowledge then that made me get formal employment (Fred, staff).

For him, the time he spent working as a volunteer was decisive in getting a job in the organisation. In addition, Fred had through his engagement been able to build up his skills and his CV. The educational aspect is discussed in other studies looking at volunteer motivation. Cnaan and Goldberg-Glenn's (1991) study, presented in 2.4 showed that the educational aspect was not so important for their sample. This may be because of the sample's average age of 50, 6 years and that 63 per cent were retired, full time or part time employed. The average age of this sample has not been calculated, but the informants where approximately in the age group 18- 35, but with emphasis on 22-30. Some were working and somewhere students, this gives them a different starting point than the volunteers in Cnaan and Goldberg-Glenn's (1991) study. Akintola

(2011), on the other hand, found that among HIV/Aids caregivers, few would directly say that they volunteered to enhance their career, but indirectly it was evident that this was an important factor. Studies focusing on student volunteers have found that getting experience and practise were important motivational factors (Handy et al., 2010; Khoo & Engelhorn, 2007). These differences in research show that volunteer motivation is a complex field that depends on the context, the demographics of the volunteers and the activity in itself. This will be further discussed in chapter 5.

On a personal level, several of the interviewees were of the opinion that their experience as volunteers was important for the person they had become. In other words, they had experienced a personal growth or development[12] through their engagement in sport. Thomas tells about what his organisation has done for him:

> My organisation [name of organisation] is an organisation that uses sports to bring young people together. And of course when the young people come together they are taught different aspects of their lives. So [the organisation] has taught me how to be creative, and it has taught me to have confidence in myself (Thomas, volunteer).

The organisation has given him an opportunity to be a part of something 'bigger', to believe that there is a brighter future even though the premises might not have been the best. All the central partner organisations can be considered as plus sport organisations. They use sport to reach other development goals. MYSA's vision is 'Giving youth a sporting chance on and off the field'. To achieve this they for example have trainings, challenge youth to be leaders, give school scholarships based on volunteer engagement and arrange clean-ups in the local area. Football, and other sports, are the basis of the work, but to earn points in the league system the team has to volunteer, do clean-ups and attend awareness sessions in addition to winning football matches ("What we do," n.d.). CHRISC wants to see 'Transformed and an actively engaged youth for society development' and they want to use sport to nurture youth potential. Like MYSA, they use football and other sports to educate youth in different leader positions and the youth have to take responsibility for the activity in their community ("CHRISC - Christian Sports Contact," n.d.). In these visions lies an anticipation of developing youth and

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[12] Personal growth or development will in this case include talent development, building self-esteem and self-worth, building identity, increasing human capital etc.

giving them a dream of a brighter future and an opportunity to reach it. The same can be said about EAC, as elaborated before. Sport is the mean to reach a higher aim.

Mary is a volunteer peer leader with several years in her organisation. She was asked what she would tell her peers to convince them to come to EAC.

> What I would say…They will not get like money, but they will get a lot of skills and knowledge that they will make them to grow and they can get opportunity, they can find out their talent. Because you can see some of people they have some talent, but they don't know if they have that talent, but when you come here you can find out who you are and what kind of things do you want to be. So for me I think I will tell people that they can't get material things, but they can learn a lot (Mary, volunteer).

Mary sees volunteering as an opportunity to discover talents in a broader sense than sport performance. She went from a shy and silent girl to a clear and confident leader through the responsibilities she was given in the organisation. Her talent for teaching was spotted by the leaders in her organisation and she was given opportunities to travel and attend different courses. She was given responsibility and challenged. This has given her confidence and knowledge that is very valuable in her society. Mary was given an arena beside her family and friends where she could form her identity and she is now a role model for other girls around her. In a society that lacks opportunities for the youth, volunteerism is a way they can find their identity and their passion. A youth growing up in an affluent society will have many arenas and activities to attend. A ten-year-old girl in Norway can be a part of a church group, play handball and join the scouts in addition to her attending school and having friends and family in the neighbourhood. All of these arenas are places where she builds her identity. In a poor community these identity-building arenas might be fewer. Family and friends are important, and in most East African countries school is mandatory the first seven years. After this, educational opportunities are limited and depended on access to resources. In this regard, volunteer organisations can be a place to build identity, get education and develop as a human. Volunteerism as an arena for identity production will be further discussed in chapter 5.1.2.

Capacity building is one of the factors that, in different phrases, were mentioned in all interviews. The volunteers saw the benefit and joy of learning more, and getting more knowledge to build their lives on. Basic knowledge about issues like health, human

rights and substance abuse is needed in this part of the world. As an example, there are many myths regarding HIV and Aids, and since the disease and sexual behaviour are subjects that are not much talked about, these myths are living on. By educating the youth, the organisations mean they can spread their knowledge to peers, their family and others around them. In this way, the capacity building is vital for community development.

Still, it seems like the most important for the motivation of volunteers within this factor is the personal and professional growth that is possible through a volunteer engagement. To place this motivational factor within Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) structures is challenging. The professional capacity building would clearly be important for a reflexive volunteer. To increase your capacity in a field you are interested in is a self-centred motivation, you volunteer to benefit yourself and the knowledge you can gain. It can also be a step in making an active reorientation in life. Knowledge can also confirm who you are and who you want to be. At the same time, personal growth can be linked to all of these points mentioned, but at the same time capacity building on a personal level can help create an identity and it can define your position in the group. If you are one of the few in your community chosen to travel to EAC and get education, you have gained a position in that community. In this way, the framework is difficult to use in a setting where identity construction arenas are few. This will be further discussed in the following part, and the discussion will be broadened in connection with the complexity of motivation in chapter 5. Even though all of the interviewees mentioned this factor, it does not seem to be the most important motivational factor. They see capacity building as important, but to volunteer for a long period you need to have something more, an inner drive or a passion.

4.2.3 Intrinsic motives – a passion for what you do

All of the volunteers and employees talked about a good feeling from within, a passion for what you do and a sincere wish of contributing in their community and for their peers as motivation for what they were doing. Volunteerism for the informants was linked to something they did without any effort, they *wanted* to go to the field every day to coach teams, they felt joy in seeing the people they educate taking steps forward in life. There were several different words that were used by the informants to describe the intrinsic motives. Some wanted to be change agents, some had a passion for what they

were doing, they wanted to contribute and take responsibility for the people around them or they had that certain drive in the work that they did.

> When you are in the field of play and you are playing football and you score a goal and you feel, you know, you scored, you feel satisfied that day. Wherever you go you feel that 'today I scored a goal'. So for me volunteerism is something like that. Because I have coached people for example in my home organisation, young kids who were very small by then, and then now I see them play in the top league, in the Kenyan Premier League. So I feel I have scored. I have gone through some systems whereby we have applied for funding for kids to go to school for free of charge…And we have taken certain kids to school and these kids perform and they become, you know, respectable people in the community and they get jobs. Then you see, you have again scored a goal. You feel good, so it is some kind of satisfaction you get inside. So you always feel good, you score and you know when you volunteer in something and you give your time to something that you see the outcome then you really feel, you know, you've really done something. Better than getting money out of, better than being paid it is some satisfaction inside (Mark, Staff).

I interpret this quote as Mark describing a feeling of achieving something, when he meets the kids he has coached or taught, and sees that they have succeeded in life, he felt his effort was worth it. All the hours he has spent in his organisation was worth it when one of his boys had built a carrier as a football player, or one of the girls he had trained found an opportunity to get higher education, he felt success. The effort had paid off. This seemed to still be his drive, even though he now has a higher, paid position in the organisation.

When Hope was asked to define volunteerism, she talked about a drive 'from within', something that is easy to do and does not feel difficult.

> For me, volunteerism; I only see it as a calling. Like, it is something that is in you. Because it is not, you know, you can't fake it. It has to have elements like passion, and it has to do something with all your heart without expecting anything in return…you know, you love what you are doing (Hope, staff).

To state that volunteerism cannot be faked might be disputed. Hope's point seemed anyway to be that for her, volunteerism is something that would be too difficult and tiring to do if your heart is not in it, if you don't have the drive from the inside. This might be the reason for the turnover in the organisations. If the passion is not present, it is difficult to do a job for free over a long period of time. The calling she talks about can be a longing for something significant to fill your life. In a society with high levels of

unemployment and low school attendance and with few organised activities for youth, something meaningful to do with your time can be decisive for your future. Many SDP organisations operate in communities where high levels of crime and substance abuse is fairly common, this can easily become the path for young people if they don't have a passion for something else and a hope for a better future. This is precisely what the partner organisations of EAC work to be.

For Charles it was important to remember who he was helping when he did his job as a volunteer. He had experienced conflict with leaders in his organisation[13], but he had a bigger goal with his work; he wished to be a change agent in his community.

> Like what I do I am a volunteering because I want the society to change, the youth not to go in the wrong direction, I want them to go in the right direction. So it is like when I lost support from the leaders I remember about the children so I can lead the children and think about the leader, I don't care about the leader what I care most is the, how I treat these children, how I help them that is what I care most for. So if the leaders don't value me I don't care about them (Charles, volunteer).

His motivation lays in the work that he is doing and the kids he is helping. He did not want a conflict with other leaders, neither with paid workers or volunteers, to affect the children. These conflicts had to be sorted out between the people involved without involving others. I interpret his statement as a way of telling that his passion and motivation was the children, being able to give them a brighter future. This inner joy that I read out of his statement is something that is more important than himself in this picture. If he does not come to the field to train these children, no one else will come. Charles wants to be a part of forming their future and influence them into making good decisions in life.

Another volunteer, Rashid, expressed a desire to be a change agent in his community. Volunteerism was a way for him to influence the people around him. As a volunteer leader, he had gotten opportunities to impact on decisions made both in his community and in the organisation.

> To me it [volunteerism] is something you do consciously with a lot of passion and commitment…That is volunteerism because we commit or pledge ourselves

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[13] Because of anonymity the issue of the conflict cannot be discussed further.

to be change agents, that is why we give quotes as volunteers when we are conscious with sober minds. We are passionate about pushing, elevating other youths who are coming from both somehow organised communities and some other mediocre communities (Rashid, volunteer).

The desire to mean something to other humans appears like an important drive for Rashid. If this is purely intrinsic or if there also is an intention to get a position in the community, is difficult to assess based on the material in this study.. He said he wanted to be a part of a kind of movement to better the opportunities and future prospects of the children in his community, and in the whole of East Africa. He quoted Gandhi and said he wanted to make a difference in people's lives, at the same time he wanted them to change him. In the interview he told me that he wanted to become the biggest change agent in East Africa. It can be discussed if this is a clear intrinsic motive.

Juma talked in the interview about his time as a volunteer. He volunteered for four years before he was employed in the organisation

My time giving, my time to serve the community, I saw it [the volunteer effort] as just a reward. So having payment or no payment it is all the same. And it helps me having an inner motivation, so without pay, still I could do it. Even if you don't pay me I could still do it better. So for me, volunteerism is basically something out of inner motivation, without an expectation of reward. Your work itself, is a reward in itself (Juma, staff).

To see the work as a reward in itself is a strong sign of intrinsic motivation. What Juma gained was something that satisfied him and he found the work worthwhile. He did not elaborate what he saw as a reward, but the feeling of contributing, making a difference, being a part of a fellowship and the fun he had with the youth and the other volunteers were all factors that was mentioned during the interview. This feeling of getting a reward for the work you do might not be present at all times, volunteer work has it's periods with frustration and feeling of being insufficient as everything else in life. If you are intrinsically motivated it does probably not matter, because you feel that on some level you are contributing and benefitting someone else.

The staff in the organisations linked to EAC has a considerable workload. Without doubt, several of the staff spends many hours working overtime. Hours they are never paid for. This will of course not apply to everyone, but my observations and in conversation with people at the cup suggest that this is the case for a large number of

the employees. During the week in Moshi, and the time before, the staff works continuously without any extra payment. This can also be viewed as a kind of volunteer commitment and might be linked to their passion and the ownership they have towards the organisation. One of the employees even said that the time she spends at EAC was a volunteer effort: "For my organisation I am staff, but here [at EAC] I am a volunteer" (Hope, staff).

During one of many informal discussions, a leader told me that it is important not to forget one of the most important factors of motivation. It is fun to participate in activities and it is fun to travel to EAC, it is fun to volunteer. By doing volunteer work, you have fun, meet friends and enjoy the work that you are doing. The volunteers stayed in different motels around the city, but after the activities had finished and before supper, several of the leaders and volunteers met up to play football a few hours before dark. After supper many of the volunteers gathered in one of the motels and watched matches from the UEFA European Football Championships together. These evenings seemed to be an important time for the volunteers and leaders to come together and socialise, relax and have fun. I attended one of these evenings and it was a lot of fun. People met old friends that they had not seen in a long time and enjoyed each other's company. The football trainings we had in the evenings were an arena for the volunteers to participate in the activity that for many marked their entry in the organisation. Many have been players in the organisations, but do not have the same opportunity to participate anymore. To build up a good social setting for the hard working volunteers was important to the leadership and one of the strategies to take care of the volunteers. Thomas said: "…people are just coming here to enjoy themselves and to offer their service" (Thomas, volunteer).

Several studies have found that intrinsic motivation is important to motivate volunteers. In the following I will present some of these studies and discuss them in light of the data and the theoretical frames of this study. Auld and Cuskelly (2001) did a study on a random sample in Brisbane, Australia. The sample was divided in three groups; those who never volunteered, had stopped volunteering or were still volunteering. For the latter, the most important reason for continuing volunteering was 'to help others'. This seems central to all the volunteers, they wish to be a changing factor in other people's lives. Also Cnaan and Goldberg-Glenn (1991) found that the most important

motivational factor for volunteer effort was 'Opportunity to do something worthwhile' which they categorised as an altruistic motive. The second most important thing, however, was what they call an egoistic motive. Volunteering 'Makes one feel better about oneself'. The latter motivation can be a motive that is also important for the volunteers in my sample, but this was not mentioned directly. This is probably linked to the fact that it is easier to discuss the positive, altruistic motives, than the egoistic ones that are normally linked to negative values. This point is in correspondence with Akintola's (2011) findings. He did a study on volunteer caregivers for people living with HIV/Aids in South Africa. He looked at 11 factors for motivation for volunteer work, his informants used between two and four factors to explain their volunteer commitment. The most important factor was based on the volunteers' values, in other words, helping someone in greater need than themselves. The informants showed empathy and a desire to help people living with the disease. Trying to contribute to their community, which was harshly stricken by the AIDS epidemic, was another important factor. In the interview situation you are sitting face-to-face with another human and it is difficult to admit that you are egoistically motivated; it is much more legitimate to talk about the intrinsic values. Even though, some 'egoistic' motives came up through the interviews, these were more linked to helping oneself, at the same time as helping others and therefore might have felt more legitimate. But, as pointed out in chapter 4.2.2, he also found that many had self-centred or extrinsic motives for volunteering.

This passion for what you do, to be a part of a group and benefit the people around you are important factors that characterise a collective volunteer in Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework. The framework does, however, lack a clear place for the people that volunteer with sincere altruistic and intrinsic motives. Reflexive volunteers can be motivated by an altruistic individualism that says something about doing something to help others, but at the same time the most important is how you as an individual benefit from the action (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). This will be further discussed in the next part.

None of the interviewees in this research were motivated purely on intrinsic motives. All mention at least two reasons for volunteering, but everyone had a statement that can be linked to this set of motivational indicators and for many it seemed, as I understood it, like the basic driving force for their commitment. An unselfish wish to do something

good in the world can be an important motivator for volunteer effort. What a volunteer sacrifices is not the most important thing, it is to do a job that benefits someone you care about whether it is your family, friends or your community. To give children and youth the opportunities you either lacked or received can be an important motivation. Also the wish to help people around you that need your resources more than you do, is a powerful drive that should not be underestimated. It might be naive to say that a person is motivated by altruism alone, and there I may have been exposed to the same issues as Akintola (2011). Even so, this study indicates that for most of the interviewees intrinsic motives seemed to be the primary motivation. The other factors like an extended network, new friends and professional opportunities come second and as a nice benefit from the work that they do. Thus, there is a complexity of volunteer motivation, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

5. The complexity of volunteer motivation

Motivation is, as shown above, a complex matter with many influencing factors on different levels. It is assumed to be context dependent and that different people have a subjective understanding of why they carry out a certain action. So you could say that motivation is the reason why you, as an individual, choose to do something or choose not to do something (Vallerand & Ratelle, 2002). In this part of the thesis I will try to line up a discussion regarding why the volunteers at the EAC do volunteer work. The empirical findings have been presented above, now the bigger lines will be drawn. How does culture and context affect the choices the volunteers make, how can this be placed within the Western literature frame?

5.1 Volunteerism – a demand for tangible outcomes

Anheier and Salamon (2006) set in their text focus on the importance of sensibility and awareness of the cultural variations within the non-profit sector. Government involvement is one of the factors they look at. On one side, you find the African tribal culture of helping those in need. This volunteer effort happens without any state interference and outside organised frames. At the other end of the scale you find the 'Swedish' model, were the government has taken this sector seriously in policy management and the government is strongly engaged, and supportive of the efforts of this sector (Anheier & Salamon, 2006).

Fred, an employee, said it like this; "…in Africa volunteerism I think it is different from Europe because volunteerism is for free you don't get anything. So there is a difference I think" (Fred, staff). His statement on European volunteerism can suggest that his view of the 'others', in this case the European volunteers, are coloured by a caricatured picture of Europe. This can be linked to a colonial image of 'the others' is created of the unknown. If we follow a postcolonial way of thinking, this stems from the colonial time where there was a hegemonic relationship between the European colonial powers and the colonialized world. According to development critics these power structures are carried on by a patron-client relationship between Northern states 'helping' the South develop to a satisfactory level (McEwan, 2009). How this understanding of the others and the thoughts about volunteerism will be central in this part of the thesis.

5.1.1 Expectation from others

It is obvious in several of the interviews that the volunteers experienced that people in their network demanded an outcome of their engagement. This has been pointed to in reports on SDP projects, especially regarding NGO's that have connections in the 'rich' parts of the world. One example is presented by Hognestad (2005) who studied a football team from Zambia that travelled to Norway Cup[14] 2004. The findings suggested that several of the players experienced expectations from their surroundings to bring gifts and wealth back home, or that they should have been spotted by football scouts during their time in Norway. These expectations might not be so strong when travelling to EAC and Tanzania, but the findings in this study show that many experience a pressure from family and friends to show to something when they spend so much time in an organisation. These expectations can materialise in different ways, a few examples will be presented here.

Fred (staff) talked about how when East African youth reach a certain age and maturity, they have to take part in the economical responsibility in their family. When this happens varies from family to family. A child from a middle class family will not meet the same demand to contribute as a child from a poor family. This responsibility affects the amount of spare time to volunteer. Many children in Tanzania have a lot of duties in their home. The responsibilities do not always involve income-generating activities directly, but they can be responsible for smaller siblings parts of the day, have responsibility for food, cleaning etc. This is especially common among girls who are to be 'trained' to become good wives. Of course this is a generalising statement, but it is nevertheless true for many of the kids in these organisations. This is one of the reasons why both MYSA and CHRISC, and many organisations with them, have a focus on empowering girls and including them in the activities. EAC seems to have an explicit goal to include girls as participants. 51 per cent of the participants are girls (Olsen, 2013).

Volunteering is something that has to be taken from the spare time that can be a limited recourse in struggling communities. Juma (staff) talked about the importance of balancing education or a job, with responsibility at home and volunteer efforts. It can be

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[14] Norway cup is a large tournament held in Oslo, Norway every year. They have a focus on being a 'colourful community' and invite every year teams from different parts of the world to participate. The aim is to be a platform for cultural exchange (www.norwaycup.no).

difficult, especially if the volunteer's family do not understand why their son, daughter, niece or nephew spends time working without payment. To have a responsibility at home will limit the time available for other activities like volunteer work. In Norway, as an example, children and youth have limited duties at home and therefore have a lot of time for leisure activities. This makes volunteerism more available option. The question can be asked if volunteerism then is a more integrated part of a society where the population have spare time to spend? For the group of volunteers that meet resistance at home it might be more important with tangible outcomes to legitimise the volunteer effort. A few examples will be presented next.

One example is the volunteer Thomas, who expresses how his family for a long time was sceptical to the amount of time he spent in the organisation without getting payment.

> Every parent wants to see their kids grow up to do something for themselves and maybe prosper in life. So when they see, you tell them that you are doing something voluntary they don't understand so you have to take a lot of time to convince them, to explain to them, to let them know that even voluntarism is just part of the many activities that will come along the way (Thomas, volunteer).

He has a part-time job so that he does not burden his parents that are living in the rural parts of the country. Thomas also told me that his parents changed their view of his voluntary engagement when he first travelled to Europe through the organisation he is volunteering for. This seemed to, in a way, give him something concrete to show for as a direct result of his voluntary engagement. Some volunteers expressed that the pressure from family and friends to spend their spare time on income generating activities, rather than volunteer work, was sometimes difficult to deal with. I met a girl that had troubles convincing her parents that the work she did in the organisation was important. When she was not picked to go out of town to a seminar, her parents said that she was no longer allowed to participate. This indicates that there can be little understanding for a volunteer effort in a society where it can be difficult for some to make ends meet. There has to be a feeling of achieving something. This something can be anything from a hope of becoming a professional player or getting a job in the future, to being able to travel abroad or to another city to get more knowledge.

Charles and Peter talked a lot about the lack of support and understanding among their friends and families. No one of their friends understood why they wanted to work with children without getting paid. Charles tells about his dreams of becoming a change agent in his community.

> So I will take my way, I don't care about what they think. They pull me back but I know that I have to be there, so I find a way to go not to stay. I find a way to fulfil my dreams (Charles, volunteer).

He sends a clear message that he does not care about what his friends think about his prioritising of the kids in the community. He wanted to make a difference for the kids and give them knowledge about life that he did not have when he grew up, that is what he sees as important in his work. This seemed to be a part of his intrinsic motivation that was discussed on page 68. Peter experienced the same pressure, and had the opportunity to stand up to his family and friends. His family was critical to the amount of time he spent in the organisation without pay, so Peter chose to move out of his family's house, so that he would avoid interference. I can imagine that few of the volunteers have the same opportunity.

Several of the volunteers in the organisations that are a part of East Africa cup use a large amount of time in their organisations. I was told stories of people quitting their paid job because it did not give them the same satisfaction as working with the kids in the organisation. Also, I met people who were dissatisfied with a volunteer 'colleague' who had found a part time job and because of that was no longer able to do all his voluntary 'duties' in the organisation that he had fulfilled earlier. It could seem like volunteering is an all or nothing engagement, at least in some cases and in some of the local communities. If volunteers get a part-time job or start school they will miss out on a lot of things because many of the meetings and some of the activities happen during the daytime. At least this was the everyday life of my period living in Tanzania. In this way, combining volunteer effort with the other activities can for some be difficult. I assume that this will vary significantly from organisation to organisation and community to community. Another side of the story is the employees that do not get paid for all the hours they are working in the organisation. For example, Hope pointed out in the quote on page 70, where she talked about how she was a paid staff in her

organisation, but that her engagement at EAC she saw as a volunteer effort. I have met people who only had a part-time job, but worked more than full time.

5.1.2 Identity production

Youth unemployment is a great challenge for the East African countries (Haji, 2007) and in this perspective you can view volunteerism as something meaningful to spend time on and keep busy and a way from potentially dangerous activities and environments. Volunteerism is in the North viewed as an arena for production of social capital, it strengthens the community and provides services that the government is not able to provide. In other words, volunteerism haves positive effects both for the individual and the society. On the other hand, there are also negative impacts connected with the phenomenon. It expresses a social gap, someone have the excess to give and someone have to be on the receiving end (Haski-Leventhal, Meijs, & Hustinx, 2009).

Haski-Leventhal, Meijs and Hustinx (2009) notes that volunteers are often of the middle class. With starting point in my sample this seems to not be the case at EAC. All social classes seem to be represented in my observations, from people with background as street children to youth who have attended expensive private schools. The organisations can function as an arena where identities are developed and nurtured. This is part of the purpose of many SDP organisations when they aim to empower youth, give them life skills and strengthen their self-worth.

For example did Joshua express it like this: "My volunteering it keeps me busy and away from doing wrong things. So I keep myself busy with volunteering" (Joshua, volunteer). He realise that in his community there are many temptations and pastimes. By getting involved with the wrong people he can end up ruin his life. Also when he volunteer he can make sure that kids in his community have the opportunity for a leisure activity that can eventually lead to a safer and better local community.

Also the SDP-IWG argues that sport can be a preventing effort against youth crime and destructing behavioural (SDP-IWG, 2008). The population in Africa south of Sahara is a very young population. All four countries represented in my sample have over 50 per cent of the population under 24 years of age (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d). Volunteering can be a way of changing frustration over a system that doesn't take care

of their young population into something useful. Many of the organisations that participate at EAC work in disadvantaged communities and the youth in these areas are facing a tough reality with poverty, crime and poor living conditions. The danger of young people getting involved in crime and drugs are high in these areas. Joshua seems to believe that volunteerism can keep him away from these kinds of dangers and also that he can be a role model for youth. He wants to show them that it is possible to choose another way and prosper in life.

To use sport as a diversion has been a common argument for centuries, also in colonial Africa (Chappell, 2007). This argument could be viewed as a way to maintain a colonial grip of the states in the global South. In Great Britain, sport was used to discipline boys, give them authority respect and help them stay out of trouble (Holt, 1992). This extrinsic value of sport is also used today. In Norway we see sport projects that target youth in risk of starting with crime and other risk activities like drugs. One example is the Norwegian 'Storbyprosjektet' (The Big City Project) supported by the government to reach groups in the society that are not normally a part of the sports system, for instance minority groups (St.meld.nr. 14, 1999). These links can be put within postcolonial frames. Sport is used by Western stakeholders to reach goals that are set by them, and what has been seen as a success recipe in the global North (Darnell, 2012). Therefore these arguments are transferred into the context of East Africa.

5.2 Civil society, modernity and postcolonialism

To put volunteerism in the frames of the Tanzanian or East African context I will in this part look at the structural preconditions for modernity in this part of the world. There are according to Haski-Leventhal, Meijs and Hustinx (2009) two structural preconditions that need to be in place before a person chooses to commit as a volunteer. First they talk about the volunteerability, a person need to be willing to volunteer. The willingness is affected by different factors like social norms, attitudes. Also the capability controls the volunteerability, what skills the person has and what role she can fill is important for the engagement. Availability is the third precondition for volunteer commitment; time at disposal is for many the highest barrier. On the other side the organisation have to facilitate for volunteer commitment they control the recruitability. Is the organisation accessible for the potential volunteers and is the information

distributed in the right environments. Resources are also important for the organisations to be able to increase the number of volunteers, both monetary and social. The last factor that affect the recruitability is networking with other NGOs, business partners or governments, in this way resources can increase, or they reach a wider part of the population. These structures are useful to bear in mind when reading the rest of the thesis. Are these present in Tanzania?

Anheier and Salamon (2006) used numbers from the Hopkins project[15] and looked at the non-profit sector in several countries around the world. What this study shows is that the income of the non-profit sector is divided in three main categories; fees, government contribution and philanthropy. In Western Europe the government is often the most important source of income for the organisations, while fees are the most important in many middle and low-income countries. The study also shows that unpaid work is more important in less developed countries where the access to monetary sources is low. The exception is the Scandinavian countries where there is a long tradition for voluntary work (Anheier & Salamon, 2006). Many of the organisations linked to EAC are to a great extent dependant on monetary support from organisations in the global North. National and local governments provide little support to these kinds of initiatives. This is one reason why they are so dependant on volunteers to carry out the activities. But this also makes the organisation dependant on the funding partners and their aims and objectives. Even though the partnership mentality is central for many developing organisations, the monetary upper hand in combination with a mind-set still influenced by the colonial period creates an uneven power balance (Smukkestad, 2008). All of these factors play a role in complicating the picture of volunteerism in East Africa. Is it a phenomenon that was imported from the Northern hemisphere or is it an integrated part of the East African culture? In the following I will link the findings up to volunteerism in a modernised world.

5.2.1 The role of civil society

The civil society with non-profit organisations has over the last few decades received an increased influence also in developing countries. The World Bank and international aid givers did not see the development they expected because of the high numbers of

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[15] The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project was gathering data on the civil society in some forty countries around the world. In this way it was possible to compare data on civil society that had been difficult before (Anheier & Salamon, 2006).

corrupt leaders in these countries. Lack of transparency contributed to this attitude in many Western governments. Also the faith in community ownership to create sustainability in the project made civil society a fitting area of focus. The focus changed from a top-down model where the money was distributed through the governmental system to a model where local and international organisations where supported to larger extent. The idea was that through the local organisations the money would reach further (Anheier & Salamon, 2006; Kindo et al., 2004). This gave NGOs like EAC, CHRISC and MYSA a more central role in the development aid. Through these kinds of initiative the development should reach the masses. Volunteer work can be seen as a part of this development by giving experience and knowledge, at the same time as it can contribute to a cost-efficient way to run development schemes.

Scholars in the Western world are, as mentioned, of the opinion that the volunteer culture is changing from something 'old' to something 'new', from 'collective' to 'reflexive' and so on (see for exampel Anheier & Salamon, 1999; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003, 2004; Rehberg, 2005; Wollebæk, 2011; Wollebæk et al., 2012). Anheier and Salamon (2006) point out that volunteerism is a part of the organising of all communities. It shows how the government prioritises and how responsibility is divided within the society. In Africa there is tradition for a volunteerism that is based on helping the weak in your family or 'extended family'. In that way, a social network based on strong connections with family and friend is important in a society that does not have the capacity, or the will, to help the weakest. The governments in developing countries do not prioritise volunteerism in their politics and budgets and therefore do not encourage this kind of effort, the people themselves have to take responsibility (Anheier & Salamon, 2006). This wish to help people who are in your network can be exemplified by Peter who told me during my observation that his dream is to be able to give his brothers and sisters[16] the same opportunities as he had received through his organisation and he wanted to give them education and knowledge in order to prosper in life. When this is linked up to an inner drive as discussed in chapter 4.2.3, it can indicate that Peter and some of the others in the sample see volunteerism as a natural part of their everyday life and that they should give something back to the community, even though they meet resistance. Also Charles who talked about giving something back to

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[16] The terms brothers and sisters are in this context used on peers, friends and people in the social network, not necessarily biological siblings.

the community on page 68, or Rashid in the same connection who desired to be a change agent.

5.2.2 Volunteerism in Tanzania – imported or a part of local culture?

In the interviews, the informants were asked if they saw volunteerism as a part of their culture or a natural part of their community. The interviewees did not agree on this point. As Anheier and Salamon (2006) points out, volunteerism is a cultural phenomenon that differs from country to country and between different groups. To show this disagreement, two quotes from two people in the same organisation will be discussed:

> What motivated me? For me I would say it [volunteerism] is a culture that has been there. And it is a culture in me, because I have been, I have grown and lived in a system of volunteerism all my life (Mark, staff).

Another informant in the same organisation from the same community had a different opinion on volunteerism in their community.

> I think that a lot of people have not yet embraced volunteerism as an activity that one can take during their lifetime, so I think it is not very widespread in our community. But for the last, let´s say ten years I have met so many people who actually want to know more about volunteerism because they don´t know what goes on when you start volunteering your time. So I think it is not elaborate in my community. So not very many people know about the issue of volunteerism (Thomas, volunteer).

These divergent statements may indicate either that Mark speaks as an employee in the organisation and wants volunteerism to stand out as an important part of the organisation, or he had a different childhood growing up in a volunteer environment. Thomas' parents do not live in the city, this implies that he grew up in a rural community and moved to the city as a youth. Even so, he has been a part of the organisation for 15 years, so he should have been included in the culture in his present urban community.

These quotes are two examples of how culture and volunteerism is linked together by the sample of this study and more will be presented below. When Thomas says that there are few people who know about volunteerism it can be interesting to ask, is that so surprising? Thomas lives in a disadvantaged community where about 70 per cent are

one-parent households (Hognestad & Tollisen, 2004), crime- and unemployment rates are high and many struggle to cover basic needs. Where does using time and energy on working for free fit in this picture? As I see it, there has to be strong incentives and benefits offered from the organisation to make volunteerism a natural part of this type of everyday life. When volunteerism is discussed in the light of the context and the opposing meanings among the informants, it is interesting to see how the volunteer idea fits in this setting. One explanation can be found when looking at postcolonial scholars as presented in chapter 2.3.

Volunteerism can be viewed as remain from the colonial structures. MYSA is an organisation founded by a Canadian UN worker, while CHRISC springs out of a Norwegian youth and sports organisation. Also EAC is a partnership between these organisations and Norwegian organisations. Both Canada and Norway have a long tradition for volunteer work within sports and in civil society at large. Can these ideas have been passed on from these traditions when the work was started in 1987 and 1993? Darnell (2012) points out that it is important not to ignore the world that SDP is a part of, and therefor hegemonic power structures are a part of sports. The social phenomenon of sport that is introduced by western organisations in Africa and other countries in the global south has a certain amount of definition power in itself. I have no evidence that the leadership of EAC or the partner organisations have ignored this power relation, but it is important to ask the question.

If people try to use sport as a neutral, apolitical arena this can be seen as problematic. As an example presented in chapter 1.5.2 sport in Tanzania was used actively in the liberation. Also today sport is used to make politic statements. The largest sports arena outside the Tanzanian capital Dar Es Salaam is called CCM Kirumba, which is named after the leading party. A great deal more money is spent on elite level sport in developing countries to make the counties visible on the international arena (Akindes & Kiwin, 2009).

Norway was never a colonial power, but has over the last decades been a central actor in the developing aid business and one can assume that this gives a hegemonic relationship between Norwegian organisations and the partners in the South. Thomas points out that it is difficult to find volunteers, which can indicate that volunteerism is seen as a waste

of time and effort. There are other possible explanations for the use of volunteers in these types of schemes. The idea is that engaging the people of the community will make the participants feel ownership and responsibility for the work that they do. In this way, volunteerism becomes a step in long-term sustainability thinking. The aim of all development projects should be to make northern influence unnecessary and redundant. It is no doubt that the volunteers in the sample feel a great connection to the organisations when they spend so much time there. This can be shown through all the positive things all the interviewees had say about the organisations they are a part of, earlier in this chapter.

Civil society in Tanzania stand strong compared to other middle and low-income countries as we saw in 1.5.2. Kindo, Ndumbaro, Sokolowski and Salamon (2004) link this to the historical path of Tanzania. The modern civil society organisations where introduced by missionaries and the German rule, but got a more industrialised and formal organisation after the British got control after World War 1. The socialist government that took control after the independence increased the control of this sector and created a mistrust and a tens relationship both domestic and internationally, this lead to an increasing support from foreign organisations and governments, to the voluntary organisations in Tanzania (Kindo et al., 2004). Even though the numbers of voluntary effort in civil society in Tanzania are relatively high compared to other similar countries the findings in this study have detected a disagreement regarding the culture of volunteering, this will be further discussed in the following.

The differences in the view of volunteerism as a part of the East African culture, if it is possible to talk about *one* culture for over 133 million people, are obvious in several of the interviews and shows that the individuals have their own opinion on the matter. A stated goal in both EAC and the partner organisations is to anchor a volunteer culture among the leaders and participants. The differences in opinion among the volunteers indicate that they have a way to go in the local communities where they base their work.

Rashid (volunteer) showed two different sides by telling about his strong relation to volunteerism growing up and at the same time meeting resistance in his community.

> Personally, I must say I am a grandson of volunteerism. Apart from what I
> studied, most of my life has been moving around volunteerism. This is not the

> first time to volunteer. But from different youth structures I have been a
> volunteer… by the time I started volunteering people would ask: 'Why? Don't
> you have some other things to do?' (Rashid, volunteer).

This supports the point made in the last paragraph. There is little understanding for the use of volunteering. Still, Rashid has been a part of a structure where he has been volunteering as a coach, church leader, captain of his football team, educator and a district leader. This can indicate that the opportunities to volunteer is present, but that it is the people already in the volunteer system that makes use of these opportunities. Another volunteer who expressed frustration over little understanding for his choice to volunteer, was Charles.

> I think volunteerism in my city it is not a thing… And I think in my community
> most of people they don't know the meaning about volunteerism. What they
> want is like, they want to get paid if you tell them about volunteerism they come
> there maybe two times, three times, then they left because there is no payment,
> so that's it (Charles, volunteer).

Volunteerism is mentioned as a culture, and in East Africa it seems this culture is something that only the participants understand and feel included in. I would like to take a short side step to lay the ground for reflections on the contradictory views on volunteerism. Culture is something that has been discussed in literature for decades (Eriksen, 2010; Hall, 1997). It has many denotations and is used in many different fields. Eriksen (2010) and Hall (1997) are of the opinion that culture is something that is made within a group and will affect the way individuals interpret the world around them. If they can understand each other and have roughly the same opinion about what they see, they are inside the same culture. But culture can also be fragmented and be something that highlights the differences within a community, nation or organisation (Eriksen, 2010). In the case of my informants, they have different interpretations of the volunteerism they see around them and that can be because of variations in how they define volunteerism or because they have different starting points as employees or volunteers. Another possible reason can be that they are from different social classes. What joins them together, namely the organisation and the love of sport, might not be strong enough to say that they are members of the same 'cultural group'. The topic I now have touched into is a big topic that could be a thesis in itself, so this will not be further elaborated, but it needed to be mentioned since it was so visible in the material and is useful in the following discussion.

My experience with Tanzanian culture is that there is a great tradition in helping those who are in need. If a friend is hospitalised, but do not have money to cover the hospital bill, friends and family do what they can to contribute. It seems like families in Tanzania stay together and support each other when it is needed. This is a type of volunteerism, although this type of volunteer effort often is not included in volunteer definition as discussed in 2.1.3 because of the lack of organised structures. This is one example that shows that the volunteer phenomenon might be present in the culture, but it is not interpreted in the same way in the South and North.

5.2.3 Modernity in Tanzania

Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) build their research on literature and studies from the Western world, also the theoretical base they use to explore the volunteer culture has its roots in this part of the world (Beck et al., 1994). One of the things necessary to consider, is if volunteerism and modernised society is the same in East Africa as in Europe and North America. In the following I will discuss how the volunteer model of Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) can be applied on the volunteers in my sample. This section will end with a discussion of how I consider modernity in an East African or Tanzanian context.

Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) focus on and point out that the two ideal types of volunteers are difficult to separate in practise, as most volunteers will be a combination of the two groups. Still, it should be possible to see some tendencies within groups of volunteers. Most of the factors for motivation are possible to detect in the material. A model of the structure was presented in chapter 3.3 (table 3). What is interesting is that the three main motivational factors found in this study are difficult to place within this framework. To start with the network building factor, that can be linked to several of Hustinx and Lammertyn's factors. If you want to get a position or a specific role in your group or community, network building is essential. Same for the identity production, as an actor on a field, your networks affect the identity you build. These two are markers that will motivate a collective volunteer according to Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003). On the other hand, a network can contribute for a person who wants to make an active re-orientation in their life (as for example Thomas points out in his statement on page 58). Network building can also be placed within the self-centred indicator of a reflexive volunteer, that the authors operate with. Through their network, a person can receive

benefits like job or educational opportunities or access to events or possibilities that would not have been within reach without new contacts.

Many of the same links can be made with the capacity building that was important to several of the participants. In addition to capacity building in correlations with positioning and identity production, it can be important for volunteers who try to use volunteerism as a way to match their identity. As I see it, this is what EAC tries to do by having an educational program that is meant to develop the volunteers as Mark explains on page 62. To this point, there is little that opposes the framework, directly. It is difficult to place the volunteers within one category, most of the volunteers express several of the indicators. In that way they have one foot in each category.

When it comes to the last factor of motivation, the intrinsic motivation that is identified through this study, it becomes more difficult to place it within the framework. The motivation can lie in an altruistic individualism where the volunteers want to do something worthwhile for other people, but not without a wish to gain something from it. Some of the volunteers can be placed in this category, but not all. As I interpret it, several of the volunteers have a genuine wish to be a change agent and make a difference for the people around them. Of course I can have been fooled by what Akintola (2010) points out as an exaggerated focus on the positive loaded motivation rather than the negative, self-centred factors. At the same time, I see that most of the volunteers struggle with low budgets, poor sporting facilities and negative attitudes among friends and family. Still they go for practice several times a week where they meet the kids to educate them and they devise for activities. And what they gain is seemingly little. What I think is missing in this framework, which might be more obvious in this context than in the affluent society in the North where we might be a little more demanding, is the place for the volunteers that are self-sacrificing and genuinely want to make a difference for others. These differences can possibly be linked to the grand theories that Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) build on. In the following this will be discussed.

When Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994) wrote their book in the mid-90s it was influenced by the societies the authors belonged to. The Western world was their starting point and their frame of reference. The question remains, how applicable this theory would be in

an East African society that has different preconditions and has seen a different development than the German, British and the American society? Will the modernisation process look the same isolated from the cultural context where the process takes place? In this part of the thesis I will first look at the general preconditions for modernity and two of the drivers behind this process; individualisation and information flow. McEwan (2009) criticise the believe that theory and practise that seems suitable in the Western world, is exportable to all corners of the world.

As one example on these differing conditions we can look at the social 'safety net', that is more developed Western countries in than it is in East Africa. A simple example is the health care system. Of course there are variations from nation to nation both within the Northern and Southern hemisphere, but in general we can say that the health care system in Northern countries is more accessible for the average inhabitant than it is in East Africa. In Tanzania there are 0,008 physicians and 0,7 hospital beds per 1000 population compared with 2,739 physicians and 3,3 beds per 1000 population in United Kingdom (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d). Also, in Tanzania in most hospitals do not serve food, so the patients are dependant on someone bringing them food and nutrition.

Will the individualisation that Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994) present as an engine for modernisation, be possible in a society like this? Will a person growing up in a slum in East Africa or a woman that is depended on a male family member to go outside after dark be able to make choices regardless of his or her tradition? In a reflexive modernised community, the individual will be freed from abstract structures like class, tradition and family (Beck et al., 1994). Is this a realistic direction for societies or is freedom of choice something that is reserved for the economic elite that is not dependant on others to survive? Does anyone make independent choices? Lash (1994) raises these questions as a critique of Beck and Giddens. He asks, how can a single mom in a poor community make reflected choices? She is depending on an income no matter where it comes from; she does not have the opportunity to write her own, independent life story. Her story is controlled by her child, where she can find an income and the people who give her access to the income she needs (Lash, 1994). This critique can maybe be translated to the sample of my study.

Several of the people in my sample talked about how they had to fight to make people around them understand their volunteer commitment. Some of the volunteers, like Thomas, have shown their family that the volunteer effort brings something of value, as referred to on page 68. By making the choice to volunteer acceptable for the family and close relations, Thomas is able to sustain two abstract social structures, the extended family and the organisation. Another possible solution is to replace one social structure with another, like Peter chose to do (as shown on page 76). When his family did not understand or support him and the choice he had made to volunteer, he moved out and found a room together with one of his friends from the organisation. In this way, he cut the ties with his relatives who had provided him with a home and chose to manage on his own. He decided that the social structure represented by the organisation was more important than the family structure[17]. To do as Peter did might not be possible for everyone in the sample. For example would it be more difficult for a young women to make the same choice, also Peter depended on someone else to help him with monetary support and to find someone to share a room with. To abandon an important social structure like your family is a difficult thing to do, especially in a society were the individual is depending on a social network in the absence of a governmental network to take care of you if you get sick, loose your job or when you get old. Even though not all of the volunteers lack understanding for what they do, they seem to take a path that is not so common among their peers. This can be interpreted as a individualistic choice, and might show that the modernisation process lined up by Beck, Giddens and Lash (1994) can be traced in this context as well, but the question remain will the process look the same in East Africa as the authors suggested it would look in Europe and North America?

Another evidence of modernisation that we can also spot is the increasing communication flow in East Africa. The flow of information is one of the preconditions for a modernisation process (Lash, 1994). The use of cell phones has exploded in East Africa over the last decade. The mobile network coverage has expanded and made it possible for East Africans to communicate by telephone, but also over the Internet. The African continent is a growing market where new mobile services are developed. In the

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[17] Whether or not he had cut the contact totally with his family did not come clearly forth in the interview, but it was clear that he had made a choice to move out because of the lack of support and in this way he had cut at least partly with his family.

East African countries you can send money via text message, you can check prices on goods, get information on health issues etc. Internet companies like Google and Facebook try to earn shares in the African market by making their services as cheap and accessible as possible (Speed, 2011). Also the 'Arab spring' is linked to the increase in access to social media and information of the world outside of regimes. The globalisation process is making the world 'smaller' and more accessible for a larger number of people. This information flow is an important aspect of the modernisation process in a society, without information the people can not make independent choices (Lash, 1994). Even though the access to information is present in the East African community, the level of education is still low and few have access to higher education. This will keep them out of the market for high-end jobs, and a big part of the population will be held outside of formalised information. The question remains if the preconditions for modernity are the same regardless of cultural context.

5.3 A global volunteerism

> …the non-profit sector…has come to be seen both as a force for social control and as a base for social empowerment, an area where "power relationships not only are reproduced but also challenged [and] where the possibilities and hopes for change reside" (Howell and Pearce, 2001:3) (Anheier & Salamon, 2006, p. 109).

This quote says something about the potential that lies in the non-profit sector and voluntary organisations, which is recognised both among scholars and practitioners. Volunteerism can be used to form and control the participants on the field, but also give them new skills and experiences. The activities can be used to reproduce power relations, for example colonial power relations, or it can lead to an understanding of power and therefore challenge the existing patterns.

The question is if volunteerism can be seen as a natural part of the East African community or if it is an idea taken from the North and implemented in the South with limited attempts of translation. Some of the volunteers showed a different understanding of volunteerism than what we know from a Norwegian setting. For example, the two referees Rose and Calvin expressed disappointment when they did not receive any equipment when arriving at EAC (see page 55). This can be linked to an understanding of volunteerism that is not corresponding with what is communicated from the

leadership. This might indicate a lack of resonance for the concept of volunteerism. Volunteerism is the word used, but it is filled with different meaning and is not grounded in the culture. The volunteers know that there are organisations from the global North that are partners in the EAC and therefore expects that there is money and equipment in abundance. If this is an expectation, that will be difficult to handle for an event that has been forced to cut their budgets because of declining funding from different partners. It can be discussed if this is a part of what postcolonial theory is criticising. Phenomena and ideas from the North are exported to the South as a quick fix because this is the way things work for us.

Also Mark (staff) had a different understanding of who a volunteer at EAC is than what we see in Norway. He was of the opinion that everyone that brought value to the event was a volunteer, which is a common comprehension also in Norway. But he also explained that in his point of view, also the participants are volunteers because they give of their time and invest in EAC and in this way bring value to the organisation. To include all participants in the definition of volunteers is not common in Norway. This can indicate one of two things. First that the volunteer concept is not understood in the context or that volunteerism have been translated and adapted to the particular context. The majority of the informants, however, defined a volunteer or volunteer effort approximately like the understanding presented in chapter 2.1.3. At the same time many struggled with the acceptance from their peers and close relations. I believe that this can be interpret as an indication that volunteerism is not translated, but is tried to be introduced as a global concept. This does not necessarily only apply to the organisations in this study, but is an understanding that has been following the sport concept.

To claim that the modernisation process will look the same in Tanzania or East Africa as in Europe, is an assertion that postcolonial thinking would question (McEwan, 2009; Smukkestad, 2008). Believing that modernisation like it is in the North is the ideal shows little understanding for cultural implications. In development work at large and SDP in particular it is important to realise that even though something work in for example Norway, it will not necessarily work in Tanzania. Therefore it is important to show cultural sensibility and listen to the people that know the society best. Some of the indicators for modernisation is possible to detect in this study, and more would probably be found in a more in depth study of the society at large, but it does not mean that the

theory can be implemented without translation to the community or society. The same apply to a volunteer culture. Even though it seems that volunteerism stand strong at EAC it does not mean that the phenomenon can be used uncritical. There are negative implications with volunteerism as well. It can take time and focus away from other important areas as school and income generating activities. Voluntary work is an arena where authoritarian people can gain power and influence others. To lose support from family and friends can become a challenge in the long run. Postcolonial perspectives in this connection serve as a good starting point to question the uncritical use of volunteerism. Still my experience is that there is a strong culture of helping each other in Tanzania, but this is for the most part done in an unorganised setting. So it is possible as EAC of my opinion show, to translate the phenomenon into the cultural context and make an arena to develop engaged and hardworking volunteers that have a passion for what they are doing.

If we go back and look at the quote in the beginning of this paragraph we see that civil society or in this study sport volunteerism can be used as an arena for both reproduction of power relation and as an arena for challenging the relations and developing communities and individuals. EAC seems to have a focus on trying to be an arena for the latter.

6. Concluding remarks

This study is not a conclusive, generalising study. The aim of the study was twofold; on the one hand, I wanted to look at volunteer motivations among volunteers in a context different from the affluent context you find in most of the western world. On the other hand, I wanted to look at the use of theoretical framework developed in the west, based on western data material. I wanted to find out if these theories are applicable in a context that differs from where it was constructed.

To summarise the first aim, the volunteers at EAC were motivated by three factors: networking, capacity building and intrinsic motivation. What seemed to be the foundation for the volunteers' motivation were intrinsic motives, or an inner drive. They liked what they were doing and wanted to continue doing what they did, they felt as if they mattered and had a place. Many implied that this passion was the most essential factor, thus the networking and capacity building was important, but not decisive, for their efforts. When Hustinx and Lammertyn's (2003) framework is applied on these data it is difficult to draw a conclusion on whether the EAC volunteers are collective or reflexive. The capacity- and network building can put the volunteers in both the collective and the reflexive group. What makes the framework even more difficult to apply is the lack of a place for the altruism or intrinsic motivations. There is no room for the volunteers that have a fundamental inner drive for the work that they do. It might be that the volunteers present at EAC are extra motivated on an event that is used as a boost in motivation for the volunteers. What about the volunteers who are not picked out to go or the volunteers who have left the organisation? Is the motivation the same when the volunteers are in their everyday setting? These are all questions that would have been interesting to look further into, and are possible research opportunities if the interest is to look at motivation among sports volunteers in East Africa. Interviewing volunteers who have stopped their volunteer engagement or to follow volunteers over a longer period of time would have been an interesting angle for further research.

The second point of departure in this study was the SDP and postcolonial thinking aspect.. Whether or not volunteerism is a result of uneven power structures between the funding partners and the local partners is difficult to say through this study. But it seems like the volunteers at EAC have an understanding of what they do and why it is

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important both for themselves, but also for the organisation and the community. However, the study can indicate that there is a reproduction of this understanding within the frames of the volunteer structure, but to reach outside of these frames seems challenging. These issues open for some intriguing possibilities regarding further research. To interview the people in the volunteers network, like family and friends, could have given interesting data on volunteerism in this setting. In this way you could have seen, to a larger extent if only the people within the structure understand volunteerism, or if there is an understanding for the phenomenon in the society in general, and in this way determent if volunteerism is a part of the Tanzanian culture or if it is a heritage from the colonial period and the decades of Western influence through development aid.

EAC seems like an organisation that has taken the volunteers seriously. They use the cup as a boost in motivation for the year round work that is done in local communities all over East Africa. They offer a variety of possible development paths within the organisations to attract and retain volunteers. That volunteerism should be an impact of Norwegian influence is possible and likely. Still the cup is run and organised from East Africa, with only two Norwegians in the OC. CHRISC and MYSA depend heavily on volunteers, and it is possible that the funding partners in Western countries affect these organisations on the volunteer focus. Even though it seems like the volunteers are motivated on an intrinsic level, I think that incentives like network and capacity building are important to retain volunteers. But also to attract new ones, and maybe even other groups of volunteers that are more demanding in regards of tangible outcomes. If volunteerism is a concept that has little attention in the society at large, these types of tangible outcomes are more important to the people around the volunteer, than the volunteer herself.

I hope the findings in this study can be a little contribution in the understanding of volunteer motivation and culture outside the developed world. The differences are many and the understanding of volunteerism varies throughout the world, therefore the concept has to be understood in the context it is a part of.

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Tables and figures

List of Abbreviations

CHRISC   Christian Sports Contact (KRIK's international work)

EAC   East Africa Cup. Sports tournament in Moshi, Tanzania

KAO   Kicking Aids Out Network

KRIK   Kristen Idrettskontakt. The Norwegian 'mother organization' of CHRISC

LMIC   Low- or middle-income country

MYSA   Mathare Youth Sports Association

SDP-IWG   Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group

NFF   The Norwegian Football Association

NIF   Norges idrettsforbund og olypiske og paralympiske komtié. The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports

NPA   Norwegian People´s Aid

NSC   National Sports Council of Tanzania

NSSS   Norwegian School of Sport Sciences

OC   Organizing Committee of the East Africa cup

SDP   Sport for Development and Peace – the term used to describe the field which EAC and the partner organisations are a part of

TOC   Tanzanian Olympic Committee

UN   United Nations

UNOSDP   United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace

Appendix

Appendix 1 – Approval NSD

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Harald Hårfagres gate 29
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel +47-55 58 21 17
Fax +47-55 58 96 50
nsd@nsd.uib.no
www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Eivind Åsrum Skille
Seksjon for kultur og samfunn
Norges idrettshøgskole
Postboks 4014 Ullevål stadion
0806 OSLO

Vår dato: 31.05.2012   Vår ref:30686 / 3 / MSI   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 15.05.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

30686	Idrettsfrivillighet i Øst-Afrika
Behandlingsansvarlig	Norges idrettshøgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Eivind Åsrum Skille
Student	Eli Marie Farstad Johnsen

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.
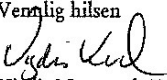
Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 31.12.2013, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Marte Sivertsen

Kontaktperson: Marte Sivertsen tlf: 55 58 33 48
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Eli Marie Farstad Johnsen, Østhornveien 2, 0874 OSLO

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices
OSLO NSD Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo Tel. +47-22 85 52 11 nsd@uio.no
TRONDHEIM NSD. Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim Tel. +47-73 59 19 07 kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no
TROMSØ NSD SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø Tel. +47-77 64 43 36 nsdmaa@sv.uit.no

Personvernombudet for forskning

Formålet er å se på frivillighet i en øst-afrikansk kontekst. Utgangspunktet er et casestudie av en idrettsturnering som finner sted i Øst-Afrika. Utvalget omfatter frivillige og ledere knyttet til idrettsturneringen. Rekrutteringen skjer via snøballmetoden.

Samtykke innhentes på bakgrunn av skriftlig og muntlig informasjon. Informasjonsskrivet til utvalget er godt utformet.

Data innsamles ved hjelp av personlig intervju, gruppeintervju og observasjon. Det gjøres lydopptak av intervju. Materialet behandles elektronisk. Datamaterialet vil være knyttet til direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger via kode som viser til en koblingsnøkkel. Personvernombudet forutsetter at det kun registreres opplysninger om personer som har fått informasjon om prosjektet og samtykket til å delta.

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at veileder og student setter seg inn i og etterfølger Norges idrettshøgskole sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet, spesielt med tanke på bruk av privat pc til oppbevaring av personidentifiserende data.

Datamaterialet anonymiseres ved prosjektslutt, innen 31.12.2013. For at datamaterialet skal være anonymt, må lydopptak og direkte personopplysninger (navn, e-postadresse og telefonnummer el.) slettes og indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger (bakgrunnsopplysninger som rolle i organisasjonen, bosted, alder og kjønn) slettes eller grovkategoriseres, slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes i materialet.

Appendix 2: Consent form English

Information

I am a master student in Sport Management at the Norwegian School of Sport Science. Now I am working on my master thesis that is going to be about volunteerism at the East Africa Cup. I want to look at why youth spend their time working for a sports organization like East Africa Cup. My main focus will be on motivation, organization and the relationship between leaders and volunteers. Basically I want to learn more about volunteerism in an East African context.

To find out more about this I will interview people from two groups, the leaders at East Africa cup and the volunteers. I will conduct 10-15 interviews, in addition I will be present at East Africa Cup 2012 and be a part of the tournament to observe how the volunteers work in the field, connect with the participants, leaders and other volunteers. I will not see if things are done "right" or "wrong", my goal is to get to know how things work.

During the interview I will use a voice recorder and take some notes if that is all right with you. When I observe I will take notes either in the field or afterwards, this is to be able to remember everything and so that I can use it in my paper. The interview will take approximately 20-60 minutes, and will take place on a time suitable to your schedule.

It is voluntary to participate in this project and you can withdraw your consent to participate at any time without giving any explanation. The information I get will be treated confidential, and no one will be able to recognize individuals in the finished paper. When the project is finished 31.12.2013 all the data will be made anonymously and the recordings will be deleted.

If you wish to participate I would like you to sign at the bottom of this sheet.

If you have any questions please contact me on (my Tanzanian number) (in the period from 16th of June to the 18th of July) or send me an e-mail: eli.marie.johnsen@gmail.com. You can also contact my supervisor Eivind Skille at the department of Cultural and Social Studies at the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences.

This project is reported to the Data Protection Official for Research, Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD).

Sincerely,

Eli Marie Farstad Johnsen
eli.marie.johnsen@gmail.com

Consent form:

I have received the information I need to participate in this study. I am aware that I will not receive any payment or other form for compensation. All the information I give will be treated confidentially. I know that I can withdraw my consent at any given time or choose to not answer questions I don't want to answer.

_____   _____

Place and date   Signature

Appendix 3: Consent form Swahili

Maelezo;

Mimi ni mwanafunzi wa degree katika mambo ya michezo manejimenti katika shule ya kinoregiani inayoshughulika na mambo ya sayansi ya michezo. Sasa ninafanyia kazi master yangu kwa kufanya utafiti zaidi kuhusu kujitolea kwenye East Africa Cup. Nataka kujua ni kwanini vijana wanachukuwa muda wao mwingi kujishughulisha na mambo ya michezo sana EAC. Na lengo langu kubwa litakuwa kwenye muamsho, shirika na mahusiano kati ya viongozi na wale wanajitolea. Kwa ujumla nataka kujua zaidi kuhusu kujitolea katika mtazamoo wa wana Africa mashariki.

kujua zaidi nitawafanyia watu interview katika makundi mawili, viongozi katika kombe hili la EAC na wale wanaojitolea. Nitafanya interview 10- 15, na pia kwa nyongeza nitakuwepo katika mashindano ya EAC2012 na kuwa mmoja kati ya wale wanaoshiriki na kujua vyote vinavyoendelea na kuangalia ni jinsi gani wale wanaojitolea wanavyofanya kazi, pia, sitajali sana kama vitu vinaenda sawa au si sawa, lengo langu kuu ni kujua jinsi vitu vinavyofanya kazi.

Wakati wa interview nitatumia kinasa sauti na pia nitaandika notes, kama hiyo itakuwa sawa kwako. Na pia huko viwanjani nitaangalia na kuandika notes hapohapo au baadae, hii ni kwa ajili ya kukumbuka kila kitu ili niweze kutumia baadae kwenye mtihani wangu. Interview intachukuwa kama dakika 20 au 60 hivi, na pia interview itafanyika kwa muda ule wewe utakaouona unafaa.

Hii ni kazi ya kujitolea na unaweza ukajito wakati wowote bila maelezo yoyote. Na maelezo yako yote utakayoyatoa yatakuwa kati yangu na yako tu, na hamna mtu atakayewaza kujua kwenye kazi yangu ya mwisho, na pale tutakapofika mwisho wa Camp hii kazi yote itafanyika kwa siri kwamba hamna mtu atakeyjua kuwa wewe ndie uliyesema kitu chochote, nay ale yot niliyoyarecord nitayafuta.

Kama ungependa kushiriki tafadhali naomba uweke sihihi hapo chini ya karatasi..

Kama una swali lolote wasiliana na mimi kwa namba yangu ya Tanzania kuanzia 16th june mpaka 18th july au nitumie email; eli.marie.johnsen@gmail.com. Pia unaweza kuwasiliana na muangalizi wangu Elvind Skille katika kitengo cha Culture and social studies katika shule ya michezo na sayansi Nowrway.

Project hii inaripotiwa kwa Data Protection Official for research, noregian social science Data Service(NSD).

Sincerely,

Eli Marie Farstad Johnsen
eli.marie.johnsen@gmail.com

Consent form:

Nimepokea maelezo yote na ningependa kushiriki katika haya mafunzo. Ninajua kuwa sitapokea malipo yoyote au fidia yoyote, na maelezo yote nitakayoyatoa yatakuwa ya siri. Najua kuwa ninaweza nikajitoa katika mahojiano muda wowote, au nisijibu swali lolote ambalo siwezi kujibu.

_____   _____

Place and date   Signature

Appendix 4: Interview guide

Interview guide volunteers

- Where do you come from?
- How old are you?
- What do you do on a daily basis, go to school, work or help at home maybe?

Voluntary commitment:

- Do you have any tasks in a sports organization through the year?
    - o What organization?
    - o What tasks/role?
    - o How did you become a part this organization?
- What are your tasks at the EAC?
    - o Have you been a part of EAC before?
    - o What was your role?
- How do you compare working at the EAC and at home?
- What do you expect when you get home, will you keep working for your organization?
- What do the people around you think about your commitment to EAC and your organization at home? E.g. your parents/guardians, friends, siblings.

General opinion on volunteerism:

- What associations do you get to the word volunteer?
    - o Do you consider yourself a volunteer?

Motivation:

- What were your expectations to the EAC?
    - o Are your expectations being fulfilled?
- Why do you participate?
- How did you get to know about EAC?
- Why are you here as a volunteer?
- Do you know people here at the EAC?
- Do you find your work here at the EAC challenging? Does it fit with the skills you have?
- What have you gotten out of your engagement in the EAC?
- Intrinsic vs. extrinsic motives.

Interview guide leaders

- Where do you come from?
- What is your position in the EAC?
- Are you a volunteer or staff?
    - o What do you do besides being a volunteer?

Info on the organization they work for:

- What organization do you work through the year?
- How long have you been a part of this organization?
- How did you become a part of the organization to begin with?
    - o Tell me you story.

East Africa Cup:

- What are your tasks at the EAC?
- How long have you worked with EAC?
- When was the first time you participated at the EAC – what was your role?
- How do you work to recruit volunteers?
    - o Do you meet any challenges in this work?
    - o

Volunteerism

- How do you define a volunteer? Who is a volunteer?
- How do you organize the volunteers?