VOLUNTEERING IN AMSTERDAM DURING THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Master's thesis project

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Introduction

The rapid growth of globalization led to almost every country being involved in global migration: Some of them experience migration as sending countries, some as receiving ones, and others as transit ones (Andall, 2007: 105). Money, products and resources also cross borders with migrants' movements. In any case, migration has its impact on almost every country in one or another way. While some people willingly migrate to other countries in search for a better job or education, higher salary, better climate, etc., others are forced to leave their country as refugees. More than 7 million Syrians have fled their homes since the start of the civil war in 2011, and additionally to this conflict-driven migration, the ongoing violence in Afghanistan, Eritrea and Kosovo also leads to the growth of displaced people (BBC News, 2015).

A refugee is defined as any person who "owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or…unwilling to…return to it" (UNHCR, 1951: 14). A refugee clearly differs from other migrants in several ways: The refugee is more interrogated at borders and is more likely to be rejected entry; the refugee is usually dependent on charity and rarely speaks the local language; due to refugees' status, time for them goes slowly and uneventfully, they spend years in asylum seeker centers and cannot do anything but wait (Eriksen, 2014: 110; Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2013: 167). In UNHCR's Conclusion No. 107 (2007), for example, refugee children are recognized as vulnerable, 'children at risk', which differs them from ordinary children. Additionally, refugees need to prove their status, prove that they are in need of help to get support from a host country (Schech, 2012: 59, Ghorashi, 2005: 193; Leudar et al., 2008: 187).

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC, 2016) provides a list of types of disasters, and among others describes man-made hazards. Man-made hazards include the displaced of populations that were triggered by a natural disaster or conflict. It is noted that displacement significantly differs from migration and usually requires operations and solutions to relief the situation. It is also mentioned that the responsibility for the displacement population primarily falls on the host countries' governments.

The refugee situation in Europe can be treated as a humanitarian emergency, as a man-made disaster and as an international crisis all at once since it is due to an armed conflict and mass population displacement, and it affects many countries all over the world. It was called "migrant crisis" (Morris, 2015), "refugee crisis" (IRC, 2016), "the worst humanitarian

disaster of our time" (Project HOPE, 2015), "the worst humanitarian crisis in the world today" (World Vision, 2016). Tierney (2012, p. 345) gave the general definition of disaster situations: They "occur when the demands that physical events place upon social systems and institutions exceed their capacity to respond". Stewart (2000) provides a list of elements of CHE which includes armed conflict, long-lasting duration, forced migration, security risks, necessity for peace-making, etc. The refugee situation in Europe comes within the scope of the definition and has most of these elements.

Despite the long history of immigration in Europe, "…this is the first time Europe has faced people coming in from the outside in large numbers as refugees" (Simpson, 2015). According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), since 2015 the total arrivals to Europe constituted more than 1 million people, among which almost a half represented refugees from Syria (IOM, 2016). Current Refugee situation affected not only European countries. Turkey hosted more than 1.9 million refugees, Iraq accepted about 250 000, Lebanon more than 1.1 million, Jordan about 630 000 (World Vision, 2016), 163 refugees were welcomed by Canada (Mattu, 2015). 27 580 refugees arrived to Canada since November 2015 (Government of Canada, 2016); the USA announced that it would accept 10 000 refugees by October 2016 (Mattu, 2015).

This situation indeed became a global issue demanding quick, well-coordinated and efficient response, and "the time to think, consult, and gain acceptance for decisions is highly restricted" (Boin et al., 2005: 11). As many scholars acknowledged, collaboration between different parties during the crisis or disaster situation is a key to a successful management and fast and efficient relief. Comfort (2007), Moynihan (2009), Boersma et al. (2014), and others state that response to the emergency can be improved by the involvement of citizens in the process. Waugh and Streib (2006) support the view that collaboration is an essential part of an efficient emergency management, and volunteers are vital to this process as they present capacity and link community resources. Tierney (2012) argued that disaster situations demand collaborative governance through networks, and that individual institutions or organizations cannot deal with disasters. NGOs in general, volunteers themselves, and local communities are important for the effective settlement of the emergency, "are not helpless" and can provide valuable local knowledge (Gaillard & Mercer, 2012: 94; Eikenberry et al., 2007). Governments, formal international and local organizations, corporations and international and local non-governmental organizations seem to be some of the most active agents in attempts to bring relief to the refugee crisis. All actors mentioned above, to a greater or lesser extent try to involve citizens and local communities and appeal to volunteers' help.

15 years ago Bussell and Forbes (2001) described the situation with volunteering as "the voluntary sector is growing, but the number of people volunteering is not increasing". Nowadays the situation has changed: More than 140 million people volunteer all over the world (Czerwinska, 2008); approximately 5.3 million people in the Netherlands, or 42% of the Dutch population, work as volunteers; additionally, 30.2% engage in informal helping activities (GHK - ICF International, 2010). Moreover, because of the refugee crisis in Europe more and more people are willing to volunteer and to organize volunteer actions or donation campaigns aiming to help the refugees. But some things, which were described by Bussell and Forbes (2001), remain the same: Volunteers represent a highly diverse group, people volunteer for absolutely diverse organizations, projects or campaigns, and people may become volunteers not only for altruistic motives.

There are various definitions of volunteering. Voicu and Voicu (2009) while paying special attention to questions of formality, altruism and commodity in volunteer activities define volunteering as "an activity through which individuals spend a part of their time, without any wage, by free choice, in a formal way, within an organization, working for the benefit of others or of the entire community". Wilson (2000) defines volunteering as any activity in which a person freely devotes his or her time to benefit another person, group or cause. Willigen (2000) identifies volunteer work with unpaid activities aiming to benefit those with who a person performing these activities is not in contractual, familial or friendship relationships. According to United Nations, volunteering is individuals' contributions to nonprofit and non-career actions for the well-being of the neighborhood or society (UNHCR, 2001). All in all, Cnaan et al. (1996) show that almost all definitions of volunteering include such elements as free will, the absence of monetary reward, orientation on other people which are usually strangers, and long term commitment or formal setting.

Many studies established that volunteering is positively related to social capital. Musick and Wilson (2000), Apinunmahakul and Devlin (2008), Lee and Brudney (2010) among others proved empirically that social capital promotes donations and volunteering. Jones (2006) shows that volunteerism is another form of civic engagement and proves that social capital positively influences it. Isham et al. (2006) conclude that volunteering itself positively influences social and civic engagement of individuals I other forms. Schneider (2007) also examines propositions about the relationship between social capital and civic engagement. The author finds that in some cases social capital leads to increasing civic engagement and involving more people in organizations' activities, in others it only serves the purposes of community or organization and represent civic activity of members of this group

only. Wollebaek and Selle (2002) show that active participation in volunteer activities does not necessarily leads to the growth of social capital. Participation in multiple volunteer projects, on the other hand, does help to cumulate social capital. According to Anhier (1999), social capital is a mechanism that increases the likelihood of people to volunteer: in multi-country research it was revealed that 44% found out about volunteer opportunities from friends and families, 27% from their colleagues, and 13% through religious congregations. It provides such resources as information and trust that ease one's entrance in volunteer community, and is no less important than human capital (Musick & Wilson, 1998: 801).

As it will be demonstrated in literature review section, we already know a lot about volunteers' motivation, we know why people are willing to volunteer in general. However, what we do not know is how they choose among different projects and activities, especially during the crisis situation. According to Musick and Wilson (1998), variations in social capital, its size, density, or content can explain individual variations in volunteering. What is lacking in this field of study is an understanding of how social capital is exploited by individuals to get into some project or activity; or how social capital causes and in a way defines individuals' participation in certain activities. Hence, the major purpose of this project is to get insights on how volunteers make their choices and to see what role social capital plays in volunteers' decisions about opportunities to volunteer in the context of the refugee crisis.

Research question

How can we understand the relation between different forms of volunteering and volunteers' social capital in the host country the Netherlands in the context of the refugee crisis?

Research sub-questions

Theoretical:

What is volunteering and what are the types of it?

What is already known about volunteers' motivation?

What is social capital?

What is crisis? What characteristics of the current refugee situation allow us to frame it as a crisis?

What is the place of volunteers during the crisis?

Empirical:

How did volunteers' behavior change in the context of a crisis situation in Amsterdam?

What distinguishes volunteering experience during the crisis situation from volunteering during 'normal' periods?

How do volunteers decide where to volunteer, in what kind of activity to participate?

Do they rely on volunteer organizations in this decision-making process?

How does the social capital of volunteers responding to the refugee crisis in Amsterdam looks like?

What distinguishes volunteering response to refugees from regular volunteering in Amsterdam?

The research took place in 2016 in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The contribution of the findings and their relation to existing literature are discussed in the last section. The results obtained from this research are relevant and meaningful in the scientific field, and have as well practical implications. This research project expands the theoretical and empirical knowledge in the field of volunteers' studies, shows social capital relation to volunteerism, and discusses the place of volunteers during the emergency situation.

In the next chapter the literature review of previous researches related to my topic and research questions is presented in order to locate this project within the context of existing literature. I then move then to the description of the theoretical approach that was used during the research. The methodological section follows and explains the research design, methods that were used, and the research sample. After description of the research setting, the study proceeds to data presentation and analysis.

1. Literature Review

This section reviews previous studies related to my topic and research questions. The purpose of this section is to locate my research within the context of existing literature, to describe what is already known about themes I study, and to place my research in the broader discussion and existing debates. The section is divided in thematic categories, and each chapter focuses on a particular topic that is relevant to my study.

1.1. Volunteers and crisis

Although this research does not mainly focus on crisis causes, its characteristics or its management, and does not mainly aim to describe collaborative activities among different actors in Amsterdam during the refugee crisis, it is important for us to understand what the crisis is, and what place volunteering has during the emergency situation.

There are many studies on disasters, crisis, emergency situations, and their management. Drabek (2005) defines a disaster as an event in which a community experiences loss to people, property, or resources. Galindo and Batta (2013) define a crisis as an event that causes human, material, economic or environmental damage to the community and cannot be relieved through regular procedures. Fischer (2003) develops a disaster scale which distinguishes different situations as different levels of disaster based on scale, scope and duration of time. As a result he proposes categories of disasters from everyday emergency to annihilation. The situation with the refugees in Europe is framed if not as a disaster, then as a refugee crisis.

Emergency management can be defined as the process which has a goal to minimize potential hazards and maximize public safety while limiting costs (Drabek, 2005: 4). As Dynes (1994), Neal and Phillips (1995), Donahue and Joyce (2001), Comfort and Kapucu (2006), Waugh and Strieb (2006), and others argue, the successful management of the crisis situation requires collaboration between sectors. Bryson (2006) defines collaboration between sectors as partnership among government, business, nonprofits and local communities around common goals. Guo and Acar (2005) distinguish formal and informal forms of collaboration and structural and resource motivations for collaboration. The authors find that older, bigger, with larger budget organizations that get governmental funds and are connected to other nonprofits are more likely to develop formal collaborations. Some studies found a connection between social capital and successful disaster recovery. Nakagawa and Shaw (2004), for

example, discover that social capital combined with strong leadership is an important resource during the disaster recovery. The authors make a distinction of bonding, bridging and linking types of social capital, and state that linking social capital, which consists in ties between community and formal organizations, plays a significant role in a disaster relief.

Drabek and McEntire (2003) argue that in disaster situation individuals and groups tend to unify their resources in to bring stress relief. They discuss the typology of organizations during the disaster and note that the last type, emergent organizations, usually occurs when existing organizations cannot deal with all new demands in virtue of inappropriate structures or insufficient activities. Emergent organizations, according to Dynes (1994), allow performing quicker and more effective disaster responses. Simo and Bies (2007) found out empirically that not registered individual or small scale initiatives rarely get support from big nonprofit organizations or administrative organs. They also note that in spite of spontaneous formation and lack of clear structure these initiatives were very successful during the disaster relief activities.

As we can see, there is no one unified definition of disaster. On top of that, there is a distinction between different levels of disaster, crisis, and emergency situations. This chapter discusses the studies on the elements of the successful emergency management. As a result, we can conclude that many studies revealed the importance of volunteers during the emergency relief operations. As our research is related to the refugees, we move on to the next chapter that shows what defines volunteers' positions during the refugee crisis.

1.2. Volunteers and debates over migration and refugees

According to James Ferguson (1997), we cannot clearly interpret problems, issues and developments if we do not relate them to the bigger picture which they are part of. In my opinion, the volunteers that I interviewed as part of this research did not act in a social vacuum: They operated within discourse about migrants and newcomers and, especially in the current refugee situation, religion and terrorism. Debates over migration and refugees represent the broader context in which volunteers operate. Local media and formal authorities adopted the vision of the situation as a crisis, and it defined their strategies of managing the whole issue. Volunteers in Amsterdam, who decided to get involved in projects aiming to help the refugees, in their turn, were confronted with this discourse. In this chapter I aim to discuss the broader context of my research question, as I believe that public opinion and hegemonic discourse have an impact on volunteers' choice whether to respond to the refuges or not.

Volunteers to a greater or lesser extent interact with the environment and other actors like mass media and governments, they relate to public opinion and are being influenced by a hegemonic discourse presented within society in real time. Many studies demonstrate the great impact of mass media on people's definitions of one or another situation (Van Dijk, 2000; Hier & Greenberg, 2002; Coole, 2002). Olsen et al. (2003) present three factors that influence the level of assistance that any emergency situation attracts: the media coverage, the degree of political interest and the presence of NGOs and international organizations. All three factors together contribute to debates over migration and refugees. Hustinx et al. (2010), in turn, demonstrate that different political and cultural contexts impact personal decisions of volunteers. Thus, volunteers' understanding and evaluation of the refugee situation in Europe are not limited to a single and constant meaning; they change over time depending on the environment in which they operate. Immigration policy, the way local parties talk about and react to migrants in general and refugees in particular, the actions of NGOs and other organizations, the presentation in mass media, every discussion about refugees in some way defines volunteers' actions regarding the situation.

As a result of the growing intensification of migration and the refugee crisis in Europe, debates over immigrants in European countries are "omnipresent and cover everything" (Eriksen, 2014: 103). In most European countries a negative connotation of migrants grows in the dominant discourses (Ghorashi & Ponzoni, 2013; Leudar et al., 2008). In the Netherlands migrants are usually perceived as 'temporary guests', 'others', 'uncivilized and dangerous' (Ghorashi, 2005: 192). There are always several discourses within the society. Helbling (2014) studies existing frames of immigration in Austria, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the UK. He builds frame categories and finds that xenophobic statements, national traditions' discussions, and fear of 'Islamization' along with discussions on cultural openness, multiculturalism, and tolerance are present in current debates (Helbling, 2014: 24). Besides these themes questions on basic civil and political rights, economic benefits, labor, social and legal security are raised (Helbling, 2014: 25). As I said above, I believe that volunteers, who were interviewed during this research, operate within these various debates over migration and refugees. Therefore, in this chapter I want to discuss some of them.

According to Buonfino (2004), the two most prevalent discourses in societies are those that refer to economic and security issues. As a result of the blurred borders between immigration, security and terrorism, the dominant discourse in Europe turns out to be the securitization type (Buonfino, 2004: 23, 24; Gerard & Pickering, 2013: 338; Gozdecka et al., 2014: 56). Securitization discourse is strengthened by political discourse that may

intentionally overstate possible risks of immigration (Gerard & Pickering, 2013: 339), and intensified by immigration policies (Gozdecka et al., 2014: 56). Social fears, such as increase of crime and decrease of national security, led to the constitution of securitization discourse as a hegemonic one (Buonfino, 2004: 33, 34). Taking into account that dominant frames have a tendency to change over time (Caviedes, 2015), we can conclude that volunteers may vary in their opinions with regard to the hegemonic discourse present within society in real time.

Hegemonic discourse on refugee issues is shaped by multiple social actors' voices and interests, and secured by policies and norms related to refugees (Fresia, 2014: 515). For instance, The UK Refugee System, described by Phillips and Hardy (1997) and Leudar et al. (2008) as an example of the national refugee policy, determines what the refugee is, to whom this term may be ascribed, and what rights the refugees have, which, in turn, has an impact on refugee discourse. Volunteers may be influenced in their decision-making process by the debates over these policies. Gerard and Pickering (2013), for example, argue that EU policies on refugees are "blind to the lived realities". Constraint policies portray refugees as a social threat (Ghorashi, 2005: 181), and national policies may lead to secondary migration and undermine migration regulation (Brekke & Brochmann, 2014). Volunteers' opinions are formed with regard to debates on how the state applies statistical categories of ethnicity and citizenship to build boundaries within a society (Elrick & Schwartzman, 2015); or parties' shift in migration, economic and security policymaking (Schmidtke, 2015); or how the current asylum regime and citizenship policies influence refugees' everyday lives (Stewart & Mulvey, 2014); or the debates over voting rights of immigrants (Voicu & Comsa, 2014; Caramani & Grotz, 2015; Triandafyllidou, 2015). Caviedes (2015) states that economic fears regarding competition for work places, access to education, and housing benefits are part of the society. Hence, debates over issues in the labor market like the work performance of immigrants during the economic crisis and its negative influence on migrant labor (Farris, 2014), the change of European parties' positions on migrant labor (Bale, 2014), and the labor migration policy (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2014) may play a key role in volunteers' decisions.

As Musick and Wilson (1997) argue, cultural capital, volunteers' values and the degree of religiosity are connected to the degree of readiness to become a volunteer, the amount of time that people are willing to spend on volunteering, and different types of volunteering. This brings us to the importance of discussions over relations between religion and migration. Just et al. (2013) claim that due to the fact of the growth of Muslim population in Europe, questions about the place of religion in the public sphere, rights of migrants, political and gender equality, religious extremism and terrorism have raised. Debates over religion became

dominant, and Islamic religious symbols were opposed to democratic values (Gozdecka et al., 2014). This fact led to the connection of religion questions to migration policies. Some parties argued that Islamic immigrants negatively influence a host country's society, and some politicians claimed that a common religion leads to better integration (Gozdecka et al., 2014; Grosfoguel et al., 2015). Owing to this, new forms of racism emerged: Attention to race was replaced by attention to religion and cultural differences. Gozdecka et al. (2014) argue that with the shift from multiculturalism to post-multiculturalism more attention was given to such issues as gender inequality in migrants' cultures, religion, social security, racism, and human rights. Debates over migrants' values, socialization and identity, such as the fit of migrants' values to the new life settings, and the process of value socialization (Bardi et al., 2014), and the media's impact on migrant's identity construction (Beciu & Lazar, 2015) also have their influence on volunteers willingness and readiness to help refugees.

Another side of the issue that should be noted here is that refugees, contrary to migrants, are usually seen as 'helpless victims' (Ghorashi, 2005: 193), or people who suffer a lot (Leudar et al., 2008: 190). They may also be presented as being in a great danger and in need of protection (Every & Augoustinos, 2008). This side of representation of refugees, as well as government's presentation of refugees as contributors to the economy and a response to demographic issues (Schech, 2012) may call for empathy in volunteers towards refugees. On the other hand, if there is a belief that governments' help may lead to refugees becoming dependent on state support, lazy, unwilling to work, etc. (Ghorashi, 2005: 186, 193), it may deter the volunteers. As well as the view of refugees as a 'burden', a challenge for a host country, a suspicious element, as an economic and social threat, as a source of danger, as 'floods', etc. (Boswell, 2003; Schech, 2012; Kirkwood et al., 2014; Lynn & Lea, 2003; Phillips & Hardy, 1997; Leudar et al., 2008; Malloch & Stanley, 2005). Refugees are expected to "work hard, obey the law, bring valued skills" and successfully integrate in new culture (Kirkwood et al, 2014: 4). Additionally, those people who enter the country legally may be perceived as more conformed for getting government support, and those who immigrate illegally may be seen as a category that is not legitimate enough to get government help, and must be deported. However, it may be the other way around: In eyes of people, those who come illegally need more help and support since they do not have any other sources of it besides volunteers.

As we can see, debates over migration and refugees are diverse and cover almost every part of society's life. Therefore volunteers cannot stay out of these debates, and most likely their choices whether to respond to refugees or not are influenced by all these debates.

They make their decision in this context, sometimes within hostility towards refugees (Leudar et al., 2008), and their choice may depend on their position in these debates. However, I believe that this is not the only factor that defines volunteers' choices. To my mind, social capital takes a significant place in this process, and that is why the next chapter focuses on the review of studies on relations between volunteerism and social capital.

1.3. Volunteers and social capital

This chapter shows main branches of studies on volunteers and explains how social capital has been connected to volunteer practices in previous researches. The goal of this chapter is to explore what is already known about volunteers and their motivation. Additionally, I aim to discuss the studies on relation between social capital and volunteering in order to find a gap in this field and to place my research in this group of studies.

Studies on volunteering have been conducted on international, regional, country, city, and organizational levels. Some of studies were aiming to compare volunteering in different regions. For example, Voicu and Voicu (2009) did a research on volunteering in Central and Eastern Europe while paying attention to cultural and economic backgrounds of this region and comparing it to volunteering in Western Europe. They conclude that volunteering is more popular in Western-Northern countries of Europe, and connect this finding to countries' economical and cultural historical paths. Halleh Ghorashi and Robert Larruina (n.d.) explore volunteering on a country level, and examine volunteers working in asylum seeker centers in the Netherlands. Focusing on volunteers' narratives and analyzing the coping strategies they use in AZCs, the authors display how these volunteers while dealing with difficulties, conflict emotions and contextual discourse on refugees and migration in Dutch society, manage to stay optimistic in their work and show strong commitment.

Some studies on volunteerism concern volunteers' retention and turnover and pose questions about balanced management of volunteer programs in order not only to attract new people but to keep those who are in there. Lynch (2000) claims that one of the most important feelings that make volunteers to come to an organization is a sense of being part of the group. The author provides a list of factors that lead to volunteers' disconnection from an organization and, as a result, their turnover: the absence of dedicated workplace and lack of equipment, unequal distribution of information between volunteers and paid employees, closed areas at workplace or activities and benefits reserved for paid employees exclusively, lack of freedom in decision-making process and blurred boundaries of responsibilities, different rules and demands for volunteers and paid employees. Lynch claims that taking into

account volunteers' opinion regarding work procedures, validation of their work, keeping them informed about changes in an organization, giving them more freedom and ability to be creative in their job make volunteers feel valuable and come back to an organization or to volunteer practice in general. Starnes and Wymer (2001) also provide a list of strategies that ensures volunteers' retention: The authors point to the feeling of appreciation and support, being able to contribute and to express one's personality, being perceived as an equal member of a professional team, etc. Skoglund (2006), based on study of volunteer-based program in Texas, USA, concludes that volunteers' feeling of loneliness in their work, absence of professional training and possibilities to attach to the organization are the main factors of volunteers' turnover.

Researchers conducted multiple studies on volunteering aiming to understand volunteers' motivations. Mueller (1975) mentions the need for gaining prestige, belonging to the group, making new acquaintances, or even use it as a way to find a paid job or gain academic credits. Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) state that people may get involved in volunteering activities with the aim to satisfy social and psychological needs. Serow (1991) focuses his attention on students that are involved in volunteer activities, and finds that involvement of young people into volunteering can be understood through aspiration for personal affirmation and desire to overcome passive side of the student role. Snyder et al. (1996) pay attention not only the motives that drive volunteers but also to costs of some volunteer activities. The authors explore the impact of stigmatization on volunteers on example of AIDS volunteerism. They find that volunteers involved in this kind of projects are more stigmatized than others, and the potential stigmatization prevents people from getting in these projects as volunteers. Sokolowski (1996) investigates the effects of altruism, self-interest and social ties on motivation to volunteer. The study shows that the presence of social ties with nonprofit organizations leads to greater motivation to volunteer.

Curtis et al. (2001) show that religion, political system, and economic development of the country significantly influence the popularity of volunteer activities among the population. After examining 33 democratic countries the authors argue that Christian or Protestant religion coupled with democratic political system and high level of economic development lead to increasing rates of volunteering. Allison et al. (2002) compare such motives of volunteers as career, esteem, protective, social, understanding, and value. The study shows that the most important motive for volunteers is the value motive, and reveals three additional motives like enjoyment, religiosity and team building. Meier and Stutzer (2004) conclude that helping others increases individuals' well-being and this fact encourages people to continue

volunteering. Matsuba et al. (2007) find that people volunteer because it is a part of their identity. According to Bianes and Hardill (2008), volunteering can be encouraged by inability to find job because of age, disability or illnesses. Hustinx et al. (2010) argue that in spite volunteering is a personal act and thus personal motives should be considered, macro-level forces and context also have a significant impact on individual's decision to become a volunteer. Rai and Fiske (2011) claims that generation and regulation of relationships is a general motive for individuals. Van Zomeren (2014; 2015) argues that motivation for actions arises both from individualistic and collectivistic concerns, and suggests that people become activists because they are embedded in relationships that push them for actions.

As we can see, many studies that tried to reveal what drives people to become volunteers found a causal link between social capital and volunteering. Additionally to those discussed above, McPherson et al. (1992), Smith (1994), Jackson et al. (1995), Musick and Wilson (1997), Brady et al. (1999) etc. investigated the influence of social capital on volunteering. Empirical studies on social capital take a significant place among sociological researches. As Adler and Kwon (2002) mention in their review, there are various branches of studies on social capital: how it affects employment and career, how it helps to recruit new personnel, how it helps in resource exchange, how it reduces turnover among personnel and contributes to retention, and how it strengthen networks and encourages entrepreneurship. Some researchers were trying to develop an integrated theory of social capital. Adler and Kwon (2002) develop a conceptual framework of social capital to identify sources, benefits, risks and contingencies of it. They claim that social capital like any other form of capital can be expanded by investing resources in it and can bring benefits to its owner. It also can be converted to other advantages, substitute or complement other resources owned by an individual, and it needs periodical maintenance like other forms of capital. The authors conclude though that social capital is a metaphorical term since it cannot be measured in terms of input and output as can be economic capital.

Musick and Wilson (2000) study the differences in influence of human and social capitals on volunteering. The authors discover that social capital is as much important for volunteering encouragement as human capital. They also find that the lack of human capital can be compensated with social capital and this explains the presence of people with different level of education or income in volunteer community. Bryant et al. (2003) explore effects of human, social and cultural capitals on volunteering and donating. The authors discover that although human, social and cultural capitals do influence the probability of giving or volunteering, there is a difference in rates between two groups: those who were asked to do

so, and those who were not asked. Factors mentioned above had more impact on the likelihood of volunteering among those people who were not solicited. Apinunmahakul and Devlin (2008) examine how social capital in form of networks promotes private philanthropy, and conclude that public investments in libraries or open public spaces encourage networking, and latter subsequently leads to increasing volunteering and donating among population. Paik and Navarre-Jackson (2010) review the effects of bridging and bonding social capital on recruitment and volunteering. The authors conclude that bonding social capital which is gathered within a group matters when volunteers are being recruited, and bridging social capital which refers to connection between groups has more impact when volunteers look for opportunities themselves.

Many researches accentuate an impact of religion on individual's likelihood to volunteer. For example, Lam (2002) looks at different dimensions of religiosity and explores their effects on three levels of voluntary activities: membership, volunteering and serving on a committee. The study concludes that the religious affiliation in general encourages individuals' involvement in volunteer activities, although some differences in levels of volunteer engagement were detected among different religions. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) take their research away from an individual level and focus on national religious context and its impact on volunteering. They find that people in devout countries, both religious and not, are more likely to volunteer for both religious and secular causes. They also find differences in the likelihood to volunteer among different religions. Borgonovi (2008) also focuses her study on relationship between religion and volunteering. She centers her study on social context, in particular on religious pluralism and its impact on giving and volunteering. The author proves that religiosity increases the probability of involvement in volunteering for both religious and secular causes.

Another branch of studies ties up volunteering, religiosity and social capital. Becker and Dhingra (2001) extend their research on religion and volunteering to the examination of social networks and congregations. The authors conclude that religious believes themselves play little role in individual's decision to get involved into volunteering activities. What does matter, according to their study, are person's networks and membership in congregations. Brown and Ferris (2007) compare the influence of several factors on volunteering which are social capital, human capital and religion. They discover that the last two factors have less influence on volunteering when social capital is included in equations. They also conclude that age of an individual does not have significant influence on volunteer behavior, but race and ethnicity do. Forbes and Zampelli (2012) also examine in their study how social capital,

human capital and religiosity influence volunteering. On the contrary to previously discussed study, they state that education and religion have equal impact on the likelihood of volunteering as social capital. The authors also state that more diverse formal and informal social capital, higher level of religiosity and education, and lower income increase the likelihood of voluntarism. Another attempt to bond together volunteering, religion and social capital was made by Yung (2004). After an investigation of four volunteer groups in Finland the author concludes that social capital differs among groups of volunteers and religiosity affects the probability of volunteering. From this studies we can conclude that not religion itself, but accessory to religious groups, or in other words to a particular social capital, leads to higher chances of involvement in volunteer activities.

All in all, there is a broad pool of studies on volunteerism and its various characteristics. As we can see, many researches focused on exploration of volunteers' motives. They also tried to find and explain connections between different types of capital and volunteering. One of the branches of studies in this field consists of researches on relations between social capital and volunteering. As many scholars reveal what drives people to become volunteers, and how and in what degree social capital influences volunteer rates and the likelihood of volunteering, they did not focus on volunteers' choices and social capital's impact on these choices, what I do in this study. On top of that, this study takes place in the frame of crisis situation.

2. Theoretical Approach

The goal of this section is to describe the theoretical frame that was used during the research. Unlike previous section, this section focuses on main definitions and theories that were used, and main theoretical assumptions that determined the research design and setting.

2.1. Crisis

In this study we adopt a view of the situation with the refugees in Europe as a crisis. Although, we acknowledge that it is not a crisis that originated in European countries, and even if we take into account scale, scope and duration of the crisis situation in Europe, the numbers and the duration are still lower than in other countries. On the other hand, the situation in Europe in general, and in Amsterdam in particular can be called a crisis due to the fact that it causes human, material and economic damage and requires a development of new procedures to handle the situation. Therefore, we understand this situation as a crisis, but in a sense of management.

Additionally, the view of some situation or an issue as a crisis and adoption of the crisis frame by mass media, formal authorities and partly by the society contributes to the situation being a crisis (Van Buuren et al., 2014: 71). It logically follows, that it a situation is framed as a crisis, it is handled as a crisis, conforming strategies for controlling the situation are applied, and, as Van Buureen et al. (2014) state, the sense of danger and urgency is present. Hence, when in this study we discuss emergent initiatives, how they differ from established organizations, and how volunteers choose among different organizations, we must take into account that the situation with the refugees in Europe is framed as a crisis, addressed as a crisis by actors, and moreover, that we are looking at a managerial crisis.

2.2. Volunteering

This research adopts Wilson's (2000) definition of volunteering: It is any activity in which a person freely devotes his or her time to benefit another person, group or cause. I also recognize the existence of different types of volunteering. According to Bussell and Forbes (2001), all volunteer activities can be divided into two large groups: regular volunteering and volunteering in emergency situations. Help in the organization of events, charities, care about nature and the environment, help in education, healthcare, response to elderly people represent the category of regular volunteering. And all activities related to emergency situations like natural disasters or the refugee crisis in Europe, represent the second group of

volunteering. Since there are national asylum systems, national and global policies and norms on refugee issues, volunteers can perceive this problem as being under government control, and decide that their help is more needed in other issues where the government has a less clear strategy or no strategy at all. On the other hand, they might see that, despite all these norms and policies, the current refugee situation cannot be improved without their help (Hustinx et al., 2010: 351). In the first case we might have volunteers who prefer to attend regular volunteering, and in the second case volunteers who are willing to respond to refugees' needs.

Additionally, volunteering can be formal and informal (Manatschal & Freitag, 2014). Volunteers can respond to refugees by participating in programs organized by formal international organizations, such as United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC), International Rescue Committee (IRC), The Salvation Army, etc. Usually, the roles offered to volunteers are "caseworker volunteer" who helps refugees access support services and legal representatives, "support volunteer" who helps them access healthcare, clothing and local amenities, "interpreter volunteer" who helps with language and settling in to a new environment (British Red Cross, 2015). On the other hand, people may act on behalf of local, neighborhood, faith communities, or on behalf of themselves by organizing individual campaigns to help refugees. Local people cannot deal with the emergency alone, they appeal to local governments, big organizations, and private businesses that have necessary resources. However, as Gaillard and Mercer (2012) mentioned, particular tools are required for effective collaboration. It may be that the lack of this kind of tools leads to people organizing events and projects outside of formal organizations in response to the refugees.

The distinction between these types of volunteering is important for this research because I believe that volunteers representing different types have different motives, apply different strategies to get involved, perform different activities, and receive different outcomes. I assume that there are some specific characteristics that might appear as obstacles for volunteers to get involved and respond to the needs of the refugees. These might be language barriers, some unrealistic expectations both from volunteers' and from refugees' side, cultural differences and differences in traditions, e.g. traditional gender roles, differences in living skills, cultural, mental, social, economic, or other boundaries. Thus, the questions are how do people make their choices and why do they prefer one choice over another? Why some people address formal volunteer organizations and others organize individual actions or cooperate within their neighborhoods? Manatschal and Freitag (2014) suggest that choice is

related to the type of reciprocity. It may also be a case of distrust in organizational bureaucracy and hierarchy, assumptions about organizations' inefficiency and slow reactions in a situation where the fastest possible response is needed. On the other hand, people tend to organize and manage their relations and connections (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2010), and therefore they prefer to contact formal organizations. I presume that it depends on the social capital of volunteers and the social network in which they operate.

2.3. Social capital

The goal of this research is to get insights in how social capital is related to volunteering in a crisis situation. Sociologists, while studying prosocial behavior, focused on character and structure of relations among individuals, and many studies proved that reputations and relations are some of the most influential factors that encourage people to volunteer (Simpson & Willer, 2015: 44, 45). Musick and Wilson (1997) claim that volunteer work is a "collective behavior that requires social capital". In my opinion, volunteers are never, or very rarely, alone in the volunteering experience, they do not act in a social vacuum. That is why I take a relational approach to motivation that focuses on social interactions as sources of motivation, the influence of communication, knowledge, negotiation, etc. on an individual's construction of motives (see Sealey & Carter, 2004; Ushioda, 2009; Simpson & Willer, 2015). In this approach motivation emerges from human interaction in the social world. Ushioda (2009) used the term 'person-in-context', meaning that in motivation studies the focus should be both on real individuals with their background, personal characteristics, etc. and at the same time on the complex social world as a context with its interconnections.

Volunteers operate in a social network: They are connected to their friends, family, university or work colleagues, to local (neighborhood) or religious communities, to volunteer organizations, to various newspapers, brochures, social media, etc. The environment in which they operate presents the social context, and the social network they are embedded in presents their social capital (Musick & Wilson, 1997: 695). They may draw on social context and social capital while choosing volunteering activities. And it might be the case that different social capitals lead people to different choices regarding volunteer opportunities. Okun and Eisenberg (1992) suggested that people are more willing to volunteer if someone asks them to, or if they have friends or family members involved in volunteering. Social ties like friendships and organizational memberships make it more likely that the person will volunteer (Musick & Wilson, 1997: 695). I presume that people with different networks and

connections, and, hence, with different social capital will respond to different volunteer opportunities.

Pierre Bourdieu was the first one who produced a systematic analysis of social capital. He defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu, 1985: 248). In his definition social capital has two sides: relationships among individuals in a social network and resources that this network can give to individuals. In this view social capital is an instrument that individuals, first, have to acquire by building networks and making acquaintances, and second, can use in their favor to claim access to the resources. Additionally, according to Bourdieu (1985), social capital can be transferred to economic capital and can be used as last by individuals in various transactions.

I understand social capital as an individual's inclusion in a social network that gives him or her resources for different activities and opportunities to realize these resources. Following Portes (1998), in the concept of social capital we must distinguish three elements: those making claims on social capital, those agreeing to these demands, and the resources themselves that are being gained and used. In addition, Baker defined social capital as "a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests" (Baker, 1990: 619). According to that, I see volunteers claiming the ability from their social network to become a part of some activity or project. People use their friends, families, colleagues, acquaintances, etc. to get what they need, and in our case it is a place in a desirable volunteer project.

Social capital, according to Adler and Kwon (2002), provides various benefits to its owner: it facilitates access to sources of information, improves its quality and relevance; it expands control, power and influence; it bounds groups of people and enhance solidarity. For volunteers information is probably the most important benefit gained from social capital. However, alongside the benefits there are some risks of social capital as a necessity to periodically maintain ties in order to be able to get benefits which consumes time and other resources. On the other hand, social capital works not only on strong ties that require regular maintenance, but also on weak ties that do not necessarily have to be looked after as often as strong ties. What it means for volunteers is that the more they expand their social capital even with weak ties, the more source of information they have access to. Conclusions made by Paik and Navarre-Jackson (2010) make another argument for social capital being an important source of information during the search for volunteer opportunities.

On the other hand, their social capital in a way defines their claims. As it was stated above, social capital is an individual's inclusion in social network. Some particular social network has particular resources and an individual by becoming a part of this network gains these particular resources. Hence, in some way person's social capital defines his or her choices in regard of volunteering opportunities. However, individuals, as it was mentioned by Bourdieu (1985), first have to earn this social capital, so it means that they can consciously choose which way they want to expand their network, which people to include in it, and, as a result, they can choose those who have desirable resources.

All in all, I see social capital as a strong instrument that volunteers use to gain necessary resources and achieve their goals. The questions that arise here are the following: Do volunteers build their network to gain specific kind of social capital to be able to participate in particular volunteer activities? Or does the social capital through the social network of an individual defines volunteers choices of projects? In any case, I believe that social capital plays an important role in volunteers' motivation in general, and volunteer's choices among different activities in particular.

3. Methodology and methods

This section aims to explain the research design, methods that were used, and research sample to provide an overview of the methodology. The procedure of data collection and the data analysis process are also provided.

3.1. Methodology

The overall design of this project has taken a qualitative approach, meaning that it has been an explorative, interpretative research. Following Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2015), I used such ethnographic methods in order to collect data as semi-structured interviews, observations and secondary research: database reviews and analysis of documents like newspapers, conventions, reports, etc. Given to the theoretical approach, choice of methodology and the fieldwork, I was able to present the life-world perspective of the people I studied, it allowed me to reflect upon their choices and those of my own. The combination of methods allowed me to answer initial research questions, which are as follows:

What is volunteering and what are the types of it? What is already known about volunteers' motivation? What is social capital? What is crisis? What is the place of volunteers during the crisis? – To answer this group of questions I did an overview of the existing literature with such key words as volunteer, types of volunteering, crisis and disaster management, motivation of volunteers, social capital, etc.

What characteristics of the current refugee situation allow us to frame it as a crisis? – In order to answer this question I conducted literature review and complemented it with articles from newspapers and respondents opinions and descriptions of the situation. As a result, on the one hand, I have theoretical models and descriptions of crisis situations. On the other hand, I have contemporary witnesses and newspapers which described richly the current situation with refugees in Europe. Two sides combined let me answer this question.

How did volunteers' behavior change in the context of a crisis situation in Amsterdam? What distinguishes volunteering experience during the crisis situation from volunteering during 'normal' periods? – Answers to these questions aimed to describe new elements or new characteristics in volunteer experience during the crisis situation. Literature review alongside with conducted interviews allowed me to discover these new characteristics and show how volunteering during the crisis differs from regular volunteering.

How do volunteers decide where to volunteer, in what kind of activity to participate? – To answer this question I asked my respondents how they decided to volunteer in the first

place, and then why they preferred some volunteer activities over others. However, it is important to understand that for volunteers it was not always easy to express directly why they chose one project over another. On the stage of data analysis it became clear that in order to answer this question I need to combine and analyze in scope volunteers' negative and positive opinions about organizations, projects, initiatives, their structures, activities, etc.

Do they rely on volunteer organizations in this decision-making process? – To find this out, I conducted interviews with two volunteer organizations that work as recruitment agencies for refugees, VCA and Present Amsterdam. I asked them whether volunteers come to them for an advice where to volunteer or they come with specific objectives, whether they come with a certain idea in their minds or for a certain project, or they came to find any volunteer activity and expected some qualified help from these organizations.

How does the social capital of volunteers responding to the refugee crisis in Amsterdam looks like? – To evaluate volunteers' social capital and its impact on their choices, I asked my respondents about their friends, family and colleagues: whether some of the family members or friends participated in volunteer projects, and if yes, where they volunteered, in what kind of projects or campaigns; whether some of their colleagues volunteered, and where they did it; whether someone was their inspiration to volunteer.

What distinguishes volunteering response to refugees from regular volunteering in Amsterdam? – Depending on respondents' backgrounds in volunteering, I asked them why they chose the particular kind of activities, which difficulties they faced during the volunteering experience, how much time they spent on volunteering, and whether they planned to volunteer more or not.

All of the theoretical and empirical sub-questions were mentioned to help me to answer the main research question: *How can we understand the relation between different forms of volunteering and volunteers' social capital in host countries in the context of the refugee crisis?*

In terms of research site, my study design represents multi-sited ethnography. I chose to conduct my research in multiple locations with many people from various organizations, people that are spatially distant from one another but represent themselves a group of volunteers in Amsterdam. The object of my research, the volunteers in Amsterdam, is in it very sense cannot be found in one particular place. The topic I study is translocal and requires me to address different sites, and the search of the relevant sites and building a mental map is also a part of this study (Hannerz, 2003: 206; Marcus, 1995: 102). Multi-sited ethnography could lead to a problem of research depth, in other words whether it was possible to grasp

deep enough in every organization I visited or with every individual I met. However, following the arguments of Hannerz (2003: 208, 209), I was interested in studying particular sides of organizations' activities or people's lives, which in the end allowed me to build the picture of volunteering in Amsterdam with relation to the refugee crisis, so this type of research fitted its purposes.

Marcus (1995) suggests that there are few modes of construction the research setting in multi-sited ethnography: follow the people, follow the thing, follow the metaphor, follow the plot, story, or allegory, follow the biography, and follow the conflict. To approach my research sites I adopted a mode of construction "follow the activity". It is not among Marcus' (1995) modes of construction, but I feel that it describes my strategy the best. I cannot say that I followed people in a sense he writes about it: I did not follow my respondents in the other sites; neither have I followed things, metaphor, plot, biography, or conflict (Marcus, 1995: 106). What I followed was the activity, to be more precise, the volunteering activities that took place in Amsterdam. My research included different sites where the volunteers could be found, where volunteer projects or initiatives took place. I used snowballing to find more sites for observation and more people for conversations. And through the snowballing I followed active volunteer projects in Amsterdam.

Although my research took place only in Amsterdam, it still represents multi-sited ethnography because I addressed different organizations and different people for interviews and conducted observations in various places where the social situations I was interested in took place. As Hannerz (2003: 211) writes, all activities that a researcher can get involved in can be "worthwhile to be immediately present" or "isolated, and difficult to access". That is what I noticed during my fieldwork while trying to get in different organizations and projects. Some of them as RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam were very open and easy to access; others, for example, big established organizations like VluchtelingenWerk, that work with volunteers a lot and on the regular basis, were near to impossible to get in without personal connections; and other activities, like volunteering in refugee centers with Leger des Heils, were "worthwhile" and relatively easy to access.

Despite the fact that I visited different volunteer organizations, refugee centers, or just met individuals who were very much involved in this situation through various projects, these projects and individuals did not exist completely separately from each other. During the fieldwork I noticed how different individuals and organizations form some kind of network. All of them were connected in some way, and there were many connections among different actors. Individuals, with whom I had conversations or whose chats I could hear, were usually

involved in more than one project that were initially independent from each other, but had nearly the same goals: to help refugees, to manage the current situation, and to bring a relief. People connected to each other through informal networking, by using Facebook, and through such personal ties as family and close friends. As a result, I was doing my research using multi-sited ethnography but all these sites were connected to each other in one or another way. In this sense they formed some sort of a 'pool' with different individuals actively involved in the current refugee situation in Amsterdam, and I was, as a researcher, 'swimming' between different organizations, projects, and initiatives to build the story about volunteers. In the next I describe what methods I used to collect and analyze the data.

3.2. Methods

As a researcher, I have been a participant observer in various events related to refugees and volunteering in Amsterdam (i.e. volunteer projects in formal organizations and informal initiatives related to refugees). It allowed me to build a picture of volunteering in Amsterdam and to find respondents. I used snowballing to find volunteers for interviews: I searched on Facebook; I volunteered myself and met there other volunteers; and I asked for contacts in organizations.

To collect data, I began with addressing formal organizations who work with volunteers and I got in touch with big organizations like Vrijwilligers Centrale Amsterdam (VCA) and Present Amsterdam. Through my personal ties I was able to get in Wereldhuis for an open discussion where I made contacts with volunteers and in De Meevaart where I had a chance to talk to one of the employees and one of the volunteers. To observe the work of Salvation Army I signed up for volunteer shifts in one of the emergency shelters for refugees that was run by this organization, and during the shifts I was able to get in contact with employees and volunteers from that organization. I also contacted new not registered initiatives and registered foundations that aimed to help refugees but not through formal organizations. I participated as a volunteer in RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam and made contacts with few volunteers from there. Through the method of snowballing I got in touch with Gastvrij Oost and Takecarebnb. Additionally, since we worked in a research group, in the end of fieldwork we shared our interviews and observations with each other, and through this I was able to incorporate in my analysis Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA), VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN), AMS Helpt, Needs Now, and Dutch Parcels for Refugees.

I interviewed both people who represent organizations and initiatives, who are their regular members, and people who volunteer in many different organizations or participate in many different projects. I used snowballing to find relevant respondents who were involved in volunteer activities in Amsterdam. These people were male and female (however, mostly female which is explained by the fact that more women than men were involved in general), diverse age, and all had an experience in volunteering (even if they volunteered for the first time when I met them). Since I wanted to know how volunteers choose between regular volunteering and volunteering with refugees, I searched both for people who had only one kind of these two types of volunteering, and people who participated in both types. I had respondents from local people, from people who moved to Amsterdam a while ago, and from people who recently moved here, but all of them had at least one volunteer experience in Amsterdam.

Since I aimed to understand participants' experiences and motivations through their speech and narratives, the data collection in this research had an exploratory character (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003: 111). In my research I used two topic guides[1]. Both of them contained key themes and topics I wanted to address during the interviews in order to ensure some degree of the uniformity in issues coverage. However, following Arthur and Nazroo (2003), I stayed flexible and open for new topics that participants might have brought on during the conversation.

One of the topic guides was oriented on people who represent a volunteer organization or community that works with volunteers. These people were the regular members of these organizations and communities; they either did a paid-work there or voluntered on a regular basis. Another one was aimed for volunteers who may have been a regular (or not regular) member of one organization or community. Each and every interview started with short introduction of research purposes, reassurances of confidentiality and a request for participant's permission to record the conversation. An interview ended with a question about possibility to get back to the participant later via e-mail if something remains unclear or there are further questions. If we did not have enough time to cover all topics that I planned to cover, I asked for another appointment.

In each guide I had opening topics that helped me to ease participants into the interview, get them talking and make them feel comfortable. These opening topics were more descriptive and did not require a participant to analyze their experience or reflect on different

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[1] Appendix 1

kind of themes. They also provided a necessary context for events and experiences we discussed later. In the topic guide I these opening topics concerned organization's or community's history, structure, activities and projects they have there. In the topic guide II the opening topics were about participant's past experience and descriptive questions about the organization or community if they volunteered somewhere regularly.

After that I moved to more analytical questions such as volunteers' role and their general profile in the topic guide I; and participant's role in the organization in the topic guide II. Moving to more personal and explanatory questions, I asked participants to reflect upon their own or other volunteers' motivations, pictured or experienced difficulties in volunteering with the refugees, experience of searching for volunteer activities and choosing among different opportunities, the involvement of their family members or friends in volunteering. I finished interviews with asking for general thoughts about the situation or the organization they wanted to share with me.

The organization of data and analysis of collected information took place from May till June, 2016. During this period all interviews were transcribed, observation notes and all related documents were organized. Second step was to place transcribed interviews to scientific software Atlas.ti in order to code the data and start analyzing it. Throughout coding process seven code families emerged[2].

First code family is about organization: here I include quotations about activities that this organization offers to volunteers; about structure, whether people just describe the structure of the organization or talk about advantages and disadvantages of the current structure; and quotations about collaboration with other organizations or with the government. Second family includes quotes about volunteers in organizations like their age, gender, number of them, and how organizations search for or attract new volunteers. Third family is devoted to such information about volunteers as their background, or in other words where they come from, what they studied, what they do besides volunteering; then I have two groups of volunteer experiences which are "with refugees" and "other"; I also include here information about the workloads, the way they got into one or another organization, and their stories about "failing" to get into some organizations. Forth family is about social capital, so here I have quotations about volunteers' families, friends, and also I include here Facebook because people use it as a strong source of information and communication, and they expand their networks and hence social capital through Facebook. Fifth family aims to describe

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[2] Appendix 2

various types of volunteers' motivation to get engaged in one or another activity. Throughout coding process different sources of motivation were revealed: people appeal to the feeling of belongingness to the group or the event, to the improvement of their CV, to something that disturbed them or something they did not like in the current situation, to the media as a source of information, to the feeling of responsibility or obligation, to their professional, educational or other background, to something they witnessed themselves. Sixth family includes quotes that provide contextual information, and describe difficulties in being involved in activities aiming to help the refugees. Last family includes general thoughts or descriptions of the government and its' actions, established organizations (those organization that were founded and were active before summer 2015) and new initiatives (initiatives, foundations and organizations that emerged in the period starting from summer 2015 and till the end of my fieldwork, April 2016). I also added a code "opportunities" which includes people's thoughts about opportunities they had and had not to get involved in the whole situation.

Comparing the list of codes to the initial topic guide, I noticed some changes and some themes that emerged from the data. During most of the interviews with different organizations and initiatives we talked about collaboration. This topic was not in my initial topic guide, but after few interviews I noticed that it meant a lot to participants and I started myself asking them about it. Additionally, while talking about collaboration they usually gave me general thoughts about the government or other organizations and initiatives. In the end of coding in the category "general thoughts", which was in the topic guide, I combined participants' quotes about organization's history, goals, activities and projects, and participants' evaluation or critique. I also divided this category to four sub-categories which are quotes related to the government, to established organizations, to new initiatives, and some ideas about opportunities for volunteering.

In the section about volunteers and their experiences some changes also appeared. Instead of "frequency of volunteering" such theme as "workloads" appeared. I noticed that for my research the question of how much time volunteers spend for one or another activity is more relevant than of how often they volunteer in general. I split the category "search for activities" from the initial topic guide into two categories in the code list: "way in" and "failing". During the fieldwork I realized that not everyone got a chance to volunteer at places they wanted to or were planning to. For those cases I have a code "failing" which does not mean volunteers' failures but combines stories about inability to get into one or another organization.

Additionally to quotes about family and friends in the category "social capital" such sub-category as "Facebook" emerged from the interviews. I understand social capital as an individual's inclusion in a social network that gives him or her resources for different activities and opportunities to realize these resources. Facebook is a website with the assistance of which individuals build and expand their social networks, and almost every participant mentioned it while talking about the way they found out about some organization or initiative, or the way they attracted more attention and resources to their own organization or initiative. I look at Facebook in the same way as at participants' families and friends, for me it is a source and an instrument of expanding and using of the social capital. Now as the methods of collecting and analyzing the data were explained, I move on to the description of the research setting.

3.3. The research setting

As I explained in the chapter about methodology, I chose to conduct my research in multiple locations with people from various organizations, people who represent themselves a group of volunteers in Amsterdam. The collection of the ethnographic data was conducted from February till April, 2016. I used snowballing to find respondents. I began with addressing formal organizations who work with volunteers. Interviews with these organizations allowed me to collect information about formal volunteering. In the end of fieldwork, I had interviews with eight established organizations, which are as follows:

- Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA) as an example of a formal organization that involves volunteers in its activities and works with refugees;
- De Meevaart as a neighborhood community in East Amsterdam which incorporates volunteers;
- Present Amsterdam as an organization run by volunteers and is aiming to help volunteers to find projects and activities;
- Salvation Army (Leger des Heils) as an example of a volunteer organization that works with refugees;
- Taste Before You Waste (TBYW) as an organization run by volunteers;
- VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN) as an independent organization which provides legal help to refugees and involves volunteers in it;

- Vrijwilligers Centrale Amsterdam (VCA) as an example of a volunteer organization that offers various volunteer activities and works as an intermediary between volunteers and organizations;
- Wereldhuis as an example of an organization that provides counseling, education and cultural events for undocumented migrants in Amsterdam and asks for volunteers' help.

Another group of people I contacted represented what I explained above as new initiatives. This group includes people, who performed individual actions of help to refugees, or those who organized not registered initiatives, or those who formed and registered as foundations, i.e. people who help refugees but not through formal organizations. Interviews with these initiatives allowed me to research informal volunteering:

- AMS Helpt as one of the initiatives that collected donations and sent over 1 000 aid packages from Amsterdam to Lesvos;
- Dutch Parcels for Refugees as another initiative that made contact with Lesvos and organized a possibility for Dutch people to send aid packages there;
- Gastvrij Oost as a foundation that was organized in East Amsterdam in order to improve an integration of refugees in a local community;
- Needs Now as a foundation which aims to collect donations for refugees across Europe;
- RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam which is an example of a not registered initiative organized and sustained by citizens and aimed to help refugees at the Central Station;
- Takecarebnb as a foundation run by volunteers which enables temporary stays for refugees with Dutch host families.

Drabek and McEntire (2003) discuss the typology of organizations active during the disaster situation developed by Quarantelli and Dynes. This typology includes established organizations that carry out regular tasks and support old structures, expanding organizations performing regular tasks but emerging new structures, extending organizations which maintain old structures but include non-regular tasks in their activities, and emergent organizations performing non-regular tasks within new structures.

People in Amsterdam who decided to volunteer aiming specifically to help the refugees fleeing from civil war in Syria can be divided in three groups: those who got involved through such big and established organizations; those who decided to set up a

foundation (Stichting) or to become a part of it; and those who organized or participated in not registered initiatives. Organizations and initiatives that became active during the refugee crisis in Amsterdam and that were interviewed during this study can be divided into four categories discussed by Drabek and McEntire (2003): Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA), VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN), and Vrijwilligers Centrale Amsterdam (VCA) will represent established organizations; Salvation Army (Leger des Heils) will represent expanding organizations; Present Amsterdam will fall into category of extending organizations; and AMS Helpt, Dutch Parcels for Refugees, Gastvrij Oost, Needs Now, RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam, and Takecarebnb will represent emergent organizations.

Taking into account Quarantelli and Dynes typology, I divide all organizations that were studied in this research in two groups for the analysis purposes: those who were established and active in Amsterdam before summer 2015, and those who were founded or started their actions in the period from summer 2015 and till the end of my fieldwork, April 2016. One of the main incentives to divide all organizations and initiatives into these groups is to show the differences in their structures and partly in a way of working. Since new initiatives were forming and started acting in a crisis situation their structures and work procedures noticeably differ from those organizations that were established before, which will be discussed in next chapters.

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1. Structure: to have or not to have?

One of the differential characteristics consists of the way of setting up organizational goals. Big organizations like Salvation Army aim to address various groups of population and organize multiple activities to reach out their broad goal which is "*the advancement of the Christian religion… of education, the relief of poverty, and other charitable objects beneficial to society or the community of mankind as a whole*" (The Salvation Army International, 2016). Or COA which pronounce their mission to "*ensure in a professional manner that people in a vulnerable position are accommodated and supported in a safe and liveable environment in a manner that ensures that the reception of aliens remains controllable for politicians and society and enables us to give account for our acts*" (COA, 2016). In the mean time new initiatives set for themselves very specific and narrow goals. For example, Dutch Parcels for Refugees:

> We thought out a concept which was pretty simple. You just have the parcel, pack list, you fill it yourself and bring it yourself to DHL. And then people asked us like 'Well, maybe it is an idea, you will do this, or you change this, or you do that', and every time we said 'No, we are not going to do that, this is our concept and we stick to it'. (Dutch Parcels for Refugees)

New initiatives don't take upon themselves more than they can actually handle, and set up only those goals that they believe they can achieve. They also stick to what they planned to do in the very beginning. It is probably happens because of the limited resources they have, bounded authority, and not so strong reputation among the population as big established organizations that were active in Amsterdam for many years. Additionally, new initiatives border their activities to protect themselves and limit the responsibilities.

On the other hand, big organizations also aim to limit their responsibilities and do not take upon themselves those activities that are carried by other organizations. For example, that is how several organizations worked together in the emergency centers for refugees in Amsterdam:

> Actually everybody does his job. Sometimes we work together but everyone has his own issues. For the operational part it is COA because we are part of the refugee chain, and Salvation Army is not, they are responsible for the building and the situation on the ground. If the refugees have any legal question, they will be sent to VluchtelingenWerk. If they have any health problems, we say 'I cannot help you, there is GCA for that'. (COA employee)

Within all three groups there are advocates for more structural organization and for more flexible and non-regulated organization. To begin with, most of the big established organizations pronounce advantages of having set of rules, clear policy, visible chain of command and regulated working hours. This practice applies not only to the employees but also to the volunteers who decided to join these organizations. Most of the organizations have a set procedure for the recruitment of new volunteers. Some of them send a request for volunteers to other organizations like VCA or Amsterdam Cares, or to the program of the European Voluntary Service. To participate in the last one, one has to apply within a certain period of time, to collect various papers, to go through the selection process and to have few interviews.

Another example is the usual procedure one has to go through in order to become a volunteer with Salvation Army. First, call or email the coordinator, tell about preferences and availability and fill the special form. Second step is taken by the coordinator who checks with the locations if they have spots for new volunteers and makes an appointment for them. After the meeting with a new volunteer, employees at the location decide whether there is match. If there is, the coordinator prepares a contract for a new volunteer with working hours in it, and only after that a person can start coming to that location.

However, the crisis situation changed the process of accepting new volunteers for Salvation Army. Since the mayor of Amsterdam personally asked Salvation Army, the municipality and COA to collaborate, Salvation Army took over two emergency centers in Amsterdam for seven months. Immediately the coordinator of volunteers was posed in front of the big question: where to find 32 volunteers per day to manage those locations. A nonstop recruitment of new volunteers and requested unusually fast necessity to build a program led to the changes in the procedure:

> We had to do something so fast to manage it, we couldn't think about what we need for volunteers. We didn't have time to contact them, to let them come over, to talk. No, it was like 'You want to come over, please come over. We want you to come over now, not tomorrow, now'. With refugee shelters it must be fast, and we had to learn about it in process. (Salvation Army employee)

Salvation Army also had to give up on their way of tasks division:

> What you see in the refugee shelter, volunteers and employees do the same job. That's not the thing you use volunteers at the locations. They must do special, extra things for clients, they are not responsible for the basic care and clients' needs. (Salvation Army employee)

New initiatives in the first place preferred to have less internal rules and regulations in order to be able to react faster and do more, and often upbraid big organizations for having

too many rules and becoming much slower. While comparing themselves to bigger organizations these newly raised initiatives necessarily mention the absence of protocols and of strict order of doing things as their own advantage:

> There were all kind of organizations who were bigger, yet what we noticed was that they contributed very little to the aiding process. This because the larger organizations had to abide to all kind of rules, protocols and laws. (AMS Helpt)

Another shared view among all new initiatives is a genuine rejection of bureaucracy to which they usually relate paperwork, the obligation of getting permissions for acting, having written rules and regulations they have to obey:

> I think it works really well that we don't have accountability to the manager about who tells us where we go or where we shouldn't go. We just want to spend our time as efficient as possible, which means just go, just run and move. (Needs Now)

On the other hand, if you look closer, you notice that in their sense "not organized" usually means that they do not stay in the office from 8 to 17, do not ask much responsibility from their members, give them more freedom in decision-making process, and accept distanced way of working. In this way new initiatives take "the best" (in their view) parts of big organizations like division of tasks and specific goals; and leave out "the worst" like extended paperwork, strict chain of command, and set schedule for members.

These views got support from local people. Organizations with different structures and different degree of formalization attracted people with different views, different values and different background. Several respondents named it as a reason of choice in favor of new initiatives:

> Well, I am an anarchist. So for me the more grassroots initiatives are great. I think the heavy, top level organizations destroy a lot of voluntary work, and a lot of the possibilities. So for me this [new initiatives] was really very attractive. (Volunteer)

> I think that being in an organization like Red Cross that is like the world's biggest humanitarian organization, it's easy to do stuff, you can reach out a lot of people, you have a lot of support. But it's harder to be fast, because you have your regulations, your standards, your bureaucracy that you have to follow. I think that's really good with social movements like RefugeesWelcome. Like 'OK, so we see a need for this, we have to do something, we put up a Facebook page, we do it now'. (Volunteer)

Other respondents decided to join RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam because it was easier for them to get in touch with this initiative and "just to sign up and come". The easiness of entrance to one or another organization was especially important for foreigners who have just recently came to Amsterdam and wanted to become a volunteer in some project. For some

people it was important to be involved in "hands on" activities and see an immediate result of their work. To volunteer in an organization that allows doing something good right now and there was a significant matter for many people, also for students who felt powerless and captured in theories and wanted to do something "real". And others joined, for example, Gastvrij Oost because this project allowed them to complement their main job, or gave them an opportunity to grow professionally and get some work experience. For these people it was essential to be seen as a part of a professional team, to feel involved in organizing activities, to have more freedom and responsibilities.

However, volunteers also mentioned difficulties that follow such fluid and flexible structures of new initiatives. One of the respondents mentioned that it is vital for an initiative to be more organized in order to be able to raise awareness and to be more efficient:

> I just think you can get more out of being an organization, and you can do more. It's not that I need more structure when I'm there [at the Central Station with RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam]. But if you're organized, you can also talk with one voice. And it's hard to raise awareness about something if you don't. And it's also harder to reach out people. (Volunteer)

Another respondent after reflection on ways of managing resumes that young organization needs more management to work better and to be able to reach more results:

> I work as a communication trainer and I work a lot with managers, and we speak about self supporting team, you know, everybody is professional, we know how to inform each other, everything goes perfect. Then you don't need a manager. But if we cannot communicate, then we need a manager. And I think we can make it at Hoost as a self supporting, self ruling team, but we have to find out. Because sometimes there is a lack, there is no one, so we have to fill it in. (Gastvrij Oost)

Although most of the new initiatives advocate for less controlled ways of working, the bigger they grew the more structure they brought in their organizations. Those from our respondents who decided to register their initiative as a foundation indicated that they were obliged to have some elements of hierarchical order like having oversight and managing boards. And even those who did not register still have basic labor division and relatively fixed work processes. As a result, these were not only big organizations that had to adapt to the new situation. After having enormous response from the local people whether in form of donations or of volunteering, these small initiatives had to become more structured to handle everything and survive. Dividing members to the teams responsible for specific tasks became more vital, and developing sets of rules became more necessary:

> At a certain moment, because of our large amount of volunteers we had some sort of coordinators for different tasks. From there on we had fixed crew with

experienced people who were helping everyday and could teach newcomers. (RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam)

For me it was clear that if I'm gonna work with 100 refugees within two months and 100 host families, I cannot take it by day. I need to know what we are doing, and how we are doing it. (Takecarebnb)

Setting up a foundation was also used by new initiatives to gain trust among people and other organizations:

We had it done so we have an official foundation with an official bank account, just because we want to make sure that people are not afraid to pay money. (Needs Now)

What was also important was trust. People really saw that we were working hard and structured and that the donations would get to the people needing them. Our way of shipping and sorting donations and packaging made sure that the organizations already at Lesvos saw us as a partner because of our professional attitude. (AMS Helpt)

All in all, it becomes clear that big organizations that were active in Amsterdam even before the crisis situation in most cases are proclaiming the advantages of being structured. And new initiatives and foundations that set themselves up in this unstable and fast changing environment are advocating for more flexible way of organizing. However, both of them had to rethink and rearrange their ways of working in order to adapt to a new situation: established organizations had to leave out some set process of handling things, and new initiatives had to structure themselves more after growing response from the population. I believe that these different styles of organizing and eventual shifts in it had its impact on volunteers' choices as well. Because of such bureaucratic approach of big established organizations to the recruitment of new volunteers and such openness and flexibility in new initiatives, many volunteers made their choice (or had to make this choice) in favor of the lasts. I will discuss this in more details in the next chapter.

4.2. Easy comes, easy stays

As it was mentioned in a previous chapter, the recruitment procedure of new volunteers in big established organizations differs from the way new initiatives accept new members. Before the beginning of the crisis most of the organizations were recruiting through their websites, through spreading printed leaflets, or through recruiting organizations for volunteers like Vrijwilligers Centrale Amsterdam (VCA).

Big organizations like Red Cross, Salvation Army, or Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA) usually recruit volunteers directly through their websites, and usually it

requires a newcomer to complete few steps and fill in few papers. For example, to become a volunteer at COA one has to first fill in an application form that can be found on their website and must be send to COA via mail or email. The next step is for the organization to check whether there is a volunteer opportunity that matches an applicant's preferences. Then a newcomer has to complete a criminal background check. After everything is checked, a person can proceed to a volunteer orientation. Big organizations can also be stricter with the entrance requirements for new volunteers or search for people with specific backgrounds. For example, to become a volunteer at VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN) one has to speak fluent English and have a legal background in education and some qualifications to give the right support to the clients.

Some people decide to go not directly to a specific organization, but make some research of available positions and get in through a volunteer center, for example, VCA. In this case a person can check the 'vacature bank' on VCA's website which is a list of multiple available volunteer positions in the area, and apply online. He or she also has an opportunity to search for volunteer positions at the VCA's office with the assistance of one of the employees. This way is more convenient for those people who want to (or are required to) do volunteer work but not sure where to go and how to get in one or another organization.

What has changed during the crisis is that more and more people started to come to VCA asking for volunteer jobs. But they were asking not any volunteer job but for volunteer jobs related to "new refugees":

> People wanted since the crisis, since the huge exit of, you know, Syrian refugees, they wanted to work with new refugees. That's very clear because I would say 'OK, but have you looked at our opportunities, volunteer roles dealing with refugees, but they are refugees who have been here for a while?', and they said 'No no no, I want to work with new'. (VCA employee)

People were approaching VCA hoping them to be sort of a circle point for all volunteer opportunities. But they got disappointed when VCA's employees could not provide them with desired volunteer positions, and could only refer them to the website or give them an email:

> Some people were even not angry but a little bit impatient with the fact that they… 'I want to help these people in need, and how come I can't call them now and help?' So that provoked a bit of impatience or even you could say disappointment. (VCA employee)

The reason why VCA did not become a central point for all the volunteer opportunities in Amsterdam during this crisis lies not in their incompetence. Since the beginning of the burst of new initiatives a lot of people activated and got involved in it. New initiatives took

another approach to the process of recruitment of new volunteers. They did not need third parties to find enough people for their activities because there was an enormous response from the population. As a result, they did not at all or did very rarely contact VCA to place available positions on their website, and therefore VCA did not have many contacts to share with coming people.

Parallel to the formal organizations that were active for a long time in the Dutch immigration policy, new initiatives are emerging, growing and getting more attention and more people. Most of the initiatives used Facebook and 'word of mouth' as main instruments to draw new people and spread their message:

> I asked one of the members in our team to put something on Facebook. And there were already a lot of people who emailed us before that they wanted to do something. (Gastvrij Oost)

> We also started a Facebook page event, so that everybody who donated could see what we did with their donations. Also we hoped that people checking the page would donate and invite others, too. (AMS Helpt)

As it was mentioned above, most of new initiatives had enough volunteers even without recruiting them on purpose. Davis et al. (2008) argue that "organizations are the targets of, actors in, and sites for social movement activities" (Davis et al., 2008: 389). In their paper they review five themes that are located in the intertwined section of studies on organizations, movements, and markets: organizations as targets of social movements, organizations collaborating with social movements, organizations carrying social movements, organizations as manifestations of social movements, and markets as results of social movements. Additionally, as it was discussed in a literature review section, volunteers who decided to help the refugees were operating within the crisis-discourse that was adopted by local media, formal authorities, and some people in a society. As we assumed that volunteers' choices whether to participate in activities related to the refugees or not could be influenced by debates represented in a society, it is important to note that people were dealing with different opinions and different reactions coming from others on the matter of helping the refugees:

> We really have a good society over here, so I don't understand why people are not willing--well, the government first of all, is not willing to share some of that rich with others. Because I think we don't have so much space, but one thing we can offer is a lot of money. And I mean if we help in that sense, at least we show our willingness to care about the humanity. I don't like this Us vs Them. When you are with RefugeesWelcome, some of the people passing by are very friendly, and they shake your hands and they give you compliments. And another time very properly dressed business man, which look sophisticated and

educated, looks angry at you. A lot of people look angry, a lot of people were showing their dismiss somehow. I mean I know there are these right wing extremist people, but I didn't expect that so many people just walking on the Central Station would already be annoyed or look angry at you. So apparently this is very politicized topic, but more than I actually imagined. I thought it was more this like helping idea. (Volunteer)

Emergent during the refugee crisis initiatives in Amsterdam can be seen as manifestations of a social movement arguing for hospitality towards the refugees, better integration processes of the refugees into the local society, and better organization of various supporting activities. Therefore, the enormous response from local people to these emergent initiatives can be explained through social movement perspective. People were not aiming to simply help the refugees, or support the initiative for whatever reasons, or donate some goods or money. People were making a statement through participating in these projects, they were, figuratively saying, fighting for ideas behind these initiatives, they can be seen as change-makers shifting the society and its order. Additionally, Wilson (2000) argues that the roles of volunteer and social activist are social constructions, and in many cases people through participating in one activity get involved in another. In spite the fact that social activists usually aim to shift the society and volunteers center their attention on individual needs, these two roles must be seen as interrelated and only within a context one can decide to which category someone's activities belong (Wilson, 2000: 216).

The question is how people found their way in to these new organizations. There are three main channels through which new volunteers got involved in these new initiatives: through Facebook, through their friends, through doing some other activities at one of the locations and getting to know people who were involved in something else. Someone followed a Facebook page where the advertisement of an initiative popped up. Someone did the research on Facebook and bumped into few initiatