

CHANGING NOTIONS OF VOLUNTEERING: UNITED NATIONS
VOLUNTEERING PROGRAMME

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ABSTRACT

CHANGING NOTIONS OF VOLUNTEERING: UNITED NATIONS VOLUNTEERING PROGRAMME

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This thesis investigates the notion of volunteering and the transformation of it with a special focus on the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) programme. It argues that volunteering cannot be understood without any reference to the economic and political context that surrounds it. With an integrative approach, firstly different forms of social actions similar to volunteering in different courses of time and countries are examined. Following this, the concept of volunteering in the current literature is discussed and an alternative interpretation of it is presented. Thirdly, the contemporary political-economic framework in which volunteering has gained new meanings is examined. Lastly, the position of the United Nations in volunteering, and how it incorporated such changes in volunteering is discussed accordingly. This is followed by the introduction of the United Nations Volunteering system where the historical roots of the programme, its workings in the context of new forms of labour, and the ways in which it utilizes the concept of volunteering are examined. It is argued that the United Nations Volunteering Programme was affected by the ongoing political economic transformation where a new discourse on development and labour emerged and new forms of employment were defined. Thus, while UN adopted these changes, volunteering is utilized through the UNV system for certain UN goals and used as a

source of flexible labour which can be seen in the comparative vacancy announcement analyses presented in the thesis.

Keywords: Volunteering, Civil Society, United Nations Volunteering Programme, New Forms of Employment, Neoliberalism

ÖZ

DEĞİŞEN GÖNÜLLÜLÜK KAVRAMI: BİRLEŞMİŞ MİLLETLER GÖNÜLLÜLÜK PROGRAMI

Karakaya, Burcu

Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Yüksek Lisans Programı

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Bu tez, Birleşmiş Milletler Gönüllüleri (UNV) programını merkezine alarak gönüllülük kavramını ve dönüşümünü ele almaktadır. Gönüllülük kavramının, onu çevreleyen ekonomik ve politik bağlamdan bağımsız anlamayacağını savunmaktadır. Bütüncül bir yaklaşımla ilk olarak gönüllülük kavramının tanımı üzerine alternatif anlayışları sunmak amacıyla farklı dönem ve ülkelerdeki gönüllülüğe benzer çeşitli toplumsal eylem biçimlerini incelenmektedir. Ardından, mevcut literatürde gönüllülük kavramının nasıl ele alındığı tartışılmış ve söz konusu kavramın alternatif bir yorumu sunulmuştur. Üçüncü olarak, emek ve iş gücü mekanizmalarında meydana gelen değişimler de dahil olmak üzere gönüllülüğün yeni anlamlar kazandığı çağdaş politik-ekonomik çerçevenin bir incelemesi yapılmıştır. Son olarak, Birleşmiş Milletler' in bu noktadaki konumu; bu tür dönüşümleri nasıl bünyesine dahil ettiği bu bağlamda tartışılmaktadır. Bunu takiben; UNV sisteminin tanıtıldığı bölümde, programın tarihsel kökeni, söz konusu kurumun yeni emek biçimleri bağlamındaki çalışmaları ve gönüllülük kavramını nasıl kullandığı detaylandırılmaktadır. Bu tez, UNV programının ortaya çıkışının, kalkınma ve emek konusunda yeni bir söylemin ve yeni istihdam biçimlerinin ortaya çıktığı süregelen siyasi ekonomik dönüşümle örtüştüğünü savunmaktadır. Böylece; Birleşmiş Milletler bu değişiklikleri kendi bünyesinde hayata geçirirken, çalışmada sunulan

karşılaştırmalı iş ilanları analizinde de görüleceği üzere, gönüllülük kavramını kendi belirli hedefleri için UNV sistemi aracılığıyla esnek işgücü kaynağı olarak kullanmaktadır

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gönüllülük, Sivil Toplum, Birleşmiş Milletler Gönüllülük Programı Yeni İstihdam Biçimleri, Neoliberalizm

To all people sharing the same story

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ vi	
DEDICATION.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. HISTORICAL LEGACY OF VOLUNTEERING.....	5
2.1. Early Forms of “Volunteering” - U.K.: Charity, Almsgiving, Benevolence	6
2.2. 19 th Century - U.S.: Tocqueville, Democracy and Civic Participation.....	9
2.3. Volunteering in 20 th -21 st Century	13
3. DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO VOLUNTEERING	15
3.1. Main Traditions in Defining Volunteering	15
3.1.1. Liberal-Individualist Approaches and Methodological Individualism	16
3.1.2. Institutional Approaches and Organizational Theory	20
3.1.3. “Others”: Hybrid Approaches and Comparative Studies	26
3.2. Is Another Understanding Possible?	32
3.2.1. Some Philosophical Issues: Does Volunteering Have an Essence?	33
3.2.2. Looking at the Concept of Volunteering from a Historical Perspective	35
4. GLOBAL CHANGES AND VOLUNTEERING IN 20 th AND 21 st CENTURY	38
4.1. Setting the Context: The Very Short 20 th and 21 st Century	38
4.2. New Forms of Employment.....	45

4.3.	Instrumental Volunteering.....	49
4.3.1.	Volunteering and the State.....	55
4.3.2.	Volunteering to be Managed.....	56
4.3.3.	Volunteering and Development.....	59
4.3.4.	Volunteering as a New Form of Employment.....	61
5.	VOLUNTEERING IN UNITED NATIONS: UNV PROGRAMME.....	66
5.1.	The United Nations and Volunteering in the UN.....	66
5.2.	The United Nations Volunteer Programme.....	70
5.3.	A Comparative Analysis: UNV and the UN-Agency-Staff Vacancy Announcements.....	76
6.	CONCLUSION.....	86
	REFERENCES.....	89
	APPENDICES	
A.	TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	110
B.	TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM.....	121

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GA	General Assembly
IFI	International Financial Institutions
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IVCO	International Volunteering Cooperation Organisations
KWNS	Keynesian welfare national state
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental organizations
NPO	Non-profit organizations
PWC	Post-Washington Consensus
SCocD	Commission for Social Development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SWPR	Schumpeterian workfare post-national regime
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
WC	Washington Consensus
WB	World Bank
WW2	World War 2

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1: Minimum Wage-Entitlement Comparison.....	79
Table 2: Vacancy Notices Comparison.....	79
Table 3: Organizational Contexts presented in announcements	80
Table 4: Responsibilities and Description of Tasks.....	81
Table 5: Qualifications, professional experience and competencies required	82
Table 6: Remuneration.....	84

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis has been written by a master's student who at the same time has a full-time United Nations Volunteers (UNV) assignment under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). She never wanted to write a master's thesis at the first hand. But completing a masters somehow has become a proof of "being more educated" these days and thus providing a more "employable" profile. Thus, she surrendered to retain her position in the competitive labour market by being employable since she did not have employment security- as having one-year contracts under the title UNV.

These are mentally and physically challenging times for one who is in a full-time job and has a thesis to complete. Not mentioning the over-times at work, strict deadlines and frequent travels for work. In the times that which we may call as the reproduction of the labour power, the writer was struggling to finish this thesis. Many days passed feeling the anxiety of an unfinished thesis on one side and the tasks that she had to complete after office hours. As a UNV, her performance is being monitored through performance measurement/evaluations. She must both prove that she has a "good" performance and to take trainings to show that she is committed to life-long learning (what is called in UNHCR is continuous learning).

During her assignment in UNHCR, from the very beginning she had very few contacts with UNV Field Office. Her initial contact was signing the UNV contract while being recruited whereas afterwards she de facto became a UNHCR employee. While engaging with partners and stakeholders, she was a UNHCR staff. UNHCR was measuring her performance. She was taking her annual leaves in consultation with her supervisor in UNHCR. She and her other colleagues holding a UNHCR fixed-term contract barely had any differences. Considering the Unit she was working for, she nearly had the same tasks, duties and responsibilities in comparison to colleagues

having fixed-term UNHCR contracts. However, she was getting a monthly “UNV living allowance” that is the nearly the half amount of her colleagues who have the UNHCR contracts.

Thus, the research question of this thesis is derived from this very empirical reality. If we are undertaking the same tasks and responsibilities, if I am indeed “working” like a normal contemporary employee, then what exactly UNV is? What is volunteering for the UN? Why UN needs this and what for it uses this system?

In order to answer this question, the first step was to question what volunteering is. During my literature review the amount of studies measuring the motivators for volunteering was the first hurdle. None was questioning what is volunteering but was providing correlations between certain motivators and engagement. The literature was dominated by this. Alternative voices were few. This led me to question if there is the possibility of an alternative way. An alternative way that does not explain volunteering as an outcome of actions of “rational” individuals that are cost-benefit calculators and an alternative way that tries to look into volunteering differently than the approaches presented under the Chapter 3. The answer was, yes, it was possible. But due to the lack of studies showing this alternative way, I also had to present this alternative way by my own. The short examples presented in Chapter 2 aimed to introduce and exemplify this different approach owned in this thesis.

This different approach is further discussed in Chapter 3. After presenting what was going on in the field of volunteering studies, it is argued that volunteering is a phenomenon that is not static. In this thesis, what is meant by volunteering is thus, something dynamic, both a subject and an object of the political-economic context, being affected by it, transforming and being transformed by this. Since what volunteering meant before our age had been briefly presented in Chapter 2, Chapter 4 asked the question what volunteering meant today. We, then, analysed what changed by and through the 20th and 21st century. Discussed that the neoliberal agenda and accordingly, the new forms of employment were two significant issues existing and then assessed what new volunteering or instrumental volunteering -as I coined the term- meant. In line with our discussion on the overall transformation, three issues were caught to our attention:

- (i) Volunteering has undergone a process of commodification. While State was retreating from provision of welfare services, volunteering was stepping in and this relationship between the State and the volunteering organizations cannot be seen as a simple exchange in between two equal parties.
- (ii) Development paradigm was changing, the new paradigm emphasising governance and having a discourse of participation was encouraging and fostering volunteering. While this new development paradigm is problematic, it may be also inferred that it also utilizes volunteering both practically in the field and as a discourse.
- (iii) Changing labour market dynamics, transformation in forms of employment, being a consequence of the political economic context, results in flexible and precarious types of jobs. Volunteering serves both as new form of this type of employment and as a means of employment in this flexible market.

In the last chapter, UN is the focus, what is volunteering in the UN and in relation to the described transformation what happened to the UN is our question. We conclude that a similar transformation also took place in the UN and the UN was adopting and using this new discourse. Following this, the question what means volunteering in the UN is asked. It is argued with examples that, the UN also had the same hegemonic, neoliberal logic and is utilizing volunteering in its new political economy and development agenda. Second and foremost as in the UNV program, it is argued that the UN is benefitting from volunteering in both its agencies and indirect works as a cheap labour source. As explained, since volunteering is “unpaid”, it does this through living allowances given to the UNVs. Furthermore, as shown in the vacancy notices comparison in the Chapter 5, if what is expected from a UN Volunteer in a UN agency would be compared to a regular staff, it would be seen that the expectations and responsibilities are not less than a staff member and even due to the additional responsibilities stipulated by UNV agency itself, UNVs are undertaking additional tasks of volunteering by their contractor agency.

Thus, true that volunteering changed into something new as outlined in this thesis, both in general and for the UN.

It is the responsibility of this thesis to highlight some issues that requires further analysis in this process. The first is the trend of employing volunteers for budget issues and taking advantage of this labour for some aims. The second is how effective the labour market characteristics are on leading people to be employed as volunteers for their livelihood. Thirdly, how common is this practice of recruiting volunteers rather than employees in other organizations and has this become an apparent preference to decrease costs?

Lastly, it is hoped that the questions asked throughout this thesis would trigger more attention to this side of volunteering. Meaning different things in different times, volunteering also has the capacity to change into something else and break its chains from commodification, it is also a duty for academia to understand the situation and outline different alternatives.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL LEGACY OF VOLUNTEERING

To begin with, it is essential to note that understanding what volunteerism means is very context-dependent. The concept is used in different senses across social, political and academic levels. Within the literature itself there are various approaches interpreting it differently. Although, it is possible to determine some ruptures in how it is used, a study that thoroughly examines the emergence of the concept volunteering and takes it as a historical object of study is rarely seen.

For one who is interested in the development of the concept and phenomenon in historical terms, the only available information about its roots is those referring to the etymological origins of the word “volunteer”. Accordingly, resources of etymology suggest that the word first appeared around 1600 and was used to describe those “who offers himself for military service”. A non-military usage of the word is said to appear in 1630s where it started to be used as an adjective as well (Harper). Lastly, the same sources indicate that the word “volunteerism” used around 1977s, this time with reference to volunteer labour in community activities (Harper). Hence, while a historical analysis that aims to capture the roots, “genealogy” and historical development of the concept has not been carried out, for the time being, the only source to remain to be the etymological information to understand the concept’s emergence.

It is not surprising that we may arrive at the conclusion that “volunteer” and “volunteering” were primarily being used in the context of military recruitment in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, when we examine the concept and its utilization further, it is possible to identify a revival in its use following the economic and social developments by the 19th century- not with the word volunteering itself but with other similar words. Thus, most research on let us say “volunteering” taking this era to be its focus, refers to other concepts such as charity, philanthropy and civic associations.

Similarly, research on philanthropy and philanthropic organisations has a long history where the focus has almost always been either on the nineteenth century or on the third sector (the not-for-profit or voluntary sector) that expanded by the late 20th century and that included “voluntary work” (Oppenheimer, 2001).

What is found in the literature of volunteering is a two-fold analysis where some researchers concentrate on U.S. and the others concentrate on U.K. when exploring this phenomenon and hence, there is a geographical limitation concerning the existing body of work. The emergence and changes of the concept prior to 20th century elsewhere in the world is not of major academic interest for the time-being.

However, it should also be kept in mind that, other concepts such as philanthropy, charities, civic associations, civic participation, and civil society are very connected to the debates surrounding volunteering. We will further look into the interaction of these contexts, and clarify what is meant by volunteering, in the following sections. The proceeding section aims to present a basis for understanding the historical changes that volunteering has been through.

2.1. Early Forms of “Volunteering” - U.K.: Charity, Almsgiving, Benevolence

Studies about philanthropy, charities and volunteering prior to the 19th century are not surprisingly mostly conducted by scholars approaching the issue from a theological perspective. The question of the existence of poverty was a central theological question for the religious scholars of the 18th century. For the same century, it is stated that “English men and women of the eighteenth century judged it to be a great age of benevolence” where as soon as a need was found, a charity was established to care for it (Andrew, 1989). This situation of benevolence is assessed by Andrew is that this tradition encompassed the enduring belief that charity was the very expression of Christian devotion- where poverty was providential and that Christians (if they wish salvation) are clearly obliged to care for the poor. Thus, it is argued that:

Through the first five decades of the eighteenth century, contrary to Tawney's view, clerics continued to insist that almsgiving, directed by the spirit of sacrifice, was essentially a self-regarding religious act where charity was not merely voluntary benevolence, but mandatory justice entailed on the enjoyment of any form of property (Andrew, 1989).

Here, the newly emerging social and economic dynamics in the society should have come to place where the feudalism was placing a variety of restrictions and impediments on the rising industrial bourgeoisie. This is also the period when Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was being published (1776), a transformation was already evident, it had already started with the crisis of the feudal system and followed by the Industrial Revolution (Heller, 2011). With the additional effects of the Enlightenment, thus, it was also inevitable that charity and benevolence would be subject to a transformation. Accordingly:

...clerics continued to believe that poverty was a providentially arranged condition, ordained by God so that men could earn salvation through the reciprocal processes of kindness and gratitude. Those who viewed poverty entirely as providential had seen charity as the rent annexed to the use of property, and thus judged almsgiving to be merely the workings of justice. **This new insight into the nature of poverty¹** rested on a new understanding of the limits and obligations of property. In the new proprietary view, however, justice had become detached from the duty to charity, and attached to the promulgation of private property. With charity removed from the realm of obligation to that of voluntary action (Andrew, 1989).

In the end it is possible to argue that the religious and secular approaches to philanthropy and poverty ran concurrently; while clerics still blessed the Lord for "having the poor always with us," they began to believe that the number of such poor could be greatly reduced by efficiently managed charity and that charity and trade could be served simultaneously.

At this point, according to Hobsbawm (1962):

...as a means of alleviating poverty, Christian charity was worse than useless ...but it was popular not only among the traditionalist rich, who cherished it as a safeguard against the evil of equal rights (proposed by 'those dreamers who maintain that nature has created men with equal rights and that social distinctions should be founded purely on communal utility) but also among the traditionalist poor, who were profoundly convinced that they had a right to crumbs from the rich man's table.

¹ *Emphasis added.*

Besides the ideas presented above with regard to the historiography of voluntary action, Rochester presents another notable example where his focus is again UK. He argues that philanthropy is indeed a much older social phenomenon dating earlier to 16th century, as in the examples of embryonic charitable organisations being organised around the monasteries, religious fraternities or craft guilds whose primary function was “protection and regulation” of a specific profession and provision of a form of solidarity amongst its members when one was in hard times however they also played a role in addressing wider social needs from time to time such as the provision of almshouses (Rochester, 2013).

Rochester takes the 16th century as his starting point by following Smith (1995) who argues that we see “the legal and administrative foundations of modern charitable endeavour” were first established at this time. According to Rochester (2013):

...The need for a new framework was clear: the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were characterised by economic and social upheaval that created, alongside greatly increased wealth for a new entrepreneurial class, a large population of the landless poor, including in their number beggars and vagrants, who were seen as a major threat to law and order. And the means of relieving poverty and meeting other social needs had been seriously damaged, first, by the dissolution of the monasteries that had provided care for the sick and other rudimentary elements of a social welfare system, and, second, by the enclosure movement and growth of the towns that had undermined the feudal system...

Both scholars substantiate the reasoning behind selecting 16th century as the starting point by referring to the historical emergence of one significant charitable structure, called the charitable trust, which affected the voluntary field in the UK over the following 500 years (2013). Smith explains that this organisational form developed in the Tudor era due to the necessities described above and became the predominant form of “giving” in the 16th and 17th centuries. Such trusts were involved in spheres such as health, education and relief of poverty, which in turn was legally recognized through two acts of parliament (1995) and thus, as argued, during this era, the state itself also began to be involved in poverty relief (Rochester, 2013).

In Rochester’s historical framework, the second half of the nineteenth century is taken as another significant mark. He similarly notes the social and economic

transformations of the 19th century, and states that due to industrialization and urbanization, urban poverty also became an issue, and at this time “the scale of the resources devoted to philanthropy was remarkable” taking the creation of a great wealth into consideration (2013). He further notes the emergence of a scientific kind of philanthropy, due to the issues of unevenly growing charities, unmatched resources with social needs, and the overlap of activities where some charities intended to rationalize their activities (Rochester, 2013).

2.2. 19th Century - U.S.: Tocqueville, Democracy and Civic Participation

As stated, volunteering in the US “has long been a nearly sacred figure, and the voluntary civic association has been seen as a cure for nearly all problems (Eliasoph, 2013)”. One example of this perception is that of Gamm and Putnam’s, who argue that “...probably no aspect of American democracy has been more celebrated than the long-standing proclivity of Americans to join voluntary associations” (1999).

Studies concerning this civic culture in the U.S. refer to many figures. However, one key thinker common across all is Tocqueville. As commonly explained, Tocqueville conducts a visit to America in the 19th century, the amount of voluntary activity he witnesses impresses him a lot that he starts focusing on the American case as an example for others (Wankhade, 2017). Tocqueville, writing in the 1830s and 1840s, was probably amazed at the American participation in small, local civic associations that had activities such as building roads and hospitals (Eliasoph, 2013). He read civil society less not with its roots and relations to the market but “more in political terms and emphasized the importance of democratic association in everyday life as a base of a functioning polity (K.Anheier & A.List, 2006)”. In the end, following his trip to America, Tocqueville arrives to the conclusion that democracy would not function and collapse if these “grassroots civic associations” would not exist and what we would face would be a “disorganized, fearful, lonely, hot-headed, small minded and mean-spirited population” in ruling (Eliasoph, 2013). For Tocqueville:

...voluntary action and voluntary association become cornerstones of a functioning democratic polity, in which voluntary action shields society from the tyranny of the majority...Civil society organizations play a key role in ‘making democracy work’: voluntary associations do not just

have an external function (i.e. interest mediation vis a vis the state system), but also an internal function, socialising their members in a democratic value pattern (K.Anheier & A.List, 2006)

Tocqueville without any doubt, influenced many others working on volunteering and civil participation. While volunteering is often discussed with reference to him, democracy, and civil participation studies examining the economic and political sides of volunteering in the context of the 19th century U.S. are scant. In this regard, Adam (2004) is very much an exception in how he approaches the issue of volunteering through “philanthropy” in this era. He criticizes the way in which the emergence and development of philanthropy in the 18th and 19th century was discussed and points out that there is not a thorough discussion on this issue and that “scholars have not combined research on philanthropy with research on the bourgeoisie” and have thus “failed to develop a united theoretical concept of philanthropy (Adam T. , 2004).” What he concludes is that the inflation of the associated terms such as benevolence, giving, charity, philanthropy, donating, voluntary sector, independent sector, non-profit organizations that are being used interchangeably by scholars from different backgrounds without providing any proper definitions and the misconceptualization and lack of understanding around them is a result of this fail (Adam T. , 2004).

After putting this forward, Adam offers the following definition of philanthropy: “a system designed initially in Europe to deal with the negative effects of industrialization on society (Adam T. , 2004).” Accordingly, in terms of the historical development of philanthropic activities he argues that “the German and English municipalities developed schemes and blueprints for which were in turn transferred to the north Atlantic, i.e. the U.S. and Canada (2004)”. Adam’s way of analysing the issue is a unique contribution in the field. Following the effects of the industrialization and thus the social dynamics in change, it is possible to define a chaotic situation where urban life was also witnessing this on daily scale.

Subsequently, according to Adam, having the working class on one side, this new era had also produced a new “social stratum of entrepreneurs and industrialists who are best described as self-made men and women” (2004, p. 27). He further argues that philanthropy in this regard was a tool to re-establish the social order in the chaotic

cities of the 19th century. He further argues that philanthropic activities as a behavioural pattern, became a defining feature of the upper class since wealth was one of the necessary preconditions to enter into the bourgeoisie (2004). As a result of this, from Adam's approach philanthropy turned to be a behavioural pattern of the newly emerging elite stratum as an enabling way into their way to high society (2004, p. 29). As a result, we observe that:

Philanthropists founded museums, art galleries, and social housing projects not only to improve the general welfare but also to claim leadership positions in urban society... Spending enormous amounts of money for social and cultural institutions was not a problem for people who amassed millions of dollars in new industries... Philanthropy served to delineate the borders of the bourgeoisie (Adam T., 2004)

Evidential data supports Adam's argument. Although these studies were conducted to understand relationship between democracy and civic engagement, in a Tocquevillian fashion, for instance, Gamm and Putnam suggests that the late nineteenth century of associations between 1850 and 1900 where there were "average 2.1 associations per 1000 population in 1840 which rose to about 5.4 associations per 1000 population by 1910 (Wankhade, 2017)." Following this a slower growth is observed by 1910 and a period of stagnation in between 1910-1940 the figures show some decline (Gamm & Putnam, 1999). When we consider the time frames such as 1850-1900, it is possible to identify that they actually refer to decades where there was considerable accumulation of wealth for a class.

Similar to Adam, Hobsbawm (1987) had already argued that philanthropy as such had also "the incidental advantage that it retrospectively softened the public outlines of men whose workers and business rivals remembered them as merciless predators." However, what Hobsbawm further argues about this issue that that while a new social stratum was being created in the New Continent, philanthropic activities served as a means of a new "sufficient aim in life and an adequate justification of their class and of civilization" as well. Thus, while philanthropic activities served to be a legitimizing tool for this class, it also became a part of a value and ethics creation that the time necessitated. Accordingly:

...when large tracts of the bourgeoisie itself found themselves so little engaged in the generation of wealth, and drifting so rapidly and so far away from the puritan ethic, the values of work and effort, accumulation through abstention, duty and moral earnestness, which had given them their identity, pride and ferocious energy?... But was not the class that had made the nineteenth century its own, withdrawing from its historic destiny? ...How, if at all, could it combine the values of its past and its present? ... The most that can be said of American capitalists is that some of them earned money so fast and in such astronomic quantities that they were forcibly brought up against the fact that mere capital accumulation in itself is not an adequate aim in life for human beings, even bourgeois ones. (Hobsbawm, 1987)

One more perspective to understand philanthropy in this context is not surprisingly from Marx. However, in the field of volunteering studies, he is rarely looked upon and his works are scarcely integrated in research. In that regard, on *Theses on Feuerbach* Marx explains that (2000):

The philanthropic school is the humanitarian school carried to perfection. It denies the necessity of antagonism; it wants to turn all men into bourgeois; it wants to realize theory in so far as it is distinguished from practice and contains no antagonism...The philanthropists, then, want to retain the categories which express bourgeois relations, without the antagonism which constitutes them and is inseparable from them. They think they are seriously fighting bourgeois practice, and they are more bourgeois than the others.

In that regard, he also opens up a new subject to be discussed further. If we would take the issue from a Tocquevillean perspective, the interpretation would probably be:

Civic associations are an essential element in this picture: markets by themselves would be too brutal, but, according to the theory, a charity will step in, because once the state steps out, people's freely charitable and caring feeling will blossom: ...the homeless people will get a soup kitchen, and the process of helping the less fortunate will make the volunteers into the kinds of good citizens. Aiding the poor is supposed to build the volunteers' character (Eliasoph, 2013).

As in the case of poverty, this, paradoxically, makes poverty and other unmet needs necessary for social well-being, in a sense, as the society needs poor people for their virtue-producing effect on volunteers (Poppendieck, 1999). This point will be further

discussed in the coming sections of this thesis since volunteering in 21st century should also be questioned in this regard as well.

2.3. Volunteering in 20th-21st Century

In looking into the roots of volunteering and attempting to see the issue from the perspective of its historical development, some examples from the literature on U.K. has been introduced. Relevant studies were mostly concentrated on charity and emergence of some institutions or they were rather focusing on different religious interpretations. Above presented example reflects the scantiness in the literature where alternative approaches to explore the issue is very rare.

However, echoing Hobsbawm, we could explore more on the issue in the context of a social system where nobility and peasantry were linked to each other with a sense of mutual obligation (Hobsbawm, 1962), a system in which everyone had a set place, and a set of customary duties (Eliasoph, 2013) and could try to understand why almsgiving and charity takes place, who gives what and who takes.

Then era came when “sometime in the 1780s, for the first time in human history, the shackles were taken off the productive power of human societies, which henceforth became capable of the constant, rapid and up to the present limitless multiplication of men, goods and services (Hobsbawm, 1962).” As a result, a tremendous transformation was witness where Tocqueville (1968 [1835]) could argue “aristocracy links everyone, from peasant to king, in one long chain. Democracy breaks the chain and frees each link”.

As for the 19th century, this thesis has thus far concentrated on literature from two perspectives. On the one hand, we looked at the école that interpreted the rise in individual participation in civic associations with an attitude of praising with its roots in Tocqueville. On the other, this thesis has attempted to interpret the issue from a more historical perspective and elaborate on Adam’s (2004) and Hobsbawm’s interpretations in which both arrived at the conclusion that while a new social stratum was being created in the New Continent, philanthropic activities effectively served as a means of public relations for them.

Putting the 19th century behind, we can now arrive at an era where we finally meet a vast collection of studies and discourse on volunteerism and volunteering. A full analysis of this period, and what transformative stages that volunteering has gone through will be left for the subsequent chapters of this thesis. However, to present a more complete picture of the progress and transformation happened, a glimpse of this era will be presented below.

A very brief explanation on societal change in reference to 19th century capitalism has been presented above. In the literature, it is being discussed that the capitalist society “exists over some specific forms of regimes accumulation” in different courses of history and accordingly, capitalist organization of social reproduction has undergone major historical shifts as well (Fraser, 2016).

Fraser suggests three-fold categorization in understanding these regimes of “social reproduction-cum-economic production in capitalism’s history” (Fraser, 2016). She marks the first of these as the 19th century regime of liberal-competitive capitalism where the regime tended to leave workers to reproduce themselves “autonomously”. The second regime according to her is the “state-managed capitalism” of the 20th century where “the regime internalized social reproduction through State and corporate provision of social welfare (Fraser, 2016).”

Finally, the last regime is the “globalizing financialized capitalism of the present era” where both the state and market retreats from the social welfare. Thus, as Fraser (2016) explains, while care-work is transferred onto the family and community, it is accompanied by rising inequality and caused a dualized organization of social reproduction.

When we formulate the framework of the transition from the welfare state-dominated era to a neo-liberal one; simply, we may conclude that when the state itself abandoned provision of social services, the voluntary sector was left to step in in order to perform some of its functions. This meant both the expansion of voluntary sector and also a growing interest in that. As a result, we have now ended up with a huge literature on volunteering which became “volunteerism” that is also an ideologically loaded term. As stated, a more in-depth explanation of this transformation will be presented in the following sections.

CHAPTER 3

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO VOLUNTEERING

3.1. Main Traditions in Defining Volunteering

As stated, there has been an immense rise on the study of volunteering in the 20th century. This section will examine some of the focus areas of these studies, the methodologies they apply, and their areas of interest.

As has already been stated, volunteering is a concept on which it is very difficult to pin down a straightforward definition. Although this problem may be common with terminology in the social sciences, it is important to underline the fact that unlike with many other concepts in social sciences, there are few attempts to explain what is meant by volunteering. It is possible to argue that because the topic attracts the attraction of scholars from many different disciplines (from organizational studies to psychology, and anthropology to sports) the issue is often approached only via specific niches. When such a niche becomes the focus of the study, other crucial questions are mostly left aside.

In a simpler sense, it is possible to state that most existing research concerns the problems of “who volunteers and why” but lacks the initial question of “What is volunteering?”.

Keeping these in mind, in order to understand what has been developed so far in the field of study of volunteering, a three-fold categorization will be offered; namely the liberal-individualist approaches, institutionalist approaches, and the “others”.

3.1.1. Liberal-Individualist Approaches and Methodological Individualism

Different research traditions are derived from the disagreements on ontology, and on defining the nature of the social reality. In order to clear away the incomprehensibility of the concepts there is a need to clearly put forward the distinctions among these different research traditions (Yalman, 2012).

In the rational choice approach, the backbone assumption is that “individual behaviour is motivated by self-interest, utility maximization, or, more simply put, goal fulfilment (Petracca, 1991)”. How it is connected in analysing what is political is then:

...rational choice operates within the boundaries of two well-known assumptions: the first is methodological individualism and the second is the concept of rationality itself... The approach emerges from the classical economics, where the phrases "private interest," "self-interest," "utility maximizing," "selfish ends," "maximization," "goal-directed," "purposive behaviour," and "egoistic" characterize the economic approach to rationality. As a result, the way to study politics is to analyse the political behaviour of individuals... The assumption of rationality is essentially an assumption about human nature, more specifically, it is an assumption about what motivates the individual (Petracca, 1991)

In the field of volunteering studies what is seen is there is an overwhelming amount of empirical studies where factors that are associated with the “behaviour” of volunteering are tried to be analysed. At this point, what is adopted by the rational choice theories is to “suggest that public or private benefits may help to explain why individuals choose to volunteer” (Seabe, 2014).

The reflection of this research tradition in the study of volunteering is that the action (volunteering) itself is considered to be a sort of “charitable activity” which is very similar to the consumer behaviour since doing voluntary work means a calculation and decision in spending a certain amount of “one’s leisure time” to be dedicated for volunteering “in lieu of other (leisure) activities” (Lindenmeier, 2008).

Another example of this approach can be seen in Cnaan et al.’s (1996) conceptualization where they propose a “template” that consists of a continuum of volunteering ranging between the “purest” and the broadest. Accordingly, they

identify four dimensions “obligation, reward, context, and beneficiaries” and arrive to the conclusion that public perception of volunteering towards the different types of volunteering is linked with the *relative cost and benefits* to the volunteer. This means that “the greater the net cost to the volunteer, the purer the volunteering activity” making the concerned individual a more real volunteer (Cnaan, Handy, & Wadsworth, 1996).

Another implication of rational choice theory in this field is that a cost-benefit calculation is the underlying issue in volunteering where the decision to volunteer is taken in-line with this analysis and individuals tend to volunteer when the “benefits outweigh the costs” (Seabe, 2014).

This fashion of interpretation is actually an example of the rising effect of economics in the other fields of social studied. The most visible effect of economics in this field is the social exchange theory of 1950s when George Homans, an American sociologist constructed a framework with behaviourism and basic economics mixture where interpersonal relations are understood through cost-benefit analysis. Some basic assumptions in this theory are that individuals are reward-seekers and avoids from punishments and that “a person begins an interaction to gain maximum profit with minimal cost” since the individual action is driven by the question “what’s in it for me?” (What Is Social Exchange Theory?, 2018).

A result of this approach in social sciences is therefore adaptation of a sense of psychologism where some fundamental laws are established in conducting social sciences. As an example of this, George C.’s “sociological theory of exchange which has almost everything in common with Mill’s psychologism” argues that “all general laws in the social sciences are psychological laws” (Udehn, 2002). Accordingly:

Homans soon detected that his own position coincided with that of methodological individualism... More specifically, methodological individualism entails psychologism... In the end, it also seems as if Homans did identify his position as a form of reductionism. Methodological individualism cum psychologism holds that “all social phenomena can be analysed without residue into the actions of individuals (Udehn, 2002)

As a brief reminder, it is possible to arrive to the conclusion that volunteering was approached with this similar framework in this methodology. When we follow the chronology, by the 1975s the concept of public good enters into the discussion following Weisbrod's "path-breaking" article in which the "output of the charitable sector" is treated mostly as a public good (Bowman, 2004). Here, the non-profit sector is understood as a mechanism developed to tackle with the demands for public goods supplied which were by neither market nor the state productions (Kendall, 2003). The concept of altruism is used in these analyses to overcome the question why one would prefer to produce public goods. The concept is used as an a prioric explanation and that "individuals volunteer because of their genuine concern for others" (Seabe, 2014) and without further explanation, volunteering is explained through such an element in human nature. Such an example of this is that "public goods rest on the utility interdependence hypothesis in which one person's utility is affected by another person's consumption of the public good" (Bowman, 2004) where it is understood that volunteering occurs from "a desire to produce a public good".

Maybe this way of interpretation is found to be inadequate that later an updated version of this altered the role played by altruism a little bit by stating that "individuals are not pure altruists" and the benefits coming from volunteering, such as gaining experience, personal satisfaction and content is also affecting their decisions:

For example, given the underlying assumptions of the self-interested rational *homo sapiens* in economics, why would any rational individual make an effort and undertake to bear costs of an activity that provides no material gains to him or her? Thus, economists set out to do a cost-benefit analysis of volunteering for individuals, paying attention to material and nonmaterial benefits that may compensate for the cost of volunteering to resolve this otherwise irrational behaviour (Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, Volunteering, 2010)

As mentioned, while researches integrating economics into the area was dealing with the above-cited problems such as public goods, scholars from psychology were also in the debate, being preoccupied with the question of motivation. In that regard, psychology, taking a similar methodological standpoint, produced the *grand école* of the **functional approach**.

Accordingly, as previously discussed the functional approach was explaining behaviour with motives. Clary and Snyder's work is a very known example of this such an approach where they come up with the concept 'volunteerism functional inventory' (VFI) (Rochester, Paine, Howlett, & Zimmeck, 2010). Accordingly, this inventory serves to be a measurement scale that includes "altruistic motives" and a "range of egoistic benefits" such as careerist goals; to detect to the social motives causing the behaviour of volunteering (Peloza, Hudson, & Hassa, 2009).

Consequently, this states that there is a certain set of psychological needs shared across individuals. Hence, they identify and operationalize six personal and social functions that volunteering satisfies: Values, Understanding, Enhancement, Career, Social, and Protective (Clary & Snyder, 1999).

Similarly, practitioners of this approach suggests that "individual outcomes, such as volunteer satisfaction and retention, are more likely when volunteers can meet their important goals and motives for their service in their actual activities" (Stukas, 2005).

As observed, as a result of this a very isolated perspective towards the issue, some critiques emphasizing the role of the "externality" and context began to appear in the studies. Hustinx et al. summarizes this kind of reflexive approach as such:

...While our understanding of volunteerism is greatly indebted to these seminal frameworks, it should be recognized that there are a number of important limitations. First, existing research is biased towards explaining the supply of volunteers. The core interest is to predict who volunteers – the determinants of volunteering, and why people volunteer – the motivations to volunteer and benefits of volunteering (Handy and Hustinx 2009). Thus, the focus lies essentially on microstructural theories and models, viewing volunteering primarily as an individual behaviour, explainable by individual structural and cultural features². As yet, the organizational and institutional context of volunteering remains ill understood (Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, Volunteering, 2010).

This subsection of the thesis attempted to present a general outline of the research from the liberal-individualist scope. If we ask further questions on the methodology

² Such as Penner and Finkelstein 1998; Sokolowski 1996; Wilson 2000 (from Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, 2010)

of this approach where issues of free will, responsibility, morality and many others are raised at the individual level (Smith D. H., 1981), we realize that there are also problems deriving from the failure to incorporate what is social, or to ‘embed’ the individual and the economic in what is social, relational and historical (Cramer, 2002). Other scholars contribute to this discussion by adding that “...since volunteering, supposed to be undertaken as a matter of free will, it is often motivated by a sense of personal, cultural, religious, or other obligation” (Salamon, Sokolowski, & Haddock, 2011).

In most of the research produced, the problem of the "freedom of the will" remains primarily an empirical problem involving the psychology of motivation, freedom of choices and personality (Ladd, 1952). However, the question how the ‘agency’ is involved in conflicts, makes choices, how it is influenced by “specific conditions and social and historical features of change is neglected” (Cramer, 2002).

This isolated, ahistorical abstraction of human being is analysed many times by different scholars and some of the critiques of the theory also stated that this understanding in methodological individualism is “a refusal to examine the institutional or other forces” that are in force in shaping and effecting individual decisions (Hodgson, 1986).

Following the contribution of the liberal-individual approaches that we examined with reference to methodological individualism, we will proceed with the institutional approaches and their production in the area of volunteering studies.

3.1.2. Institutional Approaches and Organizational Theory

The second part of our brief account of the research on volunteering is as is stated in the title, the institutionalist approaches. The selection of such a three-fold categorization was not random but was based on the ongoing debates in the social sciences, and their respective productions. Accordingly, since we had established the first category as the liberal-individual approaches and led a discussion on the ground of methodological individualism, the second category elaborated on is the institutionalists, a dominant approach starting from the 1980s (Yalman, 2012). In more general terms, this tendency, named as new-institutionalism is explained as follows:

Without denying the importance of both the social context of politics and the motives of individual actors, the new institutionalism insists on a more autonomous role for political institutions. The state is not only affected by society but also affects it³... Political democracy depends not only on economic and social conditions but also on the design of political institution (March & Olsen, 1984)

Although the main domain of the institutionalist approaches can be regarded as debates on the State and its treatment as a distinct ontological entity, it is possible to extend these discussions to our arguments. In this regard it is first possible to argue that, under this approach volunteering started to be taken together with institutions and the organizational structures effecting the process of volunteering brought into prominence.

Thus, why the topic of this sub-section included “organizational theory” is closely related to the overall tendency to analyse the organizational structures, and from time to time, treat them as ontologically separate entities per se.

It should be known that for decades, it is an ongoing debate whether organizational studies as a field its own self or whether it could have emerged as a paradigm. In our framework, organizational theory is not added by assuming that it has an explanatory power itself but to emphasize the ongoing overall tendency in social sciences. Moreover, within the field that is very multi-disciplinary by nature, there are various methodological approaches and accordingly how the object of the research treated greatly varies.

As stated, although it is possible to clearly detect a tendency from variety of approaches having different stances where the significance of structure or organization as ‘factors’ were being emphasized, when the very significant and initial question asked, what is an institution and organization, very few answers had been produced.

The Nobel prize winner for economics in 1993, regarded as a new institutionalist, suggested that institutions are created by “utility-maximizing individuals with clear intentions”, but once these institutions are there, they are also capable of constructing

³ Katzenstein, 1978; Krasner, 1978; Nordlinger, 1981; Skocpol, 1979; Stephan, 1978 are some examples presented in this study (March & Olsen, 1984).

their own parameters. In contrast, another group of scholars regarded as “historical institutionalists” taking the notion of “bounded rationality” from March and Olsen (that had been cited above as an example), developed an understanding where they do not deny that individuals are interest calculators, but they suggest that the outcome is a “product of interaction among groups, interests, ideas and institutional structures” (Koelble, 1995).

Following Schmidt, another advocate of this methodology, it is possible to say that there are four basic institutionalisms- one of which is rather a young one (2006). Specifically, this is discursive institutionalism, it brings the emphasis on communication in institutional context (Schmidt, 2006). The other three are those which we are mostly familiar with; rational choice, historical, and sociological institutionalisms. This thesis has already briefly stated that “Rational choice institutionalism focuses on rational actors pursuing their interests and following their preferences within political institutions, defined as structures of incentives, according to a ‘logic of interest.’ (Schmidt, 2006)”. Historical institutionalism, on the other hand, states that institutions are social constructs and thus contains culture created as a result of the purposeful choices of the “political agents” who act in-line with culturally-specific rules and norms (Schmidt, 2006).

The third type of institutionalism which is also widely seen volunteering studies is sociological institutionalism, it has a focus of:

...forms and procedures of organizational life stemming from culturally-specific practices, with institutions cast as the norms, cognitive frames, and meaning systems that guide human action as well as the cultural scripts and schemata diffused through organizational environments, serving symbolic and ceremonial purposes rather than just utilitarian ones (Schmidt, 2006).

As Walter Powell and Paul DiMaggio argue, “individuals find themselves embedded in cultural and organizational fields” that in turn shapen their self interest (Koelble, 1995). Thus, from this persepective, cultural institutions delineate the limits of the imagination, and determines which goal-oriented or purposive action is deemed appropriate by setting the context which it flourishes in (Schmidt, 2006).

As seen, the aforementioned presented four types of institutionalisms vary in their interpretation of the institution itself but share the common emphasis on the institution itself which reflects an overall tendency within social sciences that increasingly turns its focus to the institutions, organizations or structures which in the end also resulted in the emergence of the field of organizational theory/studies. Thus, it is possible to see the emergence of a tendency that increasingly emphasises the significance of the organizations, and moreover takes them as major explanans. Accordingly, from this perspective organizations themselves are “collective actors” and:

We will [would] fail to perceive the importance of organizations for our lives if we [would] view them only as contexts- as arrangements influencing the activities of individual actors. Organizations must also be viewed as actors in their own right, as collective actors. They can take actions, utilize resources, enter into contracts, and own property (Scott & Davis, 2016).

If we take a look at the subject matter of this field, Scott and Davis, again, great contemporary contributors of the organizational studies state that:

The study of organizations is both a specialized field of inquiry within the discipline of sociology and an increasingly recognized focus of multi-disciplinary research and training. It is impossible to determine with precision the moment of its appearance, but it is safe to conclude that until the late 1940s, organizations did not exist as a distinct field of social inquiry (Scott & Davis, 2016).

Different scholars date the emergence of this tendency differently. For instance for Sorge (2002), organization as an academic field came into existence in the beginning of the 1960s when several sub-disciplines that were engaged in the explanation of the relationships in and between organizations were grouped together. Leaving the discussion to trace when exactly organizational studies emerged as a separate field to its practitioners, it is thus possible to argue that sometime in between the late 1940s and the 1960s, structure as a source of explanation and object of study gained prominence. In that regard, as a radical example, for Swanson the major issue of sociology supposed to understand “the corporate organization”, without taking it as a accumulation of single individual behaviours (1976).

Secondly, it is possible to detect parallels in the patterns of research in organizational theory whose object of inquiry is organization itself, and what can be described as the institutionalist approaches to volunteering studies. In this regard, this approach concerned with the phenomenon of volunteering aimed to investigate the “behaviour of the individuals in the way they handle physical objects, information and social encounters”, “groups, teams and other face-to-face groupings such as cliques of friends”, “organized units such as departments, firms or larger concerns”, “networks of sets of organizations”, “organizational context and environments, for example, the evolution of technology, markets, competition, governmental regulation etc.”, “manifestation of behaviour as mental attitudes, values, preferences and inclinations of individuals” without reducing the organization itself to individual human behaviour (Scott & Davis, 2016).

Viewing these different tendencies altogether, but bearing in mind that the role of the structure, organization and institutions becoming prominent, in studies of volunteering we also started to see slightly different research patterns where the organizational context is also began to be seen as an important issue to look into. In that regards, organizational setting’s itself and its social setting becomes also a significant factor.

One typical example of this in studies on volunteering can be seen below:

Until recently, the complex question of how the larger socio-cultural context, or the macro-system, impacts individual volunteering has received little attention among scholars in the field. It however is imperative to situate these micro-level attributes in the broader social, structural, and cultural context of volunteering. Volunteer activities are embedded in interpersonal relationships with other volunteers, paid staff, and recipients of the services, as well as in specific organizational programs and settings, and broader societal characteristics and dynamics (Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, Volunteering, 2010).

In our context, Putnam is frequently referred to since he argued that the “organizational base of volunteerism” is also a scale that should be considered (Eckstein, 2001). He further distinguished ‘doing with’ from ‘doing for’, and stated that giving, volunteering, and joining, are mutually reinforcing issues (Eckstein, 2001).

In addition to the increasing emphasis on the significance of structure/organization/institution and tendency not to underestimate organization, a third common denominator shared by both in organizational studies and volunteering studies is their vulnerability towards the positivist-empiricist imperialism. In this regard, what is argued is that while organization, institution, structure entered the scene⁴, the approach did not give up the application of positivist methodology where our object of research is treated and analysed with measurable tools.

Contextually, Giddens puts forward the idea that functionalism in this renewed form once again entered to sociology when it crossed the Atlantic, became for around three decades pre-eminent and was strongly reinforced by the works of Talcott Parsons where the concept of 'structure' was conjoined to that of 'function' (Giddens, 1996). The approach is always placed in the forefront regarding problems of institutional organization. Giddens decodes structural functionalism as follows:

...First decoding: functionalism is a teleological theory which, however, allows for only a limited and deficient explication of purposive human action... Second decoding: functionalism is a social theory in which the teleology of the capital term, 'function, is either redundant or falsely applied... Third decoding: functionalism, or more specifically structural-functionalism, mistakenly assimilates the notions of system and structure. Both the terms 'system' and 'structure' appear chronically in the literature of structural-functionalism (1996).

We can expand what Giddens has explained in our context, where most of the research in both organizational studies and volunteering studies adopt this methodology. Accordingly, as seen, not only the terms 'system' and 'structure' appear chronically in the literature, but also 'organization' and 'institution.' Referring to Merton, Giddens shows that concepts such as 'structure' and 'system' are used as interchangeable terms and appear throughout his book, but are not subjected to special analysis and are rather treated as synonymous with 'behaviour', 'pattern of behaviour', and 'structural activity' (1996). In the end, not only in Merton's particular example but throughout the whole literature we arrive at a situation where an analysis of the 'structure' or organization, institution is not provided but largely is taken for granted.

⁴ An explanation why these terms are interchangeably used is provided below.

Both in organizational and in volunteering studies, there is a great deal of empirical analysis focusing on “levels of participation, feelings of political efficacy, and levels of interpersonal trust among different social groups”, as well as institutionalization of ideas within organizations (Capoccia, 2016). These studies integrate the concept of ‘organization’ into the framework but still adopt an empirical approach since the main deal of the social sciences recently built on the premise “if you can’t count it, it doesn’t count (Giddens, 1996)”.

3.1.3. “Others”: Hybrid Approaches and Comparative Studies

In the two preceding sections, we had a brief look at the two dominant methodological approaches in volunteering studies. Although these two approaches are the backbone for various other approaches, there are also other scholars approaching the debate from different standpoints. One example of this can be seen in Cho and Gimpel’s contribution in integrating the matter of “space” in discussions where they examine “spatial patterns of mass political participation in the form of volunteering and donation”. This type of contribution is also significant since the spatial feature of volunteering is barely touched upon. Though still not representing a complete rupture from what we described previously as the dominant approaches, Cho and Gimpel bring a different look on act of participation by stating that these:

...[participatory] acts should be observed within the context of the physical spaces in which they emerge, not solely as a function of individual attributes such as income, age, factual knowledge, or educational attainment (2010).

However, Cho and Gimpel’s examples represent a very rare contribution in the overall literature and this type of deviation in interpreting participation and volunteering is very few. In this section, two more approaches that scholars increasingly prefer to utilise will be described. Following this, we will try to answer the question of whether an alternative approach can be offered in studying volunteering.

One of these approaches is named several times in different studies as “hybrid theories”. In this regard, it possible to see that scholars often create an *ideal type* to describe what they mean by ‘volunteer’. Ideal types are seen as the abstraction of an existing social reality. Thus, borrowed from Weber, after the creation of these certain

ideal volunteering types and briefly introducing them, studies mostly continue by testing a particular research problem around volunteering.

As an example, we may discuss Hustinx, Handy and Cnaan's contribution, in which they argue that volunteering is a multi-layered phenomenon, and thus multiple levels of analysis are needed to properly understand it. Accordingly, they suggest that a structural, cultural, organizational, and broader contextual analysis should be made in addition to an analysis of the individual volunteer him/herself and they further argue that "volunteering is a multiform reality and various volunteer characteristics intertwine in systematic and multiple ways (Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, 2010)".

Thus, in line with the acceptance of the existence of various levels of analysis; what we may call as hybrid theories are now present in volunteering studies in a very widespread fashion. We can further take Salamon and Anheier's definition to provide an example and to make a more concrete understanding of what we mean by hybrid theories.

In their work published in 1992, Salamon and Anheier state that "developing a general definition of the third sector to be used in comparative research" can be a remedy to overcome the lack of attention to the area that is resulting because of a conceptual obscurity. In the same article they argue that:

...the institutional landscape of the world reveals often striking differences in the way human beings organise themselves for social, economic and political action... We have come to accept the existence of two grand complexes of organisations - two broad sectors - into which it has become conventional to divide social life: the market and the state, or the public and the private sectors. Notwithstanding the tremendous variety of actual institutional entities to which the abstract concepts of the market and the state actually refer, these abstractions have come to command acceptance as meaningful, indeed necessary, analytical notions without which it is impossible to understand or describe modern life (Salamon & Anheier, 1992).

By referring their ongoing discussions also with DiMaggio, they further conclude that "the task of defining the non-profit sector is further complicated by a number of crucial distinctions and patterns of institutional differentiation that characterise this field in different societies (Salamon & Anheier, 1992, p. 129) " such as different

conceptualization of the volunteering act itself or the type of the settings. Thus, as they argue defining the non-profit sector becomes “further complicated by a number of crucial distinctions and patterns of institutional differentiation that characterise this field in different societies” (Salamon & Anheier, 1992).

If we briefly break into smaller pieces what is put forward in the preceding analysis, we might first argue that they take state and market as two per se existing grand complexes. Secondly, they suggest the existence of a third complex entity, a distinct social space that is separated from the state and market, and for them, this entity has different forms in different societies.

What they suggest against these enduring difficulties and complexities is first of all to acknowledge the existence of these grand complexes and the varying characteristics they have in-line with spatial changes.

To operationalize this methodology, Salamon, Sokolowski, & Haddock (2011) further suggest that there are “three different such units, or levels, of analysis: first, the individual level; second, the organizational level; and third, the macro or economy-wide level.” They argue that in contrast to an economic/financial or functional definition; the “structural/operational” is a more fruitful tool with less problems (Salamon & Anheier, 1992) adding that it also creates the ground for research across different countries:

It makes it possible to define the non-profit sector empirically without separately investigating every organisation. It embraces within the sector a broad array of relevant organisations without opening it to every type of organised or unorganised entity that exists. And it makes it possible to generate hypotheses about the relationships between this sector and the other components of social and economic life.

If we continue taking their approach into pieces to understand better, besides taking grand complexities as ontologically separate and independent entities, they suggest that there are *sui generis* national traditions and different level of developments existing, and thus; from their point of view we should apply the 'structural/operational' definitions to identify these differences in between different social settings.

Comparative approaches studying sociological structures and dynamics of institutions emphasize how the new inputs (phenomena, value, technology, etc.) are adapted and adopted by different countries (Kaleci, 2018), and aim to explain the social-cultural codes on which these states are built on. Moreover, the differences detected can provide ideas on state traditions and also the social dynamics and political experiences addressed (Kaleci, 2018).

As observed the comparative study of volunteerism at what has been called as “macro level” became more preferred and instead of outlying “individual-level determinants”, now many studies attempt to provide explanations in “cross-national differences” when volunteer engagement is concerned (Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, 2010). There are some key structural arguments that resemble other Weberian studies, such as in countries where the relationship between the church and state is blurred, the non-profit sector is expected to be limited or further, the sui generis characteristics of one particular location may influence and shape the role and structure of the non-profit sector. Examples of such arguments include the *waqf* tradition of Islam, and the Jacobin tradition in France (Salamon & Anheier, 1992).

Similarly, another very used argument derives from the identification of four different types of regime, namely; Liberal, Social-Democratic, Corporatist, and Statist (Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, 2010) depending on the government’s role in provision of social services:

At one end, in the liberal model or regime low government spending on social welfare services is associated with a relatively large non-profit sector mainly focused on service provision. At the opposite end is the Social Democratic model in which, high government spending on social welfare results in a limited role for non-profit service-provision, but a larger role for the expression of political, social, or recreational interests. In addition, Corporatist and Statist models also exist, both characterized by strong states, with the state and non-profits partnering in the Corporatist model, while the state retains the upper hand in many social policies in the Statist model (Hustinx, Handy, & Cnaan, Volunteering, 2010).

Another theory that will be analysed here as a “hybrid” is that of Wilson and Musick’s (1997) which was described as a hybrid approach by various scholars conducting

research in volunteering. In one article they published in 1997, they explain their theory of volunteer work as follows:

We construct an integrated theory of formal and informal volunteer work based on the premises that volunteer work is (1) productive work that requires human capital, (2) collective behavior that requires social capital, and (3) ethically guided work that requires cultural capital.

Accordingly, their theory suggests that the problem of collective action, that we touched upon in the section 3.1.1 Liberal-Individualist Approaches and Methodological Individualism, can be dealt with by adding different types of capital such as human capital or cultural capital in the equation. This approach first argues that volunteering takes place within the market and it is a “productive activity” where certain resources or qualifications determine the participation (Seabe, 2014). As seen from the argument that volunteering requires resources they share some similar characteristics with other various scholars studying on collective action. They further suggest a tripartite conceptualization of these resources required for volunteer action “where human capital related aspects such as educational attainment, income and health would determine an individual’s likelihood to volunteer (Seabe, 2014)”.

Introduction of cultural capital in the field, brings the understanding that volunteering can be categorized by structural socio-economic or demographic characteristics in the end. As seen, several studies have been conducted that use data such as education, amount of free time, income, occupation, sex and gender and race to detect whether the volunteer happens through “social stratification” and try to predict engagement in voluntary work by using these parameters (Ganesh & Mcallum, 2009). In this perspective:

Conceptualizing the decision to volunteer in terms of rational choice theory, Musick and Wilson point out that “volunteering is more attractive to the resource-rich than to the resource-poor. If volunteer work demands money, the rich will find it easier to do; if it demands knowledge and ‘civic skills,’ the well-educated will be less challenged by it... In other words, the resource-rich are more likely to ‘profit’ from doing volunteer work (Einolf & Chambré, 2011).

It seems that this perspective has really been favoured by scholars which is evident by the number of studies analysing the relationship between the capital determinants and volunteering. What is similar is to detect a relationship, either positive or negative in between “assets” such as education, profession or skills and volunteer participation. As stated, the initial expectation is that people having a better economic position or having more social and cultural capital would volunteer more. However, while numerous researches were being conducted and replicated studies around this correlation would occur and the initial thesis itself is rarely questioned. For instance, whether cultural/human capital is also being determined by the economic one and whether any correlation obtained is indeed explains the social reality dealt with are questions that are not looked upon.

From a different perspective, we may say that popularity of this integrated approach is understandable while there is still a need to understand this trend adopted among studies. One can argue that the reason might be the comfort that these theories offer. In that regard, we might speculate that most probably, the hybrid approaches seem to overcome the major criticisms directed to the two major approaches: liberal-individualist and institutionalist approaches by in fact moving a bit away from the core of the paradigm to the peripheries by borrowing some notions to fill the gaps.

Another issue on these approaches is the reproduction of some dualities such as such as "micro vs. macro," "individualism vs. structuralism," and "actions vs. order," (Weldes, 1989). Playing on the string in between these two poles, trying to find balance, most of the theories that are being inspired by Wilson and Musick’s integrated approach reflects and “highlights all the predicaments faced by attempts to build a social theory on individualistic foundations” as Yalman (2010)’s provides another example in his rent-seeking analysis. While trying to understand what constitutes volunteering and what does not, they try to identify common patterns around the common dominators of people who volunteer. This actually represents the neglect of a possible mechanism amongst which individuals having different interests can also create a collective interest (Yalman, 2010). In that regard, we see that while their key assumption is “individuals behave in their own, rather than the collective, interests” is kept as main premises, since engagement in collective action cannot be

explained otherwise, this in turn results in the engagement of another a priori assumption for the sake of explanation and consistency which happens to be that the “self-seeking individuals need a set of incentives or disincentives so as to engage in ‘collective action’ (Yalman G. , 2007)”.

Thus, although the hybrid theories emerged as new ways of studying volunteering by trying to overcome the core paradigmatic inconsistent assumptions, they were containing the main premises of the major methodological approaches as well. Similar to the case of new institutionalist approaches for instance, one particular school of the institutionalists also share the same set of methodological inconsistency. In the new institutionalist literature, “actor” could find a place for itself with different names such as “agent”, “entrepreneur” and after the realization of some common demands for institutionalist changes, the theory had to put forward the thesis of “shared mental modes” as in Douglas North’s contribution where a third kind of link amongst individuals is realized rather than common aims and interests (Kaleci, 2018). So that by doing so, a very *natural* case, i.e. existence of a collective interest, demanding for change in a given organizational structure would be explicable.

Thus, it would be very assertive to argue that they do not offer a brand-new look methodologically; however, let us say, humbly speaking, while taking after their father in their manner, they seem to have developed only slightly different attitudes of their own and as a consequence became eclectic in some certain respects.

3.2. Is Another Understanding Possible?

We have so far investigated through the literature on volunteering and identified two major tendencies namely, liberal-individualist approaches and institutionalist approaches. Further it is presented that there is a tendency in the literature, favouring to call their models as either “integrated”, “hybrid” or “comparative”.

In each sub-section below while explaining these approaches, we have tried to identify some deficiencies. In that regard, the atomistic, isolated individual of the liberal theories and the institutionalist approaches that attribute institutions as having a self-proclaimed explanatory power have been identified. It is further argued that the main theoretical assumptions of the hybrid approaches in volunteering studies is not enough

to capture the social reality. By having the congenital defects at the first hand and trying to overcome these with further a priori arguments would in turn present us a not only deficient but also a misleading capture of the volunteering reality which is closely related with “collective action”.

3.2.1. Some Philosophical Issues: Does Volunteering Have an Essence?

Let us wrap up what is on the table and then further seek for a different way to understand volunteering, as an example, very respective and known scholars in the field, Salamon, Sokolowski, & Haddock (2011) put forward the following that represents a general echoing in literature of volunteering:

Volunteering is a complex phenomenon that has often defied definition, *let alone measurement*. Undertaken in leisure time, it is nevertheless a form of work. Pursued for no monetary compensation, it nevertheless produces both tangible and intangible benefits not only for its beneficiaries, but also for the volunteers. Supposed to be undertaken as a matter of free will, it is often motivated by a sense of personal, cultural, religious, or other obligation. A number of significant conceptual and methodological challenges thus *confront any effort to measure* the extent and economic value of volunteer work.

In that regard, it is possible to argue that in all these approaches introduced, firstly, the obsession to “measure” is problematic. Even in comparative and institutionalist theories where an ideal type is created first in-line with the Weberian methodologies, it is observed that the ideal-type is subjected to testing and further empiricist modelling. Putting comparative studies aside, most of the studies conducted, thus, aim to select an area of the social reality concerned to test and seek to explain that particular section of the subject and all share the baseline of taking individual as unit of analysis. According to Giddens (1996):

Mainstream social science, the orthodox consensus, first of all involved a mistaken model of what natural science was like. Social scientists believed themselves to be trying to reproduce the sorts of findings that the natural sciences claim to achieve, but their model of natural science was a philosophically defective one. The model of natural science deployed by the orthodox consensus was essentially an empiricist one, which sees as the highest aspiration of science the creation of deductive systems of laws.

We had also identified the “widespread colonization of American social science by the methods of economics, a process that is due at least in part to the belief that these methods are ‘truly’ scientific because they are predictive (Weldes, 1989) as in the case of rational choice or in general choice-theoretic methods.

Similarly; as we understand from the sentence “...Supposed to be undertaken as a matter of free will, it is often motivated by a sense of personal, cultural, religious, or other obligation” (Salamon, Sokolowski, & Haddock, 2011); there are some set of ‘senses’ that motivates the agent, individual to be motivated. Here, we see the acknowledgement of some ‘forces’ that are seen as motivators for volunteering of the individual.

Indeed, the “factors” theory is unsound in itself, for it arbitrarily picks out different sides of social life, hypostasises them, converts them into forces of a special kind, which, from different sides, and with unequal success, draw the social man along the path of progress (Plekhanov, 1961).

The tendency in the conducted volunteering studies similarly represents this. Various researches are being conducted to understand what motivates the volunteer, however firstly, the ‘factors’ themselves and if any of these have a more significant effect than others have never been or rarely discussed, and secondly, what to include as a determinant factor such as age, marital status, gender, education, race, employment, religion also varies. Furthermore, we have already discussed of some problematic issues in taking individual as unit of analysis. But once again, if we recall:

For the individualist, ultimate ontological and explanatory priority is accorded to the individual, and "holistic" or structural concepts are therefore viewed as aggregates that must be either decomposed or dispensed with entirely as meaningless. The tension between individual and structural explanations is thus resolved (or dissolved), by fiat, by denying ontological and explanatory status to social structures (Weldes, 1989).

Thus, although there is a level of reference to social structures, there is a notion of individual being motivated to volunteer. There is a need to clarify the concept of individual clearly and in a different way. What have been perceived as individual in the literature is an isolated, atomistic creature, a “rational being”, having free will,

capable of choosing and time to time has the urge to help others or show some signs of altruism.

Altruism as well as free will are mostly used as taken for granted characteristics of the individual described throughout the literature. Similarly, the same individual seems to have a kind of *essence*, a very static one that is not affected in the course of history, in other words there is the concept of an ahistorical human nature. How we shall perceive it on the other side is “but the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations” (Marx, 2000). Thus, even if we would talk about human nature at a certain point of course of time, it could be explained through the characteristics of the relationships it constructs with and within its environment but would not as having a shrouded and esoteric essence in itself (Silier, 2007, p. 109).

From this point of view, in the studies of volunteering, we shall thus eliminate the notions of rational choice in the beginning and treating them as having explanatory power. Here, we have more or less an understanding on what we should not take as an approach to understand volunteering and what are some misleading methods in understanding. However, still the question remains, then what kind of an approach should we adopt? This will be examined in the next section.

3.2.2. Looking at the Concept of Volunteering from a Historical Perspective

Ganesh and Mcallum’s, interpretation of volunteering as something “performative and action-oriented”, being a “contextual activity and experience that individuals, groups and communities may go through” (2009) is taken but with a different understanding of the concept of individual is adopted in this thesis. How individual is considered in this thesis is the collection, accumulation of the social relations that he/she is in. A similar methodology will be adopted to understand volunteering, the changing notions of it and UNV system. Before proceeding to explain, let us have a look on a cry within the field:

For a long time, social scientists and policy-makers paid little attention to concepts like philanthropy, voluntarism, social capital, civil society or non-profit organizations, and *perhaps*

even less to the question of what these different forms and activities might have in common. The focus of much social science thinking and policymaking was elsewhere, i.e. with markets and governments⁵ (K.Anheier & A.List, 2006).

Here a big respect should be paid to Anheier and List by emphasizing the plurality of similar concepts and to question whether these forms and activities have something in common. Because indeed they have: they all emerge from unequal social and relationships though having differing forms. However, when we further continue from Anheier and List's perspective, the picture would still remain incomplete by not adding the 'focus of social science thinking', ' , i.e. with markets and governments' and all. So, what to do?

Here, Marx offers a different picture: The world is not the sum of objects with fixed natures, "but the sum of phenomena and processes that can be understood in their relations and interactions" (Marx, 2000):

Let us explain how the method we have chosen can change our perception of the world with concrete examples: With a metaphysical approach, we can take the human body as the sum of various organs with fixed functions. On the other hand, when you start with dialectical approach to understand the body, we need to use a dynamic and holistic model where different systems interact such as the digestive system, respiration etc. Or, we can define the concept of "school" as a mechanical system in which knowledge-receiving students and informative teachers engage in a certain relationship in between the four walls. [But] By dialectical method, we can position it in its historicity and concentrate on how it emerged as a social institution and by whom it was founded, how it evolved and how the power relations within the school serve to ideologically reproduce the existing social structure⁶. (Silier, 2007).

If we go back to our topic: How does volunteering occur? We may reply as from different forms of inequality and unequal relationships. Let us call this almsgiving in 17th century, charity work in 18th century, and philanthropy in 19th century, volunteering in 20th; there are different forms of this human action in different axis of time and space. How it is conducted changes, who receives it and who does it changes,

⁵ Emphasis added.

⁶ Translated according to the best understanding of the owner of this thesis

forms it takes changes, discourse on it changes, how it is perceived changes, in which areas it concentrates changes. It takes different forms through the course of history and geographical location.

However, volunteering has been approached so far to be understood with arguments, trying to detach it from its historical, political, social and economic context. An example is that, Eliasoph (2013) was right about arguing is that for instance its detachment from being a political activity and that “volunteering” is an inherently political act (Haluzá-DeLay, 2014).

What should be offered instead is to restrict the usage of the very static conceptualization of what volunteering is. Indeed, like every other social phenomenon, it is subject to wider economic-social-political changes, effecting and being affected by them. By doing so, we will not treat these changes that we named as economic-social-political as being ontologically separate spheres and also the volunteering itself.

Similarly, the second chapter of this aimed to present a framework as such. We had a brief look on “Early forms of “Volunteering” - U.K.: Charity, almsgiving, benevolence”, “19th Century - U.S.: Tocqueville, democracy and civic participation” and a very short introduction as named “Volunteering in 20th-21th Century: Getting Closer”. What is going to be presented in the next chapters is to understand the UNV system and volunteering in 20th century in its historical context. Since, as maybe Dekker & Halman (2003) suggests:

...Speculations of this kind about why people volunteer can be more fruitful than the analysis of the motives volunteers choose to justify their involvement.

CHAPTER 4

GLOBAL CHANGES AND VOLUNTEERING IN 20th AND 21st CENTURY

In the first three chapters of this thesis different approaches in defining volunteering were presented, but also the question whether it is possible to understand and define volunteering in a different way had been put forward. It was highlighted that a static use of the concept and detaching it from the social and economic reality are things that one ought to refrain from. Similarly, earlier, in the second chapter through some concise examples, earlier forms of volunteering were introduced, with reference to very valuable contributions of other researchers' works, to explore the possibility if volunteering can be evaluated from a holistic approach with its links to the what we may call as 'context'.

At this point, the same methodology will be used to understand contemporary volunteering. To do so, firstly an outline of the 20th and 21st century will be presented. Then, a further analysis under this topic, namely the new types of employment will be examined to be able to detect the linkages between new employment strategies and volunteering. These linkages will be further investigated before ending this chapter and a conclusion will be presented before proceeding to understand volunteering in the United Nations.

4.1. Setting the Context: The Very Short 20th and 21st Century

According to Samir Amin (2000) and many others “the twentieth century came to a close in an atmosphere astonishingly reminiscent of that which had presided over its birth—*the belle époque* (and it was beautiful, at least for capital)”. This is due to the fact that with the beginning of the century, in an increasing fashion, a tendency towards economic growth had been seen in dominant economies. If we consider the acceleration in amount of production with the new forms of production especially by

the 1920s such as Fordism, a period of renewed growth had been observed (Amin, 2000). Witnessing growth and expansion in the central capitalist countries and then a World War; what followed the 1920s was a period of restoration and most countries were occupied with re-building the foundations of their capitalist economies. However, as seen, the restoration attempted following 1920s and was without any radical changes and as seen by 1929 the system was interrupted one again and what followed in the next decade was devastating (Amin, 2000). This time destruction was more severe and had different political and economic outcomes. For instance, looking back at the account of the last 20 years, many doctrines like Keynes were already arguing that Great Depression was the warning of continued capitalist instability. Later, more and more it was being said that having such instability was indeed inherent to the capitalist system. Amin uses a threefold categorization to understand the post-war context (2000):

The Second World War inaugurated a new phase in the world system. The take-off of the post-war period (1945–1975) was based on the three social projects of the age, projects that stabilized and complemented each other. These three social projects were: a) in the West, the welfare state project of national social democracy, based on the efficiency of productive interdependent national systems; b) the “Bandung project” of bourgeois national construction on the system’s periphery (development ideology); and c) the Soviet-style project of “capitalism without capitalists,” existing in relative autonomy from the dominant world system.

What has been called by Amin (2000) as “the welfare state project of national social democracy, based on the efficiency of productive interdependent national systems” has many other different names such as welfare states, Keynesian period, corporatism or ‘embedded liberalism’ as Harvey (2005) uses with reference to Polanyi but more or less sharing the same analysis where State emerges as a powerful actor. According to Harvey, during this period various dirigiste states emerged where in all “full employment, economic growth, and the welfare of its citizens, and that state power should be freely deployed, -alongside of or, if necessary- intervening in or even substituting for market processes to achieve these ends” was a common practice. Following Harvey (2005), what was done in practice was:

As for the Fiscal and monetary policies usually dubbed 'Keynesian' were widely deployed to dampen business cycles and to ensure reasonably full employment. A 'class compromise' between capital and labour was generally advocated as the key guarantor of domestic peace and tranquillity. States actively intervened in industrial policy and moved to set standards for the social wage by constructing a variety of welfare systems (health care, education, and the like).

Following the WW2 new instruments of monetary and fiscal policy such as the control of the interest rates were developed (Palley, 2005) and some other steps that might be characterized as gains or achievements by the labour side were taken. Policies such as full employment was in the agenda, there was higher union coverage and social protection was being expended such as in the spheres of housing, education, pension, retirement, health in various countries all in which state was taking a proactive role.

Embedded liberalism as what Harvey (2005) calls had brought considerable economic growth in the advanced capitalist countries by the 1950s and 1960s. But this ended by late 1960s both in international and national scales. In between 1968 and 1971, what Amin (2000) has described as "three post-war models of regulated accumulation" broke down and resulted "a structural crisis of the system reminiscent of that of the end of the nineteenth century". Precipitous fall of the growth, soaring unemployment and intense pauperization were what followed (Amin, 2000). During 1970s was marked as a period of 'stagflation' is used to describe, there was widespread unemployment and inflation and "signs of a crisis of capital accumulation were apparent everywhere" (Harvey, 2005).

Here we slowly come to the point where the following periods will be marked as neoliberalism. For Panitch and Gindin (2004):

The mechanisms of neoliberalism (the expansion and deepening of markets and competitive pressures) may be economic, but neoliberalism was essentially a political response to the democratic gains that had been previously achieved by subordinate classes and which had become, in a new context and from capital's perspective, barriers to accumulation.

Neoliberalism consolidated itself "as a new economic orthodoxy" through by the electoral victories during that period (Navarro, 1998). In many developed countries

conservative and liberal parties were getting stronger and Reagan being elected in the U.S. in 1980 and Thatcher in the U.K. in 1979 became another cornerstone. The ‘US model’ became the dominant concept in financial talks, in terms of solution, deregulation in financial markets, “privatisation, weakening of institutions of social protection, weakening of labour unions and labour market protections, shrinking of government, opening up of international goods and capital markets, and abandonment of full employment” were being advised (Palley, 2005) irrespective of a country’s social and economic situation.

One feature of this new orthodoxy is that, it regarded the state and move coming from the state as an obstacle to the economic and social development (Navarro, 1998). By that time on wards, the spread of this discourse was so wide; it had become hegemonic in both national and international scale and dominated academia and mainstream media as well. As it was put forward by Harvey (2005):

Future historians may well look upon the years 1978–80 as a revolutionary turning-point in the world’s social and economic history. Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. Deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision have been all too common. Neoliberalism has, in short, become hegemonic as a mode of discourse.

As being hegemonic, neoliberalism has changed politics and policies in tremendous ways. According to this logic, while labour is considered like any other commodity and every interruption coming from state is considered to be disruptive, regulation of the labour market deemed to be negative. Thus, one of the mostly used discourse was the elimination of rigidities effecting the market such as labour unions. Similarly, wages were advocated to be unregulated since the market forces would find the perfect balance. In this understanding policies for employment are described either causes inflation or further cursed as trigger unemployment since they would interrupt the natural market process and causing destabilization within the system (Palley, 2005). This was the same argument was social protection as well. Neoliberal policies further sought to attack to social protection rights guaranteed by the welfare state arguing that

in contrast they hinder “social well-being and cause unemployment” since the natural flow of the market relations should not be interrupted.

Not only in domestic policies considering labour market but under neoliberalism foreign trade or international financial markets were another sphere that should not be free from regulation. As argued, “free flow of goods, services, and financial capital were the best ways of guaranteeing an efficient and equitable worldwide distribution of resources” (Navarro, 1998).

As understood, a paradigm change was happening in this period including the international political economy. Previously, the design following the WW2 had aimed to “prevent a return to the catastrophic conditions that had threatened the capitalist order in the 1930s (Harvey, 2005)”. Achieving domestic stability through a sort of class compromise between capital and labour was aimed for stabilization and peace.

For what is called as “the South”, participation in this new order was materialized through the import substitution model since the dominant discourse was “to replicate within more traditional societies the benefits of rationality and progress already experienced in the wealthier parts of the world” (Reid-Henry, 2012) to promote the *take-off*. This would be first achieved through industrialization -eventually by state taking over some of the work and the burden. Being economically behind, in order to be a participant of the ongoing free-market competition, industrialization had to be achieved. In-line with this protectionist understanding, policies of protecting “infant industries” through tariff walls, and state support as in the case of public ownerships, subsidies were being adopted (Sachs, 1999).

However, this model of development was also prone to crises. Then, following the paradigm change, it was abandoned and by the 1970s Chile became the first example in taking a turn towards market reforms. By the late 1970s neoliberal ideas are seen to penetrate also into the development strategies where “This neoliberal counter-revolution represented a major assault on national developmentalism, in the context of which the state had played an active role in the development process through such strategies as import-substituting industrialization and financial repression” (Öniş & Şenses, 2005).

By the 1980s the neoliberal discourse in the international arena had already been settled. A new global discourse called as Washington Consensus dominated the decade. The Washington Consensus was a policy recommendation that had very briefly and simply formulated instructions which was sometimes referred as "the ten commandments" well: "(1) fiscal discipline, (2) ordering public expenditure priorities, (3) tax reform, (4) liberalizing interest rate, (5) liberalization of inward foreign direct investment, (6) trade liberalization, (7) a competitive exchange rate trade, (8) privatization, (9) deregulation, and (10) property (Arestis, 2004-2005)". In sum, main directives of the Consensus were "advocating privatisation, free trade, export-led growth, financial capital mobility, deregulated labour markets, and policies of macroeconomic austerity in a global scale" (Palley, 2005).

In that regard, the prescription for the countries of the South was the market reforms coming through IMF and WB, the very famous structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s and 1990s (Sachs, 1999):

The IMF and the World Bank thereafter became centres for the propagation and enforcement of 'free market fundamentalism' and neoliberal orthodoxy. In return for debt rescheduling, indebted countries were required to implement institutional reforms, such as cuts in welfare expenditures, more flexible labour market laws, and privatization (Harvey, 2005).

However, it should be noted that the overall result was not what had been promoted as a way out of the crises. Needless to say that there is "a linear relationship between the rate of economic growth and the application of neoliberal public policies", in contrast economic growth was generally slow during which neoliberal public policies were adopted than the periods of the state-interventionist public policies (Navarro, 1998). Plus:

In spite of all the rhetoric about curing sick economies, neither Britain nor the US achieved high levels of economic performance in the 1980s... To be sure, inflation was brought down and interest rates fell, but this was all purchased at the expense of high rates of unemployment (averaging 7.5 per cent in the US during the Reagan years and more than 10 per cent in Thatcher's Britain). Cutbacks in state welfare and infrastructural expenditures diminished the quality of life for many. The overall result was an awkward mix of low growth and increasing income inequality (Harvey, 2005).

There are many issues to talk about on the fallacies of the neoliberal policies but if the overall change would be summarized:

Under neoliberalism, economic growth rates have declined, unemployment and underemployment have become widespread, inequalities within and between countries have become sharper, the living and working conditions of the majority have deteriorated almost everywhere, and the periphery has suffered greatly from economic instability (Saad-Filho & Johnston, 2005).

In addition to these, in line with what has been prescribed after the Washington Consensus, as a result of excess deregulation and rapid financial globalization a significant amount of speculative capital had entered to various countries making them more and more vulnerable towards crises. Likewise, the finance excess created by the oil crises of 1973 was stated to be directed to foreigner banks whom would create an excess loaning fashion towards developing countries and thus causing risky debt structures in these countries that is evident from a number of cases. Starting from the 1980s, debt crises was so chronic and contagious to be ignored and even triggered self-criticisms in international financial organizations themselves. Joseph Stiglitz (who previously had the duty as a chair in Clinton's Council of Economic Advisors) who was leading WB then, signalled that it was now time to talk about a consensus, which became the Post-Washing Consensus (PWC) (Amin, 2000). He further openly stated that now "there is a role for the state in financial markets; it is a role motivated by pervasive market failures" (Stiglitz, 1994). Thus, as Amin (2000) commented, overnight, the tune changed, and "regulation" which was forbidden until then, started to reappear.

Parallel to these changes, a new concept, named governance also started to be increasingly referred to. By the 1980s, as the relationship between governing and development was being re-defined, governance (but not governing) was being repeatedly used by the World Bank. When joined to the World Bank in February 1997, Stiglitz had set himself some objectives such as to "change thinking on economic development with respect to objectives, widening them from just growth in GDP per capita to a more broad-based democratic, equitable and sustained development" (Snowdon, 2001).

Many had argued that the consensus on bringing the Post-Washington Consensus forefront was the total neglect on the importance of state regulation, law and institutions during the period of neoliberal globalisation (Glinavos, 2008). Thus, the frequently used term 'governance' was actually signalling a of this new shift. Along with governance rhetoric, themes such as regulatory institutions, participation, accountability, capacity development, transparency, sustainable development, civil society invaded not only academia and international organizations but the politics as a whole in every level in the next phase.

Similarly, besides governance, following the articulation of the PWC, another theme widely used was the poverty reduction strategy being formulated as an approach:

The rising criticism of the neoliberal adjustment policies and their failure to deliver robust economic growth and to contribute to poverty reduction in the developing world have prompted the IFIs to reorient their development approach away from the Washington Consensus-informed structural adjustment policies (Ruckert, 2006).

This new shift was apparent in in international finance institutions documents who was once advising structural adjustment but now a new strategy. Accordingly, international financial institutions reframing their new development policies were increasingly introducing and utilizing the concepts of poverty reduction and participation into the development debate (Ruckert, 2006).

Up until this point, the political and economic transformation(s) from the early 20th century up until 2000s were briefly presented. Throughout this century, another very relevant topic, employment, was also affected by the presented changes. In order to examine contemporary volunteering, new forms of employment are going to be analysed under the following heading in order to lay out some striking similarities of volunteering and the demand for flexible labour.

4.2. New Forms of Employment

“Standard work arrangements” different than what we will explain as “new forms of employment” were the dominant regime of employment in many industrial nations following the post-WW2 in addition to other constituents of the framework such as development of labour laws, collective bargaining and social security systems being

in agenda (Kalleberg, 2000). During this time, putting aside the Keynesian sine qua non of policies aiming full-employment, along with increasing social expenditures and redistributive policies (favouring consumption by the popular classes of the welfare state), wage increases and expanding social protection was being perceived as investments in human capital (Navarro, 1998).

However, by the mid- 1970s parallel to the overall changes, employment itself was also subject to a transformation leading to search for “flexibility”. Jessop (2003) summarizes these changes in advanced capitalist societies in terms of a “tendential and uneven movement from some version of the Keynesian welfare national state (KWNS) to some version of a Schumpeterian workfare post-national regime (SWPR)”. According to this framework while full employment was a primary state policy and action under the KWNS, the SWPR regarded employment more “as a desirable by-product” resulting from the adoption of competitiveness (Jessop, 2003).

In that regard, since one of the central pillars of the neo-liberal model was growth and development depended on the market competition and therefore maximising competition and competitiveness was crucial, market principles began to subsume many aspects of social life as well (Standing, 2011). In that regard, the SWPR regime can be described as a workfare regime where issues of social protection and employment were subordinated by competitiveness and need for flexibility by the labour market (Jessop, 2003).

Likewise, SWFR or let us say the neoliberal theory started present the issue of unemployment as matter of preference by arguing that there is a “reserve price” that is partly set by welfare payments, below which one prefers not to work. Therefore, in this logic, unemployment arises because the reserve price of labour is too high (Harvey, 2005).

As argued, through penetration of the market logic in other spheres of life, “barriers to commodification were dismantled” as well (Standing, 2011). Notions of competition vastly permeated in labour market policies as well and as a result a situation occurred where everyone was left to its own in the market and where each of us had to “learn to think about all aspects of their lives in terms of return on investment” (Schram, 2018).

This was followed by government employment policies that would advise people to develop and adapt themselves to be able to stand still and to be less in need of government assistance (Schram, 2018). In opposite of the social protection schemes that were either provided by the state or where some of the burden was being shared by the employer now a “personal responsibility system” was established (Harvey, 2005). This can be regarded as the “the ultimate form of privatization” where everything was on the individual (Schram, 2018).

Moreover, while the national barriers were promoted to be dismantled, not only capital and goods but also labour itself was under the scope of globalization. While governments were advised to ease the way for international finance and trade, new trade pacts were also being aiming to eliminate the obstacles of customs duties and other barriers (Piven, 2015). This also brought other consequences. Firms were able to invest to any location they wished by assessing the costs and benefits of a certain location, further they always had to opportunity move to another of the costs in that location would rise. Thus, the threat of “activities being done more cheaply in one location” also resulted in the creation of uncertainty over employment as well (Standing, 2011). Furthermore, this also became a secret weapon being used in disciplining movements that oppose the neoliberal agenda (Harvey, 2005). Achieving labour market flexibility in this sense is shown as a must to the people since without this neither investment could be attracted, nor employment could be achieved. This happened in many countries as well. Accordingly:

The old industrial goliaths of yesteryear have spun off subsidiaries to low wage and low-tax regions, or similarly they outsource their production to low-cost areas, or they spin off workers, turning them into “temps” or “independent contractors” so as to strip them of the union and regulatory protections such workers once had (Piven, 2015).

If the emphasis on the flexibility of labour market would be explored more, it would be seen that the desired flexibility in that regard had many dimensions:

...*wage flexibility*⁷ meant speeding up adjustments to changes in demand, particularly downwards; *employment flexibility* meant easy and costless ability of firms to change

⁷ Emphasis added.

employment levels, particularly downwards, implying a reduction in employment security and protection; *job flexibility* meant being able to move employees around inside the firm and to change job structures with minimal opposition or cost; *skill flexibility* meant being able to adjust workers' skills easily (Standing, 2011).

When we examine the issue of atypical, non-standard new forms of labour, we see that there are many terms pointing out the same situation:

Nonstandard employment relations have also been referred to as alternative work arrangements, market-mediated arrangements, non-traditional employment relations, flexible staffing arrangements, flexible working practices, atypical employment, vagrant or peripheral employment, vulnerable work, precarious employment, disposable work, new forms of employment, and contingent work (Kalleberg, 2000).

What all these labels are sharing is that they are different from the “standard work arrangements” in which “it was generally expected that work was done full-time, would continue indefinitely, and was performed at the employer's place of business under the employer's direction” (Kalleberg, 2000). From the capital's side temporary labour has many benefits. In the absence of any laws towards employment protection, any issue of “performance” could be quickly solved.

In sum, as Harvey (2005) argues:

Workers are hired on contract, and in the neoliberal scheme of things short-term contracts are preferred in order to maximize flexibility. Flexible labour markets are established. The individualized and relatively powerless worker then confronts a labour market in which only short-term contracts are offered on a customized basis. Security of tenure becomes a thing of the past (Thatcher abolished it in universities, for example)

This process of insecurity brought by the demand for flexibility is indeed have many other related problematic issues in addition to the ones that we have discussed so far. Putting aside the worsening working conditions (28 per cent increase of work-related suicides in the U.S. should tell us something) the whole issue of employment is now characterized by insecurity where we can also extend the discussion towards the loss of benefits and rights (Harvey, 2005). This issue has become more dangerous when we consider the shrinking social protection provided by the state:

...as the state withdraws from welfare provision and diminishes its role in arenas such as health care, public education, and social services, which were once so fundamental to embedded liberalism, it leaves larger and larger segments of the population exposed to impoverishment. The social safety net is reduced to a bare minimum in favour of a system that emphasizes personal responsibility (Harvey, 2005).

During this period, many economic setbacks was being attributed to not achieving to the required level of flexibility as well. On one hand there was no employment guarantee of any kind and provision of welfare in very significant areas was abounded. On the other, increased labour market flexibility transferred the risks and insecurity caused by the market onto workers and their families (Harvey, 2005) engendering more vulnerabilities and pauperisation.

4.3. Instrumental Volunteering

...Furthermore, it [volunteering] is a source of economic growth, a pathway to integration and employment, a positive outcome in itself and a mechanism for improving cohesion. (Volonteuropa, 2018)

From a volunteering understanding, such as wealthy, friendly-visitors giving hand to the poor or orphans; seeing another one such as described above, it took around a century to pass. In between, as discussed above, world was scene to two World Wars and different economic and political contexts during which volunteering was also affected. Prior to the emergence of a new form, volunteering appeared to melt in the strong labour mobility, political struggles and also the decolonization wars. However, its return would be “terrific”. When we entered the phase of transformation towards neo-liberalism, volunteering was re-discovered and utilized extensively with a new discourse. This is what is called as instrumental volunteering in this thesis, as being the new form of volunteering. In that regard:

It should not be surprising that the primary collective means of action under neoliberalism are then defined and articulated through non-elected (and in many instances elite-led) advocacy groups for various kinds of rights. In some instances, such as consumer protections, civil rights, or the rights of handicapped persons, substantive gains have been achieved by such means. Non-governmental and grassroots organizations (NGOs and GROs) have also grown and

proliferated remarkably under neoliberalism, giving rise to the belief that opposition mobilized outside the state apparatus and within some separate entity called ‘civil society’ is the powerhouse of oppositional politics and social transformation. The period in which the neoliberal state has become hegemonic has also been the period in which the concept of civil society—often cast as an entity in opposition to state power—has become central to the formulation of oppositional politics (Harvey, 2005).

Thus, while the neoliberal understanding of civil society was referred as a party of the transformation; more and more individuals that are “supposedly free to choose” were expected not to construct “strong collective institutions” (such as trade unions) “as opposed to weak voluntary associations” (like charitable organizations) (Harvey, 2005).

Furthermore, although a debate on the increasingly heard of discourse on civil society favouritism would exceed the limits and scope of this thesis, a point should be made here: Taking civil society (and thus NGOs, NPOs and volunteering) as a separate sphere from what is political and economic is initially problematic. As we discussed and will continue to discuss, this assumption is misleading because (i) distinct and isolated spheres such as governmental, administrative or political, economic or civil (what is non-governmental, non-administrative and/or non-political, non-economic) do not exist (ii) when we would present a concept of civil society together with its links to what is political-economic-social, we would realize that the jargon of civil-societism actually means the expansion of the State in the social life under contemporary societies. Thus, regardless of the debates whether if civil society is strong, rooted and developed or not; fundamental inequalities that are inherent to the current society (such as gender inequality or labour-capital inequality) cannot be resolved just and only in the defined domain of civil society without reaching these struggles to another level (such as politics, political power and the state). Therefore, whether NPOs, NGOs (or volunteerism) can bring actual change remains to be questioned.

During this period, from the side of the realized politics, one effect of the neoliberal policies were to “shine a brighter light” on the third sector; although voluntary organizations had been existing for a long time, the amount of interest to them in

academia was not the same as the level we had today (Liebschutz, 1993). Similar to the US and elsewhere, in the UK, the ideological stance of the Thatcher government resulted in the reduction of the government spending and investments.

Thus, as the state retreated from different areas of providing service, volunteerism became a source and dynamic to fill this gap that is created after the retreat. Following this, what we have witnessed so far is thus the greater usage of volunteering as means of provision of the welfare state services that was previously being conducted by the state itself. Thus:

This seems to be quite functional, permitting the continuation of many welfare state programmes and benefits which most people want, but not necessarily provided directly only by a government agency (Taylor-Gooby, 1985). Thus, by separating funding from production, people can have their cake and eat it too. Using voluntary agencies as service providers offers welfare states like the US and other less reluctant countries an acceptable way of dealing with the decline in the legitimacy ascribed to government, and the lack of confidence in its capacity to provide economic, equitable and effective public services. This policy also has considerable ideological appeal because it can be presented as a form of privatisation and the promotion of voluntarism, both of which are highly valued in Britain and other countries. (Kramer, 1990)

A further and more detailed discussion about the relationship between volunteering and the state will take place in the next section. However, it is useful to state here that the growing use of charitable organizations and non-profits as subcontracts for public programs is a reflection of conservative fiscal policies (Silverman, 2002) similar to the Bush Administration's neo-con policy towards the "faith-based initiative" which meant to increase the role played by religious organizations in the provision of social services (Segal & Weisbrod, 2002). Enhancement of public services with private relief is also part of another phenomenon where government is increasingly engaged in endorsing and institutionalizing a culture of charity in the United States by identifying some forms of volunteerism and civic engagement as necessary components of sound social policy (Silverman, 2002).

From Reagan and Thatcher era up to these days, it is possible to identify a continuity in the neoliberal, neoconservative logic in favouring volunteering. This is not limited

with them but also had spread to Left as well. Now the discourse is that “the state should no longer be the only legitimate provider of welfare services, and that the private sector and voluntary organizations should be taking on important social responsibilities in a plural welfare society” (Cour & Højlund, 2008).

This has been such a significant issue that as several writers highlight, in time of the 2010 elections in Britain what had mostly discussed was not “the financial crisis, public expenditure, or the necessity of severe public cutbacks” but “more fundamentally reflected diverging ideologies about the relationship between state and society for delivering public services” (Koen P. R. Bartels & Mantovan, 2013). Right prior to the general election, as noted “all the major political parties had stressed the important role of the VCS (Voluntary and Community Sector) in delivering public services” (Baines, Hardill, & Wilson, 2011). This was further evident in the plan "Big Society" that was offered by the new government, which asserted that “an increase in volunteering will compensate for the withdrawal of public agencies and spending” (Koen P. R. Bartels & Mantovan, 2013). This meant favouring again a small government but also having a "Big Society in which mutuals, cooperatives, charities and social enterprises should have much greater involvement in the running of public services” (Baines, Hardill, & Wilson, 2011).

From the global scale as well, volunteering was attributed a similar function that a further analysis will be presented later on. During and after the huge scale of international events such as Olympic games, the labour put by the volunteers boosted analyses on the issue and pointed out the significance of this dynamic as a source of labour. Let us examine, how the new volunteering understanding incorporated in this context through a sample, by looking at the Economic Impact Report for Volunteers prepared after the 2012 Abu Dhabi F1 Grand Prix:

...Volunteerism has long been associated with economic effectiveness and social cohesion. The advent of volunteer labour has allowed many organisations to sustain and expand the quality of their services with limited additional budgetary pressure. Those who offer their services are often rewarded with increased skills, experiences, health and cultural awareness. Society benefits from volunteering practices through enhanced understanding, civic pride and international reputation building (ATCUAE).

Economies can be strengthened in a multitude of ways through the availability of low-cost labour, yet with an output comparable with remunerated employees. That said in many parts of the world, the practice of volunteering is often misunderstood and undervalued by policy makers and large proportions of society (ATCUAE).

What can be argued, in this regard is that the new volunteering firstly; became a substitute in provision of service. The relationship between the state and volunteering is worth to explore and will be presented- but secondly, volunteering in this process was subject to extensive commodification as well. Volunteer labour turned into an opportunity when especially the demand for flexible labour is taken into consideration. Lastly, volunteering became a tool to attain some global political goals resulted from the changing development paradigm.

The attention and promotion volunteering receive is incontestable. At this point, only just few researchers look into the recipient's side to understand the effects of the volunteering action. In this sense, Mostafanezhad (2014) provides a peculiar and rare analysis of volunteer tourism by adding these questions in her research agenda. She describes volunteer tourism as such: "[it] is a type of tourism where tourists pay to participate in development or conservation-oriented projects and is now one of the fastest-growing niche tourism markets in the world" (Mostafanezhad, 2014). She highlights the media attention this practice is getting, and the involvement of pop icons such as 'Brangelina' and detects that "celebrity philanthropy have become part and parcel of expanding set of cultural practices". While explaining, she refers to Žižek's conceptualization of "consumer redemption" and argues that such practice contributes to:

...a commodity fetishism in which the inequality of the encounter is reframed through relatively uniform spectacle of popular humanitarianism (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

She further puts forward that:

...these spaces conceal strategic actions on the part of the humanitarian apparatus as it materializes within commodity and commodified aid-oriented activities. Volunteer tourism in particular, I argue, perpetuates a popular humanitarian gaze that contributes to recurring geopolitical discourses of North-

South relations that naturalize political, economic and social inequality (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

Mostafanezhad (2014) bases her research among some NGOs in Thailand who take volunteer tourism as a matter of development strategy. The system works as such; the volunteer tourist pays to these institutions to be assigned for a work on a project having a developmental scope (Mostafanezhad, 2014). From the donator's side; she argues that "volunteer tourism maps out space for the consumption of meaningful travel experiences; perceived loss of and search for meaning in life is credited with the rapid growth of the volunteer tourism industry over the last decade" (Mostafanezhad, 2014). However, as a whole:

Reframing poverty as a sight of tourist consumption through volunteer tourism perpetuates a helping narrative that subscribes to the geopolitical discourse of North-South relations that both depoliticizes and naturalizes global inequality (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

What Mostafanezhad asserts is worth to adopt and integrate in understanding other forms of *volunteerings* as well. It is not possible to say that studies as such do not exist at all, but their amount is comparatively very low. Some other studies also link the issues of volunteering and commodification and arrive to the conclusion that volunteering is now becoming a sort of consumer activity, and that "the volunteers themselves treat the experience as consumers instead of producers who need to feel good about their volunteering (Ganesh & Mcallum, 2009)". Some types of international volunteering become another example of it as shown in the below case:

We argue that neoliberalism is producing a complex re-imagining of international volunteering. While this encompasses processes of commodification...we wish to move the debate forward by focusing on how contemporary international volunteering is producing and being produced through new dynamics and relationships between the state, the corporate sector and civil society (Smith & Laurie, 2011).

Another that can be asked at this point is whether volunteerism brings actual change or not. Earlier, when this was briefly discussed- it was questioned whether civil society (accepted as it is defined in the mainstream politics) could bring actual change without linking itself to what is political and economic. Here a similar issue can be discussed. In contrast:

people [can] use the idea [of volunteering] to excuse themselves from political responsibility”, neglecting more expansive expressions of compassion in favor of rendering services to a limited circle of care, presumably within existing social networks (Ganesh & Mcallum, 2009).

Penner (2004) similarly argues that:

...Thus, volunteers, while also well-intentioned, may similarly fail to address the root causes of the problems of the people they are helping. Indeed, by providing short-term solutions to some problems they may lessen the perceived need to change the social structures and practices that are causing these problems...Saving drowning people does not prevent us from also working for the kinds of social change that would prevent them from falling into the water in the first place. Further, in the world as it actually is, there are many instances where the need for immediate help is so great that one cannot wait for structural or political changes that will solve the problem. Rather, attempts must be made to alleviate the short-term problem and address the long-term causes.

4.3.1. Volunteering and the State

While discussing the state-volunteering relationship, Rochester (2010) asks the question “Why else might government support and encourage volunteering?” and highlights the fact that the potential of volunteering is wanted to be expanded in some other crucial areas such as health.

Earlier it was also argued that the proliferation of “third sector” or a “non-government organization (NGO) sector” can be read as a consequence of state recession as a paradigm on global scale where neoliberal policies were being adopted either through the elected governments or through policies of international finance institutions adopted by governments. In the volunteering literature Wolch (1990) is known to coin the term “shadow state” “to articulate the effects of the increasing importance of the voluntary sector during the 1980s for the operation of the welfare state in the UK and the US” (Trudeau, 2008). Shadow state is described by him as something outside of the political system but still being controlled by it that it is under pressure to do ‘more with less’ (Liebschutz, 1993).

It is further argued that during this time, the relationship between voluntary organizations and government was re-ordered and redesigned through some

legislation and financial control. So, researchers argue that simultaneously in this process funding for voluntary organizations was centralized and decreased and at the same time activities of them were highly regulated (Liebschutz, 1993). From a liberal logic, this is enough to ring the bells of the “state threat”, but from a different point of view, it points out that indeed state has always been there from the very beginning to promote, propagate, fund, steer, monitor, control and to lead to what is desired. Inside the volunteering literature thus, some scholars argue that:

...much of the history of voluntary action – especially in the broad field of social welfare – cannot easily be disentangled from its relationship with government at national and local level, but argues that the degree of influence – both direct and indirect – exercised by government over the work and conduct of voluntary agencies has become a major threat to their independence of thought and action during the past 15–20 years (Rochester, 2013).

Maintenance of the volunteering sector as a service provider is no doubt a significant issue for the state. While some highlight the danger over volunteering due to state, others try to examine the role of it. Accordingly:

...the role of the state, into a facilitating machine that at least has three dimensions; one side involved with supervision, another with coordination and distribution, and still another with legal authority and juridical enforcement. From this perspective, the state institutionalizes different kinds of support for the many different contributors of welfare services - public, private and voluntary - to ensure that the social sector appears as a unified whole of welfare services (Cour & Højlund, 2008).

4.3.2. Volunteering to be Managed

As explained, a great deal is expected from volunteering. Today, as in the case of the US, non-profit organizations (NPOs) provide the majority of human services causing some researchers to state that “Better management and leadership within these organizations directly contribute to an improved quality of life for millions of Americans” (Connors, 2012). Thus, this role played by volunteering organizations also brings the management logic into the debate.

It is possible to detect two tendencies on this issue. One is advocating different management practices for different purposes such as efficiency and the other is

abstaining from such practices and criticise bureaucratization or business-government like structure settings in volunteering. As for the former one, an example is the usage and testing of the human resources management (HRM) model to affect volunteer motivation and productivity. This model for instance treats volunteers like unpaid employees and recommends NGOs to use professional HRM tools to supervise volunteers (Einolf & Chambré, 2011).

Cour & Højlund's (2008) explains this further as according to state, voluntary organizations are capable of doing things the state cannot do such as providing flexible, personal and attentive care and thus, what is waited from them is highly ambitious. While this is happening they are also expected to maintain their own quality (that is defined by attentiveness, enthusiasm, reciprocity and empathy which may be provided by someone who is not paid) but they are also increasingly "subject to the regulative spirit of welfare administration" while meeting the administrative demands (Cour & Højlund, 2008).

Similarly, on the other hand, many scholars are concerned with bureaucratization of volunteering suggesting that "the hegemony of the bureaucratic model has increasingly obscured and undermined the importance and value of the distinctive ways in which voluntary organisations have organised their activities" (Rochester, 2013). Or as in Ganesh & Mcallum's (2009) case:

Moreover, structural pressures emphasizing market forces are creating shifts in the type and nature of voluntary engagement more significant and problematic than the change in numbers initially suggests, even in societies with long histories of volunteerism... the move toward professionalization is changing the face of volunteerism, with expectations that the voluntary sector acts in rationalized, business-like ways. So, even as it adopts a shadow state role...

At this point, another question is a little neglected while providing lists of solutions on how to make the volunteer organizations less-bureaucratic or more grass rooted etc. and that the question why these organizations are in need of such a structure? In that regard Kramer's (1990) findings are shedding light:

The total number of employed staff grew from 6,727 in 1976 to 10,245 in 1988, or an increase of 61 per cent... Management presented itself as more "business-like" and

professional as evident in the new titles, leadership style and other aspects of this corporate organisational culture. Even the smallest agencies were modernised, and several became increasingly more secular in their approach. These changes reflected the growing influence of the market and the 'enterprise culture' fostered by the Thatcher Government, which serves as the socio-political context for voluntary organisations in Britain.

As a response, considering all the transformation taking place, the shift towards corporate organisational culture and emergence of managerial tools in volunteering is not surprising- since there is no more a “public” to administer, the spread of these practices in volunteering (that now has more share in provision of certain services) was inevitable:

In the new neoliberalized welfare system, local devolution and privatization have been joined by performance management. Performance management accountability schemes measure the performance of private contract agencies to hold them accountable for meeting performance outcome goals. Performance management more than anything else has led many working in the system to suggest that ‘social work’ has been replaced by a much more preferred ‘business model’ (Schram, 2018).

Not only for the private contract agencies but for other private and public institutions, management techniques became a hot topic. As for volunteering, since more and more volunteers engage in the labour market, “corporate-inspired techniques of management” are adopted not only for managing the paid workforce but also for the volunteer workforce (Hustinx, Shachar, & Handy, 2016).

Thirdly, the state at the national scale and donors at the international scale exacerbated the adoption of this management fashion further by holding the funding leverage:

...partly as a consequence of an audit culture tied to development funding, combined with low ability to directly attribute volunteering to development impact...Based on the core principles of managing for results and mutual accountability expressed in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and Accra Agenda for Action...funders increasingly require that IVCOs concretely demonstrate the impacts of volunteering on development targets (Lough & Matthews, 2013).

As a result of all these, volunteering became something to be “managed” as well.

4.3.3. Volunteering and Development

As previously discussed, by the half of the 1980s, rather than the structural adjustment policies, there is a slightly different approach in which “participatory, small scale, community-based development and involving NGOs and grassroots associations” are emphasized (Stiles, 1998). This shift was signalled by the transition from Washington Consensus to Post-Washington Consensus. In this new discourse, not only the recipient government but also the other actors are now in the focus (Stiles, 1998) resulting in growth of the interest to the topics of ‘NGOs’, ‘non-profit’ and ‘voluntary’ organisations. Not surprisingly, these types of organisations also became a concern for policy makers and others in both national and international scales (Lewis, 1998).

The issue can be simply captured again with a two-fold categorization, development-oriented actions of North to South through volunteering and the states’ own development issues containing the help of volunteers. As for the first case, we may consider the states of North imposing their development understanding through aids and funds while volunteers are taking part in it. As an example, the First White Paper on International Development, *Eliminating World Poverty: A Challenge for the 21st Century*, produced by Blair Government and another document *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor* published in 2000 can be evaluated as a Northern country’s agenda in terms of development. In the second mentioned paper the role of volunteering is described as follows:

The commercial and voluntary sectors have an important contribution to make to service delivery. But the unique and indispensable role of government remains that of setting policies and priorities, ensuring that basic services are provided to all, and regulating to ensure quality and standards (UK Department for International Development, 2000).

As for Key Policy Commitments, the same report states that:

[The UK Government will] Work with others to manage globalisation so that poverty is systematically reduced and the International Development Targets achieved. Help developing countries build the effective government systems needed to reform their economic management, make markets work for poor people and meet the challenge of globalisation (UK Department for International Development, 2000).

For Germany's contribution in this field, a Berlin-based association for postcolonial education named *glokal* (2016) provides a to-the-point example for our case in their case of the volunteering service *Weltwärts* that was launched by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in 2008. Through this programme, each year around 3500 volunteers at the age of 18 to 26 travel from Germany to 'developing countries'. Accordingly:

Set in the policy frame of the BMZ, the program follows the idea of 'sustainable development' and global learning. The current slogan "weltwärts brings the world a bit closer together" expresses the underlying idea of the program: Young people from Germany are supposed to "meet people of other cultures [...] to learn from them and work together with them in a team". *Weltwärts* volunteers are expected to contribute to a more just and sustainable world throughout their stay abroad and after their return (*glokal*, 2016).

The organization further criticizes this programme as "it tends to reinforce neocolonial power structures, which contribute to social, political and economic inequality on a global scale rather than to encounters among equals". The organization is further critical of the programme by highlighting that the emphasis on the sustainable development conceal some very significant political issues such as the clashes of interest between marginalised people suffering the effects of neo-colonialism and those profiting from established relations of domination between the Global North and South (*glokal*, 2016). As a result,

...It can thus be argued that the fields under scrutiny serve to keep the "anti-politics machine" of international development going. Second, and the investigated realms of the sustainability agenda are highly a-historical (*glokal*, 2016)."

It should be also noted here that what has been provided as an example above is a very rare contribution. Political outcomes are rarely discussed in the case of volunteering. Volunteer contribution in development both in the case of international volunteering and national volunteering will also be discussed here, but the scarcity of alternative voices in this field is no doubt a reality.

4.3.4. Volunteering as a New Form of Employment

True that volunteering is a widespread “economic phenomenon with high relevance for the society” (Hackl, Halla, & Pruckner, 2012). NPOs are stated to be obliged to use volunteer labour due the scarcity of their resources (Lindenmeier, 2008). By having this human resource, these organizations perform many tasks varying from health to education, firefighting to religious services and many other things that result in volunteers being contributors of welfare (Hackl, Halla, & Pruckner, 2012). However:

Voluntary work has only recently been considered a relevant topic for labour history. Its past neglect reflects the widely held view that voluntary work is unproductive. Voluntary work challenges traditional labour history and directly confronts the changing nature of work in our society... The second article, which was introductory in nature, was designed to initiate debate within labour history circles. In this article, I suggested that whilst paid labour had been the traditional 'touchstone' of labour history, there had been almost complete silence on the inclusion of voluntary labour as a legitimate topic of study... Furthermore, it was argued that it was vitally important for labour historians to embrace the concept of voluntary work and offered some reasons as to why this perhaps had not yet occurred. Essentially, the concept of 'work' was too narrow; and the stereotype surrounding voluntary work (a middle-class activity carried out by women) was endemic which meant that labour historians, especially feminists, had deliberately avoided the area (Oppenheimer & Edwards, 2011).

Oppenheimer & Edwards made the above cited critique in 2011, and 8 years afterwards it is still possible to say there is not an extensive research about this issue. Of course, we cannot talk about a complete silence, some few scholars also investigate the ties between “formal volunteering” and “paid work” to understand what features of volunteering resembles to work life (Ganesh & Mcallum, 2009).

Another area of exploration is the relationship between employability and volunteering. As discussed, as a result of the overall transformation, employment itself was under a great degree of restructuring with reference to flexibility. This resulted in the introduction of an “ideal type of a new kind of worker”, the learner/worker who can become employable rather than necessarily employed” (Moore P. , 2010). In that

regard, terms such as ‘employability’, continuous learning, life-long education, and “skills and competencies” started to be seen increasingly and injected the perception that “people are required to take a new form of subjectivity and self-awareness as well as responsibility for learning and self-education in the form of lifelong learning (Moore P. , 2010)” to be employable.

Thus, in line with this new jargon, governments also started to consider to volunteering as route into employment of jobless people (Rochester, Paine, Howlett, & Zimmeck, 2010) and volunteering started to be considered as a desirable vocational activity for those who are unable to find or maintain paid employment (Lindsay, 2016). Similarly, for youth (potential jobseekers) volunteering gained another meaning due to its attachment to employability. As an example, international volunteering now also means to fulfil one obligation in order for get places in certain university programs and to increase chances on the job market since prolonged stays in a foreign country are today a prerequisite for these (glokal, 2016).

This relationship between employability and volunteering is as said identified and studied on. However, besides the creation of another motivator for volunteering, in the mainstream studies further questions are rarely asked.

Before pointing the elephant in the room, let us go through ILO’s definition of volunteering presented in the document Manual on the Measurement of Volunteer Work (2011), a document referred by many volunteer organizations and drafted by world’s labour organization. The objective of the document is explained as:

...to improve and make available data on a significant form of work that is growing in importance but that is often ignored or rarely captured in traditional economic statistics. Doing so will help to fulfill the mandate set forth in a resolution by the UN General Assembly to “enhance the knowledge base” about volunteer work and to “establish the economic value of volunteering” (International Labour Organization, 2011).

The document further puts forward that “volunteer work is sizable and creates significant economic value by demonstrating empirical evidence”:

Volunteers constitute a far more significant share of the workforce of nations than is commonly recognized. Data generated by the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit

Sector Project in 37 countries (Salamon et al, 2004) revealed, for example, that:

- Approximately 140 million people in these countries engage in some volunteer activity in a typical year. This represents approximately 12 percent of the adult population;
- These volunteers represent the equivalent of 20.8 million full-time equivalent paid workers, much larger than those employed by the utilities industry and just slightly less than those employed in the transportation and construction industries in the 37 countries studied; and
- All told, even conservatively estimated, these volunteers make a \$400 billion contribution to the global economy. In Canada, the contribution volunteers make to the GDP is more than that of the agriculture and motor vehicle manufacturing industries (Statistics Canada, 2006). (International Labour Organization, 2011)

Then ILO makes the definition of volunteering. Referring to the already produced work on defining volunteering, they combine the shared features and acknowledge that “these definitions share a number of common elements emphasizing that volunteer work **involves service or activity**⁸ undertaken **without pay for the benefit of persons other than close relatives**” (International Labour Organization, 2011). ILO further acknowledges some key features and stresses them. Regarding our discussion it states that:

A number of key features of this definition, and of the activity it identifies as “volunteer work,” deserve special attention:

a. It involves work. This means that the activity produces something of potential economic value for its recipient, and the recipient must be someone other than the person undertaking the activity. Playing a musical instrument for one’s own enjoyment is therefore not volunteering; but playing a musical instrument for the enjoyment of residents in a nursing home is (International Labour Organization, 2011).

Further, by highlighting that it is unpaid, volunteering is considered by ILO to have a special importance to the labour force statistical community since it is a major component of unpaid labour though it may be easier to capture this activity “since it can be differentiated from household activity and much of it takes place through

⁸ Emphasis added.

institutions that are considered to be well within the production boundary of the economy” (International Labour Organization, 2011).

At this point, analysing Standing’s argument would bring us closer to see the bigger picture. He argues that turning over more services to civil society or NGOs is a part of an overall attack (of neoliberalism) and which had also been presented in the case to “reduce the Big State and generate the Big Society” in the UK (Standing, 2011). However, as he further argues, this was also a way to obtain services on the cheap, through transferring the tasks that were previously taken by professional employees to those on precarious contracts and ‘volunteers’. Standing (2011) further argues that:

Entities registered as charities have become major employers, with 464,000 full-time staff in 2009. More than half their income comes from government contracts to supply public services. But charity employees are not well paid and have precarious contracts. Subsidised by gifts from private donors, they make social services cheaper, undercutting public equivalents and legitimizing poor contractual relations for ‘volunteers’. This makes the sector particularly vulnerable in a recession. When donations dry up, these quasi-public employees can feel close to being in the precariat themselves. It was no surprise that as the recession deepened many of them left to work in supermarkets. In effect, contracting out services is expanding the precariat while undermining small charities

Similar to this analysis, throughout this entire chapter, we identified some elements of transformation highly relevant with the argument that will be put forward. First, we laid out the discourse on the flexible labour markets, rising unemployment and the emerging new forms of employment characterised by massive insecurity. Furthermore, expansion of the third sector and its’ take-over of service provision from the state was established, then the managerial tendencies to control and lead volunteering were presented. There is no doubt that volunteering is something productive. Then the question arises: Can volunteering be a new form of employment as well? In addition to the commodification procedure of volunteering as in various examples (such as volunteering tourism) and its instrumentalization in the mainstream development policies, is it also possible to detect another feature of the contemporary volunteering?

What is argued in this thesis is, yes. And unfortunately, it is such an over-looked issue that a colleague from global South, in her very inspirational thesis had to go through the hegemonic liberal-individualist methodology and apply all the *scientific* steps and explain how they were applied in half of the document rather than arguing about this. However, her findings are very precious. Accordingly:

In terms of the influence of social capital, the findings indicate a consistent positive relationship between prejudice and civic-mindedness. A possible explanation, given the high unemployment and poverty context of the country, could be that people perceive volunteering as work and therefore personal prejudice does not influence their decisions to volunteer... The context of unemployment and poverty, coupled with crime and violence, especially against woman, as well as a high HIV prevalence in Gugulethu, has created a need for voluntary organisations and volunteers. However, the Phase II findings suggest that it has also created a need to volunteer because individuals have limited livelihood options... However, participants also perceived volunteering as path to gainful employment and livelihood (Seabe, 2014).

Throughout the chapter, the question of how volunteering is refined in the 20th and 21st Century tried to be summarized through the evaluation of the contemporary political and economic transformations affecting it. The debate on volunteering and its' relationship with the state provided a more comprehensive framework and to have a better view of the landscape. Some arguments were made, such as volunteering is not a stable phenomenon and that it is now under a process of commodification. It was further discussed that it is being instrumentalized in the new development discourse. Lastly, new volunteering's relationship with the new forms of employment was discussed and it was argued that indeed volunteering now serves as a new form employment. In the next chapter, what volunteering means for UN is going to be presented with reference to the United Nations Volunteers programme and the similar questions will be asked to identify if there are any similarities with volunteering in the global context and volunteering in UN.

CHAPTER 5

VOLUNTEERING IN UNITED NATIONS: UNV PROGRAMME

5.1. The United Nations and Volunteering in the UN

For a long time, the UN has embodied a world-wide wish for a better future by preventing any more conflicts (Mingst & Karns, 2012). An organization being formed by states how could it be expected for the UN to be remained outside of the turmoil of the last century? Throughout this section, these will be outlined.

Being established in the last days of the WW2, the UN “was an affirmation of the desire of war-weary nations for an organization that could help them avoid future conflicts and promote international economic and social cooperation (Mingst & Karns, 2012)”. The UN Charter itself was containing the relationship between international stability and global poverty. Historically, following the Great Depression and then the rising Nazism and Fascism, the founders believed that the economic turmoil of the 1930s had causes such an amount of political power vacuum and desperateness which in turn created the preconditions for the WW2; thus one of the UN’s central tenets should had been the prevention of similar economic upheavals and the political consequences deriving from it (Hanhimaki, 2008). However, it was soon to be realized that there is too much way to go. As in the cases where UN Security Council became very incompetent towards actions against peace, UN itself and “its ability to act as a positive force would be demarked” as well (Mingst & Karns, 2012).

Following the war, the decolonisation movements in 1960s caused a rapid expansion in United Nations memberships (Weiss, 1982). Before the 1960s, the UN economic agenda was mostly related to the efforts of post-war reconstruction. But by then development occupied much of it, having a significance in politics in a global scale:

After the Second World War, every people, whether “Western” or “non-Western,” was granted the right to self-determination, that is to say, to constitute itself into a national

community and, once so constituted, to be accepted as a full member of the interstate system. In this respect, global “decolonization” and the formation of the United Nations, whose General Assembly brought together all nations on an equal footing, have been the most significant correlates of US hegemony (Arrighi, 2010).

Similarly, following the 1960s a majority of the UN’s members favoured decolonization which reflected leading to a General Assembly Resolution “condemning the continuation of colonial rule and preconditions for granting independence” (Mingst & Karns, 2012). Furthermore:

The consequences of decolonization and the expanded number of independent states were manifold. The less developed, often newly independent states of Africa, Asia, and Latin America formed a strong coalition within the UN known as the Group of 77 (G-77); after 1960 this coalition commanded a majority of votes on a broad range of issues. Whereas the Cold War had shaped politics in the UN until 1960, the G-77, and what became known as “North- South issues,” shaped much of the politics thereafter (Mingst & Karns, 2012).

Thus, it is possible to say that between the 1950s and 1960s the IMF and the WB were not very active parties in international matters of finance “in comparison with, and in relation to, a select ensemble of national central banks, led by the US Federal Reserve System (Arrighi, 2010)”. As Arrighi further argues their roles became prominent “only with the crisis of the US hegemony in the 1970s and, above all, in the 1980s” and then they grasped power in global economic matters (2010). Meanwhile the UN was also the scene for the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and rising critical voices from the South with the agenda of development.

By then things were changing, Bretton Woods Institutions, IMF and WB, adopting a different view came into play and as by the 1980s the World Bank had already been the standard bearer of structural adjustment in spite of unrelenting criticism (Stiles, 1998). Bretton Woods institutions and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which later became World Trade Organization (WTO) were not under the UN roof at the very beginning. When the UN was subsequently established, these institutions became specialized UN agencies reporting to United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). But they always maintained their overwhelming

economic resources and a high degree of legal autonomy as they were funded and governed outside of the UN system:

They were, by and large, Anglo-American in their design. The World Bank, for example, received approximately 35 percent of its original \$9.1 billion capitalization from the United States. Moreover, it is important to note that the World Bank and the IMF in particular were founded as organizations in which the power lay with those who paid in other words, the voting power in these organizations was skewed to the rich and powerful countries (the major contributors), with the United States at the top (Hanhimaki, 2008).

From the very beginning, US hegemony over the UN is undeniable. Above mentioned institutions further become the centrepiece of multilateral development and economic cooperation and controlled the UN economic agenda and much of the activity related to managing international economic relations as well. This situation exacerbated after the collapse of the Soviets Union and the US declaring itself as the world's superpower. For instance, it is widely repeated that "the predominant impression within the Secretariat and among many member state delegations is that almost everything the United Nations does or does not do is conditioned by the will, whims, and resources of the United States" (Puchala, 2005). UN budget being a result of state contribution is another factor in this issue, where "the General Assembly's Committee on Contributions considers national income, per capita income, economic dislocations (such as from war), and members' ability to obtain foreign currencies" (Mingst & Karns, 2012) in determination of state contributions. Beyond these contributions coming from states "the UN is limited in finding ways to finance its activities and programs- it has neither the authority to borrow money nor a history of private fund-raising" (Mingst & Karns, 2012). Further, according to this calculation the highest contribution belongs to the US and this order has not been changed until today. Although there are sometimes when contributions are over-due and cause periodical financial crises in the UN, they were somehow paid until now. However, it is not wrong to argue that by having the major share in the UN budget, the US seems to use this leverage for many years.

Entering the era of neoliberalism and globalization, adding the effect of the US, the UN has undergone a policy transformation as well. The current agenda for our decade

is the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which is the successor of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). A Post Washington Consensus logic had already been evident in the MDGs:

In 2005 the UNDP published the Millennium Report Investing in Development (UNDP 2005). It reviewed progress and made recommendations towards the internationally ratified UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Despite the lack of clear progress, the report did not query the dominant view that market mechanisms and policy are still the most feasible enabler for achieving the MDGs. As David Lewis (2005: 16) argues, 'for some observers, a neo-liberal consensus around economic globalisation and a belief in the transformative power of markets to reduce poverty has now begun to replace development as the dominant idea that informs global change' (Devereux, 2008).

The same can be said for the SDGs: “the 17 SDGs endorsed late September 2015 are intended to “transform our world” by addressing the social, economic, and environmental challenges faced by the global community” (Haddock & Devereux, 2016), though not with a radical questioning- only with the emphasis on collaborative partnership with all stakeholders. While the emphasis on governance is evident, volunteering under UN also becomes a side-product of it.

Thus, UN agenda and policies, if read through the lens of political economy, both adopt the neoliberal discourse and act as a carrier of them. Another aspect where this becomes evident is the contracts that UN offers to its staff. Historically, it is said that a large percentage of UN staff has had permanent contracts since security of tenure had been seen as a vital component for the independency of international service (Higgins, Webb, Akande, Sivakumaran, & Sloan, 2017). However, over the years, many governments have criticized permanent contracts for other reasons, claiming that these resulted in ‘dead wood’ within the organization (Jonah & Hill, 2018) as a reflection of the widespread perception that such type of arrangements hinder productivity. Under Kofi Annan’s two terms, together with other reform plans for UN as a response to ongoing critics, permanent contracts were increasingly phased out despite of the resistance from the Staff Union (Jonah & Hill, 2018). Finally, “in June 2009, the UN abolished permanent contracts and replaced them with the inferior continuing contracts” (UNCTSU, n.d.). What this meant was:

While under permanent appointment a staff member had a reasonable expectation of continued employment until his/her mandatory age of separation, continuing appointments meant to be open-ended appointments where the Secretary-General may terminate the appointment without the consent of the staff member if, in the opinion of the Secretary-General, such action would be in the interest of the good administration of the Organization (United Nations HR Portal, n.d.).

Similar to the changes in the contract types, UN tended to deploy consultants as means of non-staff human resources to perform tasks similar to permanent staff (Dupraz-Dobias, 2018) and this tendency grew in years that even some Joint Inspection Unit reports were presented to tackle the issue. Usage of consultants as workforce was so high in some agencies that it was constituting nearly half of their work force (Joint Inspection Unit, 2015).

Furthermore, through UNOPS (United Nations Office for Project Services) UN agencies recruit contractors, they sought to use intern labour (which became another challenging issue for them causing strikes) and seek to employ in a flexible fashion as much as they can do.

Overall, in terms of labour flexibility as well, UN is seeking to adapt itself to the new labour market conditions. As it is going to be further argued, in-line with the overall trend, instrumental volunteering becomes a reflection of this transformation.

5.2. The United Nations Volunteer Programme

Finding a study on the history of the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) is almost impossible, though the entity was founded around 50 years ago. The only available source is the UNV itself and their online database. The only exception in defining volunteering in the UN is ILO that had both provided a definition of the volunteering and explained some benefits. To recall:

In addition to these strictly economic impacts, volunteer work has a variety of broader social impacts that deliver significant added benefits to society and to the volunteers that makes its measurement important. For example:

- Volunteer work provides important employment training and a pathway into the labour force;

- Volunteer work is a crucial resource for addressing the Millennium Development Goals...;
- Volunteer work can offer services not easily provided by paid workers, such as mentoring and role models;
- Volunteer work enhances social solidarity, social capital, political legitimacy and quality of life in a society;
- Volunteer work can serve as a means of social inclusion and integration; and...
- Volunteer work provides a sense of personal satisfaction, fulfilment, well-being and belonging to persons who volunteer (International Labour Organization, 2011).

When roots of the UNV is explored, it is seen that the earlier discussions to have an UN volunteering system seem to revolve around the Peace Corps and some calls such as of Shah Reza Pehlevi's to construct a world-wide volunteering system. As for Peace Corps, the program was an outgrowth of the Cold War where Kennedy had pointed out that the "Soviet Union had hundreds of men and women, scientists, physicists, teachers, engineers, doctors, and nurses . . . prepared to spend their lives abroad in the service of world communism" and that "the United States had no such program to involve Americans more actively" (JFK Library, n.d.). Peace Corps was later subject to various criticisms with regard to its tie with US imperialist goals as well.

Accordingly, on 7 December 1970, a UN General Assembly resolution calls for the establishment of an international group of volunteers within the framework of the UN system members of which were "to be designated collectively and individually as United Nations Volunteers" (UNV, A short history of the United Nations Volunteers, n.d.):

The General Assembly,

...Taking note of Economic and Social Council resolution 1444 (XLVII) of 31 July 1969 and also of the report of the Secretary-General on the feasibility of creating an international corps of volunteers for development,

Convinced that the active participation of the younger generation in all aspects of social and economic life constitutes an important factor in ensuring the increased effectiveness of collective efforts necessary for a better society,

Convinced also that voluntary service in development assistance activities a rewarding form of such participation and one that can make a substantial contribution to their success by the provision of an additional source of trained manpower, provided that:

Such service is well planned and directed, utilizes volunteers recruited and serving as wide a geographical basis as possible' including *in particular the developing countries*, and the necessary resources are made available,

Volunteers have the technical and personal qualifications required for the development of recipient countries, including transfer of skills...

Decides to establish within the existing framework of the United Nations system, with effect from 1 January 1971, an international group of volunteers, the members of which shall be designated collectively and individually as United Nations Volunteers;

Requests the Secretary-General:

To designate the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme as the Administrator of the United Nations Volunteers;

In consultation with the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, to appoint a coordinator, within the framework of the Programme, to promote and coordinate the recruitment, selection, training and administrative management of the activities of the United Nations Volunteers within the United Nations system in collaboration with the United Nations agencies concerned and in cooperation with organizations dealing with national and international voluntary service and, where appropriate, with relevant youth organizations;

Invites Governments of the State Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies, international non-governmental organizations and individuals to contribute to a special voluntary fund for the support of the activities of the United Nations volunteers... (UNV, 1970)⁹

Thus, the UNV was established with this decision taken on 1970 with special reference of linking volunteering activities with development. Further, the administrative position of the organization was laid out, as a sub-organ of the UN system, the UNV is decided to be administered by the United Nations Development Programme

⁹ Emphasis added.

(UNDP) and later, a Special Voluntary Fund (SVF) was established to gather contributions to support the activities of UNV (UNV, n.d.). After this step, the UNV recruited its first 35 UN Volunteers to serve in different countries, including Chad, East Pakistan (today's Bangladesh) and the Yemen with the UN agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF and FAO (UNV, n.d.).

Following this, what we see in the UN is the occasional General Assembly resolutions confirming and acknowledging the “conviction that the active participation of the younger generation in all aspects of social and economic life”. A later change happens in 1976. The discussion in the UNGA preceding the foundation of the UNV to cooperate with national volunteer services, a formal endorsement for such a cooperation was not given until 1976 (Weyers, 1980); thus a resolution passes at that year to develop further and expand activities of the United Nations Volunteers in the field of domestic development services (UNV, 1976). This paves the way of recruitment of the UN Volunteers nationally for national projects. Currently, there are both national and international UN Volunteers.

Whereas in late 1970s the number of the UNVs was around 600, it rose to 1,801 by the end of the 1980s (UNV, n.d.). In 1992, the UNDP Governing Council expands the mandate of the Special Voluntary Fund to cover development of grassroots projects including “[community] support, [work with] women’s groups; emergency relief preparedness; and thematic areas such as HIV/AIDS, the environment and the urban informal sector” (UNV, n.d.). In 1998, in the total number of UN Volunteer assignments over the course of a year reached a new high and exceeded 4,000 (UNV, n.d.).

Another milestone in UNV history can be seen as the UN General Assembly resolution 52/17 which declares 2001 as the International Year of Volunteers and designated the UN Volunteers as leader of this global campaign. Then:

For the first time in UN history, a substantive discussion on the role of volunteerism in the promotion of social development was held, at the 39th session of the ECOSOC’s Commission for Social Development (SCoD); a special panel of experts, gathered by UNV, preceded the intergovernmental debate (UNV, n.d.).

Further, a follow-up paper published by ECOSOC on 21 February 2001 we see that states are encouraged to “support voluntary action for social development by creating a favourable environment, including through”:

(a) Increasing public awareness of the vital contribution of volunteerism to the social and economic functioning of their communities through, inter alia, public information activities and public events; (b) Taking general measures concerning the mobilization, preparation, training and recognition of volunteers; (c) Establishing enabling fiscal and legislative frameworks, where they do not exist, including for community-based organizations and not-for-profit organizations engaged in volunteering; (d) Encouraging and undertaking research into the various aspects of volunteerism and its impact on society; (e) Ensuring citizens’ access to information on opportunities for volunteering (UN ECOSOC Commission for Social Development, 2001).

Here volunteerism was recognized as an important component of any strategy aimed (UNV, n.d.) with an interesting reference: “...Emphasizes that support for voluntary action does not imply support for government downsizing nor for replacing paid employment” (UN ECOSOC Commission for Social Development, 2001).

By time, the number of the UNVs increased more and more. UNVs were deployed to many crises and for support such as Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, Afghanistan and various other countries for elections and post-election violence, Haiti disaster and EBOLA epidemic. In 2012, with a resolution UNGA requested “a plan of action to be presented to integrate volunteering into peace and development in the next decade and beyond” (UNV, n.d.). In 2014, the UNV publishes its Strategic Framework document. The document contained some messages such as:

At the heart of UNV’s work is the commitment to increase the integration and recognition of the catalytic role volunteerism plays to engage people from all walks of life in national and international development efforts and peace. The contribution of volunteerism to development is particularly striking in the context of sustainable livelihoods and value-based notions of well-being, because volunteering enables people to become responsible actors in their own development... With a growing pool of motivated and skilled people, an appetite for idealism and engagement, flows of ideas, knowledge, and skills, people and capital can and should be globally leveraged

through volunteerism (UNV, UNV Strategic Framework 2014-2017, 2014).

Then, another UNGA resolution published in 2015 highlighted the significance of the volunteers in achieving the SDGs. The resolution was recognizing that “volunteerism is an important component of any strategy aimed at such areas as poverty reduction, sustainable development, health, education, youth empowerment, climate change, disaster risk reduction, social integration, social welfare, humanitarian action, peacebuilding and, in particular, overcoming social exclusion and discrimination” (United Nations General Assembly, 2016). Thus, as a response in the same year, UNV published its second *State of the World’s Volunteerism Report: Transforming Governance*, which offered a new and comprehensive evaluation of the role of civic engagement on a domestic level to ensure national capacity through volunteerism. At the same time, it also outlined UNV’s new commitment to the SDGs (UNV, n.d.).

As a sign of expansion, UNV has further opened more offices across the globe (UNV, n.d.). Currently, according to UNV Annual Report, in 2018 the number of the UN Volunteers increased to 7,201 where 81 per cent of them were from the Global South and UNV continued working with UN Member States and other partners on the recognition of volunteering under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN Volunteers, 2019). A special reference to UNV activities towards youth and employment is also made:

In 2018, UNV and UNDP partnered with the Government of Uganda to implement the Uganda Graduate Volunteer Scheme, providing a bridge for young Ugandan graduates from education to work through volunteering. An online database of over 9,000 graduates allows host organizations to identify, engage and confirm placement opportunities... The Second Annual Forum of National Volunteer Agencies, organized by UNV and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), was held in Ghana in 2018. The forum brought together 40 partners from 14 countries as well as 14 regional volunteering bodies to explore the linkages between volunteering and employment (UN Volunteers, 2019).

As a wrap-up, the UN Volunteers programme is the UN organization administered by UNDP and reports to the UNDP Executive Board, it mobilizes nearly 7,000 volunteers every year in over 120 countries where more than 80 per cent of its volunteers come

from developing countries, and more than 30 per cent volunteers of the total amount are volunteers in their own countries (United Nations, 2017). It contributes to peace and development through volunteerism worldwide and works with partnered with agencies such as FAO, IOM, OCHA, OHCHR, UN-HABITAT, UNDP, Un Environment Programme, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNODC, UN Peacekeeping, UNRWA, UN Women, WFP and WHO. For UN:

Volunteers support the delivery of basic social services, as well as efforts in the field of sustainable environment and climate change, crisis prevention and recovery, humanitarian assistance and peacebuilding in these agencies and bolster the peace and development activities of the UN agencies, governments and civil society organizations (United Nations, 2017).

5.3. A Comparative Analysis: UNV and the UN-Agency-Staff Vacancy Announcements

Besides the publications of UNV and UNDP themselves, existence of the UNV and why the UN needs volunteers is still overshadowed. Indeed, the relationship between the UN and NGOs have been for long time on the agenda, while role of NGOs was being praised by the UN's itself, the organization had also been integrated to this new form of service provision and was rebuilding its relationships with NGOs.

The UN has established relationships with NGOs and voluntary organizations in several layers. While on international scales many NGOs became partners of the UN, at country scale they were being used to devolve the responsibilities where the UN agencies remain and retain its function of monitoring the delivery. This practice by intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) can be explained as “contracting out work to NGOs that is intended to fulfil the mandates of both the intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations” (Gordenker & Weiss, 1998). This is also a way of using volunteer labour and has been advised to UN as well by many writers and policy-advisors:

Non-governmental organizations can offer distinct benefits regarding the use of their personnel in a contractual devolution of operational responsibility from the UN system. Some NGOs, especially the larger ones that have actively sought to augment the professional qualifications of their staffs, include

highly trained and experienced personnel... Many NGO staff members have capacities and expertise in policy-making and overall supervision of transnational programmes that are at least as substantial as those of international civil servants...From the point of view of international organizations, NGO personnel are available without the customary long recruitment process and without long-term contracts. Their numbers can be expanded and contracted far more easily than is the case with permanent staff appointed to intergovernmental secretariats or even those serving on limited-term UN contracts...The costs of employing NGO personnel through their organizations are also likely to be lower than those of international civil servants -less than half on average, although the senior staff of prominent NGOs may be as well paid as UN officials. (Gordenker & Weiss, 1998)

In addition to the benefits that volunteers may provide, it is worth to revisit the definitions of volunteering provided in different bodies of the UN. In a UNGA resolution volunteering is defined as:

The UN, in GA resolution 56/38, defines volunteerism as an activity undertaken out of free will, for the general public good where *monetary reward is not the principal motivating factor*¹⁰. UNV recognizes the shared universal values underpinning volunteerism - free will, commitment, equity, engagement, solidarity, compassion, empathy and respect for others - and that these values are deeply ingrained in communities. It is a universal phenomenon that transcends boundaries, religions and culture divides; it goes by different names and finds different applications in different contexts (UNV, UNV Strategic Framework 2014-2017, 2014).

The second is from again ILO whom describes volunteering as:

b. It is unpaid. Volunteer work by definition is work without monetary pay or compensation. This differentiates “volunteer work” from what the Resolution passed at the 13th International Conference of Labour Statisticians defined as “paid employment,” i.e. “persons who during the reference period performed some work for wage or salary, in cash or in kind.” However, some forms of compensation may still be possible without violating this feature of the definition.

Volunteers may receive non-monetary benefits from volunteering in the form of skills development, social

¹⁰ Emphasis added.

connections, job contacts, social standing, and feelings of self-worth.

Some forms of monetary compensation may also be possible without violating the definition. The test is whether the compensation can be considered to be “significant.” Not considered to be “significant compensation” and therefore permissible are:

- Reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses of the volunteer assignment (e.g. travel costs, costs of equipment);

- Compensation that is largely symbolic; and

- Stipends intended to cover living expenses of the person performing the work that are not contingent on the market value, quality or quantity of the work, or its outcome (if any) (International Labour Organization, 2011).

Here, it is possible to identify that ILO definition emphasizes that volunteering is unpaid but also states that some forms of compensation is acceptable with the condition that they are *symbolic*. It further stresses that if stipends are given, these should not be “contingent on the market value, quantity and quality of the work, or its outcome (if any)” (International Labour Organization, 2011).

In that regard, what UNV offers for volunteers is:

A monthly Volunteer Living Allowance (VLA), which includes a Monthly Living Allowance (MLA) intended to contribute to safe and adequate accommodation, transportation, and a modest standard of living, as well as Family Allowance (FA) for those with an eligible Primary Family Unit members (United Nations Volunteers Programme, 2015).

The question here is what is meant by “to contribute to safe and adequate accommodation, transportation, and a modest standard of living”. It is interesting that when calculated¹¹ it would be seen that what is set in country level as UN Volunteer VLA is either equal to or more than the minimum wage of the respective country (Table 1):

¹¹ UNV website offers a entitlement calculator under the heading “CALCULATE YOUR ENTITLEMENTS AS A UN VOLUNTEER” for each country on the following address: <https://www.unv.org/become-volunteer>. As for duty stations capitals of the countries are selected.

Table 1: Minimum Wage-Entitlement Comparison

Country	Minimum Wage ¹² (Annual-USD)	National UNV Entitlement (Annual-USD)
Turkey	5,043.9	7,438
Mexico	1,193.8	119
Colombia	3,700.4	13,084
France	21,225.1	33,766
United States	15,080.0	35,612
Brazil	3,133.2	9,610

Thus, as derived from a number of countries selected, being a UNV means having an income/allowance equal or more than the amount of average salary in a given country. In other words, what UNV describes as a contribution for a modest standard of living is an average income in many countries which indeed blurs the boundaries between a paid job and a volunteering assignment.

In order to further analyse differences in between a full-time job and a UNV assignment two vacancy notices will be compared. One of these notices belongs to UNHCR Office Turkey, announced on UNHCR Turkey's and UN Turkey's websites and was available to public. Similarly, the other was for a national UN Volunteer in Turkey who is expected to work for again UNHCR Turkey. The second announcement was also made from the same channels.

Table 2: Vacancy Notices Comparison

Agency: UNHCR	Agency: UNHCR Advertised on behalf of UN Volunteers
Title: RSD Associate	Assignment Title: Refugee Status Determination (RSD) Assistant
Closing Date: 06 December 2017	Deadline of applications: 04 November 2016
Location: Ankara	Duty Station: Ankara, Turkey
Category & Level: General Service, GL6	Education & Work experience: G- Bachelor's Level Degree – 2 year(s) experience

Closing date of both announcements indicates that the announcements were made more or less on closer dates to each other (approximately a year). Both announcements were removed from the respective websites following the deadline of applications.

¹² Measured based on OECD Data of Real minimum wages, annually calculated with series "In 2018 constant prices at 2018 USD exchange rates". Unit is USD.

Table 3: Organizational Contexts presented in announcements

<p>Organizational Context: The RSD Associate is a member of the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) team. S/he is responsible for supporting all activities related to the processing of refugee claims in the Operation. The RSD Associate provides counselling to, and responds to queries from, asylum seekers and refugees regarding UNHCR's RSD procedures, their rights and obligations, including towards the host authorities, and the status of the processing of their claims. In discharging these responsibilities, the RSD Associate liaises closely with Registration, Community Services, Resettlement, and other Protection staff. The RSD Associate is responsible for conducting COI and other research related to RSD and maintaining the Operation's local repository of relevant information, guidelines and standards. S/he may also assist in drafting RSD Assessments. The RSD Associate assists in compiling and analyzing information related to the RSD activities of the Operation, and in drafting related correspondence and reports. The RSD Associate may provide interpretation and/or translation services in cases for which s/he has the required language competencies.</p>	<p>Organizational Context/Project: To find out about the work of UNHCR in Turkey please visit our website</p> <p>UNHCR Turkey conducts mandate refugee status determination (RSD) for all non-European asylum-seekers in Turkey due to the Government's adherence to the geographical limitation under Art. 1B of the 1951 Convention relating to Refugees. Under relevant Turkish regulations, refugees fearing persecution based on events occurring in Europe may enjoy Convention status and asylum in Turkey until conditions permit their repatriation or they satisfy the conditions for local integration. Non-European asylum seekers, however, fall outside the Convention framework and their claims refugee status are assessed by UNHCR. Non-European asylum-seekers have no local integration option in Turkey and the lack of fundamental changes in the main countries of origin – Iraq, Iran, Somali and Afghanistan – continues to make voluntary repatriation impossible for most refugees. Resettlement programs offered by the major resettlement countries, are essential to meet critical protection needs and identify durable solutions on behalf of mandate refugees in Turkey. The rate of new arrivals of non-European asylum-seekers in Turkey continued to increase in 2014, and especially the Iraqi caseload increased extensively in summer 2014, leading to a greater demand on the RSD teams as well as longer waiting periods from arrival in Turkey until a decision is made on their claim.</p> <p>Under the supervision of the RSD Officer, the RSD Associate will work in the Status Determination and Protection Unit providing support to RSD activities. The project will assist UNHCR to reduce the period that asylum-seekers wait for their RSD interview and decision. The RSD Associate will contribute in further streamlining procedures already in place to identify and accelerate applications made by extremely vulnerable individuals ("EVI") including women at risk and victims of torture.</p>
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As seen above, announcements start with an organizational context that provides brief information and description of the activities conducted by UNHCR Turkey and the concerning unit. This explanation provided in the announcements for the prospective candidates resembles to each other. From the organizational contexts presented in the announcements, it is understood that both recruits are going to serve in the field of Refugee Status Determination (RSD) Unit in UNHCR Turkey's Ankara office.

We further obtain the information on the essential minimum qualifications and competencies that the recruits are expected to have from the notices. Accordingly,

while 6 years of experience is expected for the UNHCR position, it is decreased as 2 years for the UNV.

Table 4: Responsibilities and Description of Tasks

Essential Minimum Qualifications, Professional Experience and Required Competencies	Qualifications, professional experience and competencies required
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Completion of Secondary School and advanced training/certification in social work or a related field. ▪ Minimum 6 years of relevant professional job experience. ▪ Research and analytical skills. ▪ Excellent oral and written communication skills. ▪ Fluency in English, Excellent Knowledge of Turkish. ▪ Judgement and Decision Making ▪ Analytical Thinking ▪ Planning and Organizing ▪ Stakeholder Management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ University degree in (International) Law, Political Science or International Relations, regional studies or other relevant field ▪ Demonstrated familiarity with and knowledge of basic international refugee and international human rights law ▪ Legal Knowledge and the ability to apply legal principles ▪ Good analytical skills, good drafting skills and good oral and written communication skills ▪ Ability to deal with persons with special needs, including unaccompanied children, and persons with disability or persons affected by serious trauma ▪ Experience in country of origin information research desirable ▪ Strong interpersonal skills and the ability to work in a team ▪ Cultural and gender awareness ▪ Integrity, Professionalism and Respect for diversity ▪ The ability to work effectively under stress and in crisis situations ▪ Languages: Required: Excellent written and spoken English ▪ Computer skills: Good knowledge of MS Office programs and Internet applications ▪ Citizenship: Turkish ▪ Age: 22 and above in accordance with UN rules for national UNV's ▪ Desirable: Any of the following: Farsi, Arabic, Kurdish, French, Russian
<p>Desirable Qualifications and Competencies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Working experience with procedures and principles related to RSD. ▪ Knowledge of International Refugee Law and Human Rights Law and ability to apply the relevant legal principles. ▪ Experience in counselling asylum seekers or refugees. ▪ Experience in working with vulnerable or traumatized individuals. ▪ Completion of UNHCR's RSD Learning Programme, COI Learning Programme, or Protection Learning Programme. 	

In terms of what is expected from both recruits is to conduct Refugee Status Determination (RSD) interviews and submit RSD assessments recommending a decision. While an expected number of assessments/decisions is indicated for the UNV, it is not for the UNHCR staff. In both candidates are expected to provide counselling to refugees and asylum-seekers and conduct research on Country of Origin Information (COI) and other RSD-related issues. While UNHCR staff is expected to assist in the development of the RSD strategy of the operation, work in the annual planning exercise and to monitor trends and compile statistics, this was not indicated for the UNV. For both, support to Government is a responsibility. While this is

explained more vaguely for the UNHCR staff, some information was presented for the UNV.

Table 5: *Qualifications, professional experience and competencies required*

Functional Statement	Description of tasks
<p>Accountabilities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ UNHCR’s RSD procedures are implemented in accordance with relevant UNHCR standards and policies, including policies related to age, gender, and diversity mainstreaming (AGDM). ▪ Persons of concern have fair and transparent access to the RSD procedures. ▪ Fraud in the RSD process is identified and appropriately addressed. <p>Responsibilities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stay abreast of legal, political, security and other developments which impact on the protection environment, and in particular, on protection delivery through RSD. ▪ Assist in the development of the RSD strategy of the operation and in the annual planning exercise. ▪ Provide counselling to, and respond to queries from, asylum seekers and refugees, including in the context of the notification of negative RSD decisions. ▪ Maintain accurate and up-to date records and data related to all work on individual cases. ▪ Assist in preventing and identifying fraud in RSD through oversight, advice and guidance to UNHCR staff, partners and persons of concern. ▪ Systematically apply an age, gender and diversity (AGD) perspective in the performance of assigned functions. ▪ Conduct research on country of origin information (COI) and other issues related to RSD and maintain the Operation’s local repository of relevant information, guidelines and standards accessible to RSD staff in the operation. ▪ Assist in monitoring RSD trends and in compiling and analyzing RSD statistics related to RSD case processing. ▪ Assist in developing and maintaining processes to ensure that persons of concern, Government authorities and partners have accurate information on the RSD procedures, including UNHCR standards, policies and practice. ▪ Assist in initiatives to advocate with and support Government authorities and legal partners to establish and strengthen fair and efficient RSD procedures and RSD decision-making. ▪ Draft correspondence and reports relating to the RSD activities of the Operation. <p>Authorities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Refer individual cases to other functional units in the Operation and/or external partners for 	<p>Responsibilities</p> <p>Under the direct supervision of Refugee Status Determination Officer the national UN Volunteer will undertake the following tasks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ conducting refugee status determination interviews, drafting legal assessments and making recommendations on refugee status, in accordance with UNHCR guidelines and the RSD Procedural Standards. ▪ providing RSD counselling to refugees, informing and acting upon reports received from refugees within the refugee community or from the local authorities, and following up on protection issues with the authorities concerned, including court cases concerning refugees. ▪ conducting research (on country of origin and legal issues), managing and improving the country of origin knowledge base, reporting on general trends in the relevant countries of origin and replying to queries on specific legal and protection issues, while referring to the supervisor or seeking for advice on more complex issues. ▪ assisting in training and coaching RSD and registration staff, and in building the capacity of the authorities to conduct RSD and provide effective protection. ▪ performing other duties, as required. <p>Furthermore, UN Volunteers are required to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Strengthen their knowledge and understanding of the concept of volunteerism by reading relevant UNV and external publications and take active part in UNV activities (for instance in events that mark IVD); ▪ Be acquainted with and build on traditional and/or local forms of volunteerism in the host country; ▪ Reflect on the type and quality of voluntary action that they are undertaking, including participation in ongoing reflection activities; ▪ Contribute articles/write-ups on field experiences and submit them for UNV publications/websites, newsletters, press releases, etc.; ▪ Assist with the UNV Buddy Programme for newly-arrived UN Volunteers; ▪ Promote or advise local groups in the use of online volunteering, or encourage relevant local individuals and organizations to use the UNV Online Volunteering service whenever technically possible. <p>Results/Expected Output:</p>

<p>appropriate follow-up, in accordance with established criteria.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Counsel individual asylum-seekers on the reasons for negative RSD decisions, in accordance with the RSD SOPs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Following the induction period, the volunteer is expected to conduct 4-5 standard RSD interviews or 7 streamlined RSD interviews per week and to submit 4-5 standard refugee status determination assessments or 7 streamlined RSD decisions per week containing a recommended decision on whether the applicant qualifies as a refugee or not. ▪ The UN Volunteer is expected to conduct research on the countries of origin of the asylum-seekers he/she interviews and update the country of origin database in accordance with new developments in these countries. ▪ The UN Volunteer is expected to complete the following training: Refugee Status Determination, Induction Training of Protection of Refugees, Security Training, Code of Conduct for UNHCR Staff. ▪ A final statement of achievements towards volunteerism for development during the assignment, such as reporting on the number of volunteers mobilized, activities participated in and capacities developed.
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A striking difference between two is the sentence for UNV written under the Responsibilities section stating “performing other duties, as required” as another responsibility. This makes the UNV assignment more flexible since what is required is an endless list.

In addition to this, besides the host organization, the UNV is also expected to contribute to UNV Turkey which brings additional responsibilities such as:

- ...Furthermore, UN Volunteers are required to:
- Strengthen their knowledge and understanding of the concept of volunteerism by reading relevant UNV and external publications and take active part in UNV activities (for instance in events that mark IVD);
 - Be acquainted with and build on traditional and/or local forms of volunteerism in the host country;
 - Reflect on the type and quality of voluntary action that they are undertaking, including participation in ongoing reflection activities;
 - Contribute articles/write-ups on field experiences and submit them for UNV publications/websites, newsletters, press releases, etc.;
 - Assist with the UNV Buddy Programme for newly-arrived UN Volunteers;
 - Promote or advise local groups in the use of online volunteering or encourage relevant local individuals and

organizations to use the UNV Online Volunteering service whenever technically possible.

Thus, as understood what is expected from the Volunteer and the staff to be recruited is not very different and indeed, the UNV is required to perform some additional tasks arising from UNV as being the original agency appointing the UNV to serve in the host organization (UNHCR).

Table 6: Remuneration

Remuneration	Conditions of Service:
A competitive compensation and benefits package is offered. The monthly net salary is between TRY 5,950 and TRY 7,475 depending on relevant experience. For information on UN salaries, allowances and benefits, please visit the portal of the Office of HR Management of United Nations.	A contract until 31 December 2017; with subsequent contract extensions subject to availability of funding, operational necessity and satisfactory performance. However, there is no expectation of renewal of the assignment. Travel to duty station (if applicable) and a Settling-In-Grant will be provided in the event duty station is not within commuting distance from the place of recruitment. A Volunteer Living Allowance (VLA) of 2,653 TRY is provided monthly to cover housing, utilities and normal cost of living expenses. Life, health and permanent disability insurance are included (health insurance for up to 3 dependents), as well as final repatriation (if applicable) and resettlement allowance for satisfactory service.

When we compare the remunerations or condition of service, while UNHCR staff is expected to receive a monthly net salary between TRY 5,950 and TRY 7,475, UNV is receiving an “allowance” of TRY 2,653 that is nearly the half of the salary that the UNHCR staff receives. Further, although not written explicitly in the job announcement, UNHCR staff is entitled to pension and other rights as being employed under UNHCR, this is not a right for the UNV.

Then rightfully one can asks, when one serves in the same agency receiving half of the salary of his/her colleague and expected to perform the same tasks, can we call this volunteering?

Throughout this chapter, changes in the UN, volunteering in the UN and the UNV system were covered. We asked how volunteering was being evaluated within the UN. As being core arguments of this thesis, we asked the question if there are some similarities in between the contemporary understanding of volunteering and whether volunteering being utilized as in the new development discourse or as a way of new

form of labour. Through the vacancy announcement comparisons it was aimed to get a clearer picture.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Volunteering, volunteerism, civic engagement, activism, civil society and such are concepts frequently referred to whenever there is a widespread “problem”. As seen, through the wide spectrum of activities that is defined under volunteering, from no poverty to zero hunger, clean water to gender equality, economic growth to peace, inclusive cities to sustainable industrialization (United Nations, n.d.); areas that one can engage and take action is endless.

Nevertheless, as it is common in all social phenomena, volunteering, as being a social construct, is subject to historical changes being affected (and affecting) the political economic context that it is existing in. Without a doubt, the volunteering actions of a philanthropist in the 19th century are different than a union member’s who go on strike for the provision of child care in the workplace or a Greenpeace donation collector. Therefore, it was aimed to understand what is volunteering at the first hand.

As the chapter discussing the different approaches in volunteering showed, it is very difficult to come across with researches that discuss the concept’s itself from a different perspective. Rather volunteering is accepted as something for itself, its benefits are underlined and/or motivators as being affecting the frequency of the action of volunteering is analysed.

Thus, it is argued that understanding volunteering from a historical perspective and from the framework of political economy may indeed be a good and alternative approach. Herewith, through this alternative approach, the transformation in the notion itself would also be revealed since various political economic turnouts in the course of history would have had effects on this social phenomenon as well.

As the exercise presented at the beginning of the thesis showed, indeed, by having different names such as almsgiving or philanthropy, volunteering was present in

different times, having different appearances. Furthermore, volunteering in different eras was becoming clearer to understand when it is taken together with the social context it is being practiced in.

The same method is applied to analyse volunteering in today's world. An account of the economic political developments of the century is presented which in turn had some consequences in how we interpret volunteering and what volunteering have turned into. Some very relevant issues were detected in this transformation such as the emergence of the demand of flexibility in labour markets and a new discourse on development.

The form of volunteering that we currently witness is named as instrumental volunteering in order to differentiate it from the other forms and also to highlight a dominant character that it has. Instrumental volunteering can be identified as a new sense of volunteering, shaped by international, social, political and economic dynamics under neoliberalism's hegemony. This form of volunteering also has striking similarities with the new flexible forms of employment.

UNV system was the starting point of this thesis and one of the main questions asked was why UN also has a volunteering system and what is the relationship between UN and volunteering. As also discussed, it is understood UN's understanding of volunteering is very parallel with the Post-Washington Consensus and recent logic of governance. First, for some of its goals volunteering serves to be a means of governance with its links and appearance to participation. Second, UN also incorporated the need for flexibility for its employment schemes as seen from the contractual transformations. Here, adding the budgetary restrictions, in many UN agencies recruiting UNVs served as a means flexible employment alternative. This required further analysis and research to understand in what extent this is being practiced and whether volunteers are forced to be volunteers due to the precarious labour market conditions.

As seen from the vacancy notice comparisons, there were two jobs in which the candidates were supposed to be assigned some tasks that are more or less similar to each other. The striking difference was in the payments, one candidate was requested to accept half of the payment that is made to other and to be called "volunteer". At

this point it should be also questioned whether this person who accepted this offer was indeed forced to agree with the terms due to the market conditions or if s/he was a “genuine volunteer” who is interestingly, deeply committed in conducting the work of Refugee Status Determination through his/her free will.

Unfortunately, conducting a research is a very tiring thing to do when we consider the bureaucratic structure, the papers you would sign, the information you would give, the commitments you would make and so forth. If probably, an independent research would be conducted we would be more able to understand what part was related with “volunteering” in the UNV system. No matter if this research would adopt empirical tools, if some right questions would ask, another correlation could be also found.

At this point, there is also the necessity to underline that it is not aimed to define each and every form of volunteering activity taking place in 21st Century as instrumental volunteering. However once again, given the current political economic context, volunteering activity seems to be dominated by the hegemonic neoliberal logic which transforms and also attaches new functions to it. Thus, the term instrumental is preferred to highlight this ongoing overwhelming tendency that utilizes volunteering in and for the neoliberal agenda.

However as also shown, the reverse may also happen and volunteering by nature has the capacity to overcome this dominant instrumentalist logic. To recall what was stated in the Introduction, it is hoped that the questions asked throughout this thesis would trigger more attention to this side of volunteering. Meaning different things in different times, volunteering also has the capacity to change into something else and break its chains from commodification, it is also a duty for academia to understand the situation and to outline different alternatives.

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APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKGÇE ÖZET

Sürdürebilir kalkınmadan kız çocuklarının eğitime, gıda güvenliğinden kent hakkına kadar artık pek çok sorun günümüzde bir gönüllülük alanı olmaya aday. Bu tezde ilk olarak gönüllülük nedir sorusuna bir cevap aranmaya çalışılmıştır.

Mevcut literatür incelendiğinde gönüllülük üzerine gerçekleştirilmiş pek çok çalışmanın gönüllülerin ne ile motive oldukları, hangi toplumsal etkenin (yaş, eğitim, cinsiyet, etnik köken) gönüllük aktiviteleri üzerinde belirleyici olduğu konularına eğildiği görülmektedir. Bu çalışmalar çoğunlukla ampirik bir temelde, belirli faktörlerin anketler aracılığıyla ölçüldüğü ve çıkan sonuçlar üzerine derinlemesine bir tartışmadan ziyade, bu sonuçların sunulup, bırakıldığı bir eğilim taşımaktadırlar. Gönüllülük üzerine sorulması gereken pek çok soru, örneğin en başta gönüllülük nedir, gönüllülük faaliyetleri toplumsal düzeyde ne ifade etmektedir cevaplanmamakla birlikte, en basitinden bu çalışmalarda seçilen faktörlerin- eğitim ya da gelir gibi- hangisinin etkisinin gönüllük üzerinde daha belirleyici olduğu ya da aralarında bir belirlenim ilişkisinin olup olmadığı da incelenmemektedir.

Gönüllülük üzerine yapılan çalışmaları daha kolay anlayabilmek için 3 kategoride toplayabiliriz: Liberal-Bireyselci Yaklaşımlar ve Metodolojik Bireycilik, Kurumsalcı Yaklaşımlar ve Örgüt Teorisi ve “Diğerleri: Melez Yaklaşımlar ve Karşılaştırmalı Çalışmalar”.

Liberal-Bireyselci Yaklaşımlar ve Metodolojik Bireycilikten hareket eden yaklaşımların temel varsayımlarından biri bireyin rasyonel çıkarlarının peşinde, hesap yapabilen ve buna göre hareket eden bir varlık olmasıdır. Dolayısıyla bu yaklaşımlar içerisinde birey, gönüllüğün kendine kazandırdıkları üzerinden bir motivasyon ve tutunma yakalamaktadır. Örnek olarak, gönüllüğün bir sosyal

faaliyet biçimi olması dolayısıyla burada kurulacak insani ilişkilerin kişiye yarar sağlaması ya da bireyin yaptığı yardım üzerinden bir tatmin sağlaması, bu kurguda rasyonel çıkarılara sahip insanların neden gönüllüğe yöneldiklerine yönelik bir cevap olabilir.

Bahsedilen bu yaklaşım 1975li yıllardan itibaren kamu yararı tartışmasını içermeye başlamıştır. Gönüllülük neticesinde ortaya çıkan hizmet ya da ürünün piyasa ya da devlet tarafından üretilmeyen fakat en nihayetinde kamuya yönelik fayda sağlayan bir ürün olması dolayısıyla birtakım teoriler gönüllüğün kamu yararı üretmeye yönelik bir kişisel fedakârlık olduğunu iddia etmişlerdir. Yine de ortaya atılan teorilerde bireyin saf bir fedakarlıkla hareket etmediği, bununla birlikte bir kar-zarar mantığıyla hareket ettiği varsayımı korunmuştur.

Belli bir iktisadi çerçevenin yorumu diyebileceğimiz yukarıdaki yaklaşımlar dışında, bireyci yaklaşımları psikoloji alanında görmekteyiz. Bu alanda yer alan fonksiyonel yaklaşımlar, motivasyonu davranışla ilişkilendirip, kişinin birtakım psikolojik ihtiyaçlara sahip olduğunu ve gönüllüğün bu ihtiyaçları gidermede bir rol oynadığını açıklamıştır.

Bu yaklaşımı genel olarak ele aldığımızda özgür irade, rasyonellik gibi bireyin doğuştan gelen ve değişmeyen birtakım özelliklere haiz bir varlık olduğunu görüyoruz. Oysa ki bireyin iradesi, iradenin özgürlüğü ve rasyonellik başlı başına açıklanması gereken ve diğer pek çok yaklaşım tarafından da eleştirilen kavramlardır.

Literatür içerisinden derlenen ve ikinci bir başlık olarak toplanan bir diğer yaklaşım ise kurumsalcı yaklaşımlardır. Bireyci yaklaşımların izole, tarihsel olmayan ve insan ilişkilerinde azade tutulmuş birey yaklaşımına yönelik eleştirilen artması ve sosyal bilimlerde kurumları anlamaya yönelik bir ilginin çıkmasını gönüllülük üzerine çalışmalarda da izlemek mümkündür. Gönüllüğün nasıl kurumsal kurgular içerisinde yer aldığı, ne tip örgütsel mekanizmaların bu süreçte izlendiği gibi sorular bu yaklaşımın odağını oluşturmaktadır. Kuruma ve örgütlülüğe olan atıf bir kenara bırakıldığında, bu yaklaşımlarda bireyin bir önceki yaklaşımdan çok da farklı şekilde sunulmadığı görülmektedir.

Üçüncü bir kategorilendirme, “diğer”, melez yaklaşımlar ya da karşılaştırmalı çalışmalar olarak nitelendirilen, bu iki ana hattın biraz dışında kalan çalışmalardır. Mevcut çalışmalar içerisinde bu tip yaklaşımlar hacimce oldukça az yer kaplamaktadır. Bunlardan örnek olarak Hustinx, Handy and Cnaan’a (2010) ait, sıklıkla başvuru alan, gönüllüğün çok katmanlı bir olgu olduğu bu nedenle çok düzeyli bir analiz gerektirdiğini dile getiren yaklaşımdır. Ortaya konulan eleştirinin alternatifliği dolayısıyla bu yaklaşım üzerinden hareket eden çalışmaların sayısı hızla artmaktadır. Fakat, bu yaklaşımlarda da metodolojik olarak bireye yönelik birtakım varsayımsal sabitlerden hareket edilmesi, aynı şekilde devlet, piyasa, toplumsal hareket gibi kendinden menkul ve birbiri ile ilişkide olmayan alanların tariflenmesi bu yaklaşımın zayıf noktalarındandır. Dolayısıyla ortaya konulan yaklaşım her ne kadar alternatif ve yeni olarak sunulsa da temel ekseninin sunulmuş olan bireyci ve kurumsalcı yaklaşımlarla aynı zemini paylaşıyor oluşu bu yaklaşımları metodolojik olarak tutarsız bir noktaya getirmektedir.

Literatürü kapsayan bu üç ana eksen dışında henüz gönüllük üzerine daha alternatif bir çalışma sunulmamıştır. Bu tezde ise gönüllük kavramı bu üç yaklaşıma eleştirel bir biçimde kurgulanmıştır. Sürekli, değişmeyen, sabit ve tarihsel olmayan bir insan doğası tanımı öncelikle reddedilmiş, toplumsal, siyasal ve iktisadi olandan etkilenen ve bunları belirli durumlarda etkileyebilen bir birey kurgusundan yola çıkılmıştır. Aynı şekilde piyasa, devlet ve toplum gibi alanların ontolojik olarak birbirinden bağımsız alanlar olduğu kabulü reddedilmiştir. Bu minvalde gönüllük ise tarihsel olarak incelenmesi gereken, toplumsal, siyasi ve iktisadi olandan oldukça etkilenen bir olgu olarak ortaya koyulmuştur.

Tezin Giriş olarak sunulan ilk kısmının ardından, genel hatları çizilen bu gönüllülük tanımını örneklemeye yönelik bir deneme sunulmuştur. Bu denemede 19. yy. öncesi Birleşik Krallık ve 19. yy.’da Birleşik Devletler örnekleri üzerinden ilk olarak gönüllülüğün 20. yy. öncesinde yer alan formunu anlamak amaçlanmıştır. Tezin asıl konusu bu olmadığından, burada yer alan tanımlama kısaca ve öz bir biçimde gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu denemelerle birlikte hem gönüllülük kavramını tarihsel olarak ele alabilen bir kavrayışın mümkün olduğu

ortaya konulmaya çalışılmış, hem de günümüzdeki gönüllülük biçimini bütünsel olarak kavrayabilmek adına gönüllüğün tarihsel süreç içerisinde ne gibi değişimlere uğradığı gösterilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Bu noktada, gönüllü kavramının ilk olarak 17. ve 18. yüzyıllarda askere alma bağlamında kullanıldığını açıklanmıştır. Bunun dışında, 19. yy. öncesinde ise gönüllülük kavramı genel olarak daha çok teolojik bir çerçevede kullanılmıştır. 18. yy. pek çok kaynakta, Birleşik Krallık özelinde yoksulluğun oldukça belirleyici bir dinamik olduğu ve bu çağın hayır ilişkileri, sadaka ve dini görevler göz önüne alındığında bir cömertlik çağı olarak adlandırıldığı bir dönem olarak tarif edilmiştir. Süreç içerisinde sadaka verme ve dini vecibeler konusu, değişen toplumsal ve iktisadi yapı dolayısıyla bir dönüşüm geçirmiş, Hristiyanların yoksullara bakmakla yükümlü olduğu bir zorunluluk anlayışının özel mülkiyet, Aydınlanma ve gelişmekte olan yeni bir sınıfın varlığı dolayısıyla yerine daha değişik bir anlayışa bıraktığı görülmüştür. Bu yeni anlayışta yoksulluk yine Tanrı vergisi olmakla birlikte, yoksulluğun hayır işleri ile azaltılabileceği ve daha önemlisi hayır işi ve ticaretin birbirini kesmeyecek ve engellemeyecek bir biçimde, eş zamanlı olarak yapılabileceği yer almıştır.

19. yy. Birleşik Devletler örneğinde ise, hayır işlerinin giderek daha sınıfsal bir mevzu olduğu görülmüştür. Bu dönemde, endüstrileşme ve kentselleşme ile birlikte, gittikçe daha artan ve görülebilir bir hal kazanan yoksulluk ve değişen toplumsal düzen kaotik olarak adlandırılacak bir duruma yol açmıştır. Bu dönemde hayır işleri ise gelişmekte olan girişimci ve sanayici sınıfın bir davranış örüntüsü olmuş, aynı zamanda bir sınıf atlama aracı olarak da kullanılmıştır.

20. ve 21. yüzyıllar ise yine gönüllüğün değişim içerisinde olduğu ve yine farklı anlamlar kazandığı dönemlerdir. Tezin ana konularından olan BM ve BM Gönüllülerini ve yeni dönemde gönüllülüğün nasıl bir hal aldığını daha iyi anlamak açısından 20. ve 21. yy.'da yaşanan iktisadi ve siyasal gelişmeler olabildiğince açıklayıcı bir şekilde sunulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu, aynı zamanda tezin sahip olduğu alternatif yaklaşımın bir örneğidir.

20. yy. ele alındığında, çağın başlangıcının ekonomik büyüme ve yeni üretim biçimleri ile şekillendiğini görmekteyiz. Merkez kapitalist ülkelerde yaşanan

büyüme ve akabindeki Birinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemin ardından bir restorasyon sürecine girilmiş ve pek çok ülke kendi içerisinde kapitalist ekonominin yeniden inşası üzerine odaklanmıştır. Fakat bu yeniden inşanın oldukça kırılgan olduğu 1929 Krizi ile beraber ortaya çıkmış, bunu takiben sonuçları çok daha vahim olan ikinci bir savaş dönemine girilmiştir.

Bilançonun ağırlığı ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin reel bir güç olarak dünya siyasetinde kendisine yer bulması, bu kez iktisadi olarak görece daha eleştirel sayılabilecek yaklaşımların zemin bulabilmesine de olanak sağlamıştır. 2. Dünya Savaşı'nı takiben artık Keynesçilik, refah devletleri olarak adlandırılan bir döneme girilmiştir. Ulus bütününde huzur ve sükunetin sermaye ve emek arasında bir sınıf uzlaşısı ile sağlanabileceğinin düşünüldüğü bu dönemde devletin daha aktif bir rol aldığı görülmektedir. Yine bu dönemde tam istihdam pek çok ülkede ana ulusal stratejilerden biri olmuş, daha yüksek bir sendikal katılımı ile beraber; barınma, eğitim, emeklilik, sağlık vb. pek çok alanda sosyal korumanın genişlediği ve bu alanlarda devletin öncü bir rol üstlendiği görülmüştür.

Harvey'nin (2005) gömülü/örtük liberalizm olarak adlandırıldığı bu model 1950 ve 60lı yıllarda ekonomik büyüme getirmiş fakat 60lı yılların sonunda doğru hem uluslararası alanda hem de ulusal ölçekte çatırdamaya başlamıştır. Bunu takip eden neoliberal dönüşüm Thatcher ve Reagan örneklerinde olduğu gibi seçim başarılarıyla ivme kazanmış, devletin ve devlet müdahalelerinin iktisadi ve toplumsal gelişmeye engel olduğu yönünde bir anlayış akademi ve medya da dahil olmak üzere pek çok alanda hâkim olmaya başlamıştır. Washington Konsensüsü olarak da adlandırılan bu dönemde vergi reformları, özelleştirme, uluslararası sermayenin özgürleştirilmesi gibi basit bir dile sahip siyasalar dünya ölçeğinde izlenilmesi gereken yollar olarak dikte edilmiştir.

Aynı dönemde, daha evvelinde 3. Dünya'nın endüstrileşmeyi geliştirerek kalkış yaşayacağına ilişkin ithal ikameci bir kalkınma anlayışı ise yerini yine neoliberal modelin aldığı yeni bir kalkınma anlayışına bırakmıştır. Bu dönemde krizlerle sarsılan ülkelere ise IMF ve Dünya Bankası aracılığıyla piyasa reformları ve yapısal düzenlemeler önerilmiş ve neoliberal yeni düzenin hâkim olduğu yeni düzene bu şekilde ayak uydurmaları salık verilmiştir.

Washington Konsensüsü ile beraber reçete edilen deregülasyon ve küreselleşme sonucu spekülâtif sermayenin de pek çok ülkeye girdiği, yerleştiği ülkeleri de krizlere karşı oldukça kırılğan bir hale getirdiği görülmüştür. Aynı dönemlerde yaşanan 1973 Petrol Krizi ardından edilen artı finansın yabancı bankalara aktarılması, bu bankaların da gelişmekte olan ülkelere borç verme yarışına girmesi hali hazırda zaten riskli borç yapıları bulunan bu ülkeleri tehlikeli bir pozisyona sokmuştur. 1980 ile birlikte borçlanma krizlerinin bu denli bulaşıcı, kronik ve yaygın olması, en sonunda uluslararası finansal kurumların kendisi dahil bir özeleştir ve eleştir dalgasının başlamasına sebep olmuştur. Dönemin Dünya Bankası iktisatçılarından Joseph Stiglitz'in yeni bir Post-Washington Konsensüsü tanımlanmasına yönelik tavsiyelerinden sonra ise Amin'in de dile getirdiği gibi uzunca bir dönem yasaklı olan regülasyon kavramı, bir gecede tekrar kararlarda yeniden görünmeye başlamıştır.

Post Washington Konsensüsü olarak tariflenen bu yeni dönemde ise yönetim kavramı sıklıkla kendisine atıfta bulunan yeni bir maymuncuk olarak yerini almıştır. Yeni kalkınma söylemi de dahil olmak üzere artık reçete edilen yeni siyasalar yönetim, katılımcılık, kapasite geliştirimi, şeffaflık, hesap verilebilirlik gibi birtakım anahtar kavramlar üzerinden formüle edilmiştir.

20. yy'dan günümüze kadar böyle iktisadi dönüşümler yaşanırken, bu tez kapsamında önemli olan bir diğer konu ise yaşanan gelişmelere paralel olarak ortaya çıkan esnek çalışma biçimleridir. 1970lerin yarısından itibaren istihdam da esnekleşme arayışının ana rolü oynadığı bir dönüşüme sahne olmuştur. Neoliberal modelde büyüme ve kalkınmanın piyasa rekabetine bağlı olarak açıklanması dolayısıyla, rekabeti arttıran ve piyasa prensipleri hayatın her alanına nüfuz etmiş, toplumsal refah programları neoliberal reçeteleri takip etmiş ve dolayısıyla kültürel sermayesini ve kendisini her koşulda karlı bir şekilde geliştirmesi gereken ve devlet yardımına minimum düzeyde ihtiyaç duyan yeni bir çalışan tipi ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, artık sermaye, bilgi, piyasa ve hatta emeğin de küreselleşmesi dolayısıyla firmalar aracılığıyla faaliyetlerin kolaylıkla bir ülkeden daha ucuz bir diğerine taşınması kolaymış, emek süreci kırılğanlaşmış ve bu gerçeklik aynı zamanda neoliberal döneme tabii olmayı reddedenler açısından bir

disipline etme yöntemi olarak da kullanılmıştır. Bu çerçevede emek piyasasında esnekleşmenin rekabet için atılması gereken bir adım olduğu savunulmuştur. Sonuç olarak ise bu dönemde sadece istihdam ve iş güvenliği değil, maaşın, çalışma saatlerin, kazanılan hakların da esnekleştiği bir döneme girilmiştir.

Bu noktada tezde tartışıldığı üzere günümüzdeki gönüllülük halini araçsal gönüllülük olarak açıklamak mümkündür. Güçlü işçi sınıfı hareketlerinin görüldüğü yüzyıl başından bugüne pek çok değişim yaşandığı gibi kolektif hareket etmenin kendisi de neoliberal düzende başka bir anlam kazanmıştır. Sivil toplumun neoliberal anlayışta yaşanacak dönüşümün bir öznesi olarak görülmesiyle birlikte sözde seçme özgürlüğü bulunan bireylerin sendika benzeri güçlü kolektif yapılar kurmasından da hayır kurumları gibi zayıf gönüllü kurumlarını seçmesi beklenmiştir (Harvey, 2005).

Aynı dönemde devletin refah sunma alanlarından çekilmesiyle birlikte bu boşluğun gönüllülük ile doldurulması hedeflenmiştir. Bunu, refah devletini takip eden dönemde kâr amacı gütmeyen kuruluşların hizmet sağlayıcılar olarak çok daha fazla kullanılması takip etmektedir. Tezin ilerleyen kısımlarında daha detaylı tartışıldığı üzere hayır kurumlarının ve kâr amacı gütmeyen kuruluşların Bush Yönetiminin "inanca dayalı inisiyatif" politikasına benzer şekilde muhafazakâr mali politikaların bir yansıması olarak kamu programlarının alt yüklenicileri olarak kullanılması dikkat çekilmesi gereken bir noktadır (Silverman, 2002). Devletin refah hizmetlerinin tek meşru sunucusu olmadığı tartışıldığı bir dönemde, özel sektörün ve gönüllü kuruluşlarının çoğulcu bir toplumda toplumsal sorumluluklar alması pek çok spektrumdan siyasetçiler tarafından dillendirilmektedir (Cour & Højlund, 2008). Gönüllülüğe küresel ölçekte de benzer atıflarda bulunmuş, Olimpiyatlar gibi büyük ölçekli uluslararası etkinliklerde ortaya koyulan gönüllü emeği bu dinamiğin bir emek kaynağı olarak kullanılabileceğini işaret etmiştir.

Bu noktada gönüllülük hizmet sunmanın bir ikamesi olmuş aynı zamanda da artan derecede metalaşmıştır. Esnek emeğe duyulan talep göz önüne alındığında gönüllülük aynı zamanda bir fırsat olarak da görülmüştür. Son olarak, araçsal gönüllülük adını verdiğimiz yeni tip gönüllülük değişen kalkınma paradigmasına

paralel olarak küresel ölçekte hedeflenen bazı siyasi hedefler doğrultusunda kullanılmıştır. Tezin sonraki bölümünde anlatılan bu dört nokta, “Araçsal Gönüllülük ve Devlet”, “Yönetilmesi Gereken Gönüllülük”, “Gönüllülük ve Kalkınma”, “Yeni bir İstihdam Şekli Olarak Gönüllülük” alt başlıklarında detaylıca incelenmiştir.

Tezde yer alan “Gönüllük ve Birleşmiş Milletler: Birleşmiş Milletler Gönüllü Programı” adlı son kısımda ise Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) tarafından oluşturulan Birleşmiş Milletler Gönüllü Programı (UNV) araçsal gönüllük bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu inceleme, tezde daha öncesinde sunulan çerçeve ile tutarlı bir biçimde yapılmaya çalışılmış, ilkin Birleşmiş Milletlerin 20. ve 21. yüzyılda nasıl bir bağlama oturduğu ele alınmıştır. Dünya Bankası ve IMF’nin diğer BM ajanslarından daha otonom ve dünya siyasetinde belirleyici bir yapıya sahip oldukları ve bunun nedeni açıklanmıştır. Ardından geçtiğimiz yüzyıl içerisinde BM siyasetindeki çeşitli tarihsel noktalar gözden geçirilmiştir. Aynı alt başlıkta, yer alan dönüşümlerin ışığında BM’nin yeni konumu ve bu tür dönüşümleri nasıl kucakladığı ve bünyesine dahil ettiği bu bağlamda tartışılmıştır. Bu noktada, ABD’nin BM üzerindeki etkisi, BM’nin nasıl finanse edildiği ve ABD’nin katkı payı doğrultusunda BM siyasetini etkileyebildiği dile getirilmiştir. Ardından BM içerisinde mevcut işe alım kontratlarının yaşadığı değişim özetlenmiştir.

Tezin kalan kısmında ilk olarak UNV sistemi tanıtılmıştır. Bu yapı 7 Aralık 1970 tarihli bir BM Genel Kurulu kararıyla kurulmuş, kararda gönüllülerin sahip olduğu teknik ve kişisel bilginin kalkınma yardımı faaliyetlerinde ülkelerin ihtiyaçları da göz önüne alındığında transfer edilebilir olduğu vurgulanmış ve Birleşmiş Milletler Kalkınma Projesi (UNDP) idari sorumlu olarak belirtilmiştir. Kuruluşunun ardından ilk olarak 35 gönüllü ile UNV programı faaliyetlerine başlamış, Çad, Doğu Pakistan gibi bölgelerde hizmet vermiştir.

Kuruluş kararının ardından BM genel siyasetinde UNV’nin dönem dönem önemine atıf yapan Genel Kurul kararları dışında çok yer aldığı söylenemez. Kuruluşun tarihçesini takiben 1976 yılında artık bünyesine ulusal gönüllüleri de aldığı görülür. 1980’lerin sonuna doğru UNV’nin mevcut gönüllü sayısı hemen

hemen iki katına çıkar, 1998 yılında o zamana kadarki en yüksek noktasına ulaşır (UNV, n.d.).

Programın tarihinde en önemli dönüm noktalarından biri yine bir Genel Kurul kararıyla 2001 yılının Uluslararası Gönüllük Yılı olarak belirlenmesi ve UNV'nin bu kampanyanın küresel yürütücü olarak belirlenmesi olur. Zaman içerisinde mevcut UNV sayısı arttıkça artar, tsunami felaketinden, Afganistan ve diğer ülkelerdeki seçim ve seçim sonrası güvenliği çalışmalarına, EBOLA salgınından Haiti felaketine kadar gerçekleşen pek çok krizde BM Gönüllüleri görev yapar. 2012 yılında BM Genel Kurulu gelecek on yıl ve sonrasında gönüllüğün barış ve kalkınmaya entegre olması isteğiyle bir hareket planı hazırlanmasını ister. 2014 yılında ise UNV Stratejik Çerçeve adı verilen dokümanını yayınlar. Bu dokümanda kalkınma ve barış çabalarında gönüllülüğün oynadığı katalitik rolün tanınması, özellikle sürdürülebilir geçim söz konusunda gönüllüğün kalkınmaya katkısı gibi çeşitli noktalara değinilir (UNV, UNV Strategic Framework 2014-2017, 2014).

2015 yılında Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Hedefleri doğrultusunda gönüllülüğün ne kadar önemli olduğunu vurgulayan başka bir Genel Kurul kararı yayınlanır. Büyümesinin bir göstergesi olarak dünyanın farklı yerlerinde UNV ofisleri açılır. Şu an ise UNV Yıllık Raporu göz önüne alındığında 2018 yılında UNV sayısının 7,201 olduğu ve UNV'nin üye ülkelerle ve diğer partneriyle 2030 yılı Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma ajandası doğrultusunda gönüllüğün tanınması için çalışmaktadır (UN Volunteers, 2019).

Özet olarak UNV sistemini sunmak gerekirse, BM Gönüllüleri UNHCR, UNICEF, FAO ve pek çok farklı BM ajansında çalışan, ulusal ve uluslararası ölçekte hizmet veren kimselerdir. UNV alınan karar gereği UNDP'ye bağlıdır. UNV Programı'nın ortaya çıkışı ise kalkınma ve emek konusunda yeni bir söylem ve yeni istihdam biçimlerinin ortaya çıktığı süregelen siyasi ekonomik dönüşümle örtüşmektedir.

Bu noktada bu sistemi inceleyen ve neden BM'nin gönüllülere ihtiyaç duyduğu sorusunu soran bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Tezde tanımlanmış olan araçsal gönüllülük düşünüldüğünde ise BM'nin dünya ölçeğinde meydana gelen

değişiklikleri benimsemesine paralel olarak; UNV sistemi aracılığıyla kendi hedefleri doğrultusunda gönüllülükten bir işgücü kaynağı olarak faydalandığı görülmektedir.

Bu noktada, sunulmuş olan iki adet iş duyurusunun karşılaştırması ile bu iddianın açıklığa kavuşturulması hedeflenmiştir. Karşılaştırılan 2 ilandan biri UNHCR ofisine ait olup UNHCR Türkiye ve BM Türkiye'nin web sitelerinde ilan edilmiştir ve halka açıktır. Benzer şekilde, diğeri de UNHCR Türkiye için çalışması beklenen Türkiye vatandaşı bir UNV alımına ilişkin olup; duyurusu aynı kanallardan yapılmıştır. İki duyuru da ilan tarihinin dolmasının ardından web sitelerinden kaldırılmıştır. Her iki ilanın da kapanış tarihine yaklaşık bir ay olması, duyuruların birbirine yakın tarihlerde yapıldığını göstermektedir. İlanda belirtildiği üzere iki katılımcının da Ankara'da UNHCR için hizmet vermesi beklenmektedir.

Duyurular incelendiğinde, UNHCR pozisyonu için 6 yıllık deneyim beklenirken, UNV için 2 yıl deneyim beklendiği bilgisini elde edilmektedir. Her iki adaydan da Mülteci Statüsü Belirleme (RSD) görüşmeleri yapmaları ve karar önerisi içeren RSD değerlendirmeleri sunmaları beklenmektedir. İşe alınacak UNV için beklenen değerlendirme/karar sayısı belirtilirken, UN personeli için herhangi bir sayı belirtilmemektedir. Her iki adaydan da mülteci ve sığınmacılara danışmanlık vermeleri, Menşei Ülke Bilgisi (COI) ve RSD ile ilgili diğer konularda araştırma yapmaları beklenmektedir. BM personeli RSD stratejisinin geliştirilmesi, yıllık planlama çalışması, trendlerin izlenmesi ve istatistiklerin incelenmesi gibi süreçlere dahil edilirken, bu tür görevler UNV iş duyurusunda bulunmamaktadır. Hükümetin alakalı birimlerine destek sunmak her ikisinin de sorumlulukları arasında belirtilmiştir. Bu madde, BM personeli için daha belirsiz bir şekilde sunulmuşken, UNV'ler konusunda daha açıktır. İkisi arasındaki en çarpıcı fark ise UNV ilanının sorumluluklar kısmında yer alan "gerektiğinde diğer görevleri yerine getirme" maddesidir. "Gerektiğinde" ve "diğer" kelimelerinin açık uçlu olması dolayısı ile bu, UNV sözleşmesini esnek bir hale getirmektedir.

Buna ek olarak, UNV adayının ev sahibi kuruluşun (UNHCR) yanı sıra UNV Türkiye'ye de katkıda bulunması beklenmektedir ve bu da ilanın ileri kısımlarında biraz daha detaylandırılan bazı ek sorumluluklar getirmektedir.

İlanların yevmiye/istihkak kısımlarına gelindiğinde ise, BM personelinin 5.950 TL ile 7.475 TL arasında aylık net maaş alması beklenirken, UNV'nin bunun neredeyse yarısına denk olan 2.653 TL tutarında bir "ödenek" alacağı görülmektedir. Ayrıca, iş ilanında açıkça yazılmamasına rağmen, BMMYK personeli emeklilik ve diğer hakları BMMYK kapsamında istihdam edilme hakkına sahiptir, bu UNV için bir hak değildir. Ayrıca, iş ilanında açıkça belirtilmemesine rağmen, BM personeli emeklilik ve UNHCR altında çalışmaktan doğan birtakım haklara sahipken, benzeri haklar UNV için sunulmamıştır.

Bu durumda haklı olarak şu sorulmaktadır: Bir kişi aynı ajansta çalışan ve aynı görevleri yerine getirmesi beklenen meslektaşının maaşının yarısını almakta ise bu durum sadece "gönüllülük" ile açıklanabilir mi? Tezin genelinde de araçsal gönüllülük kavramı ile açıklanmaya çalışıldığı şekliyle, hayır.

Son olarak pek tabii gerçekleşen her türlü gönüllülük faaliyetine araçsal demek mümkün değildir. Fakat, gönüllülüğün son dönemde içinde bulunduğu yeni siyasal iktisadi durum göz önüne alındığında, araçsal gönüllülük olarak tariflenen gönüllülük tipi bu dönemde baskın olan gönüllülük şeklidir.

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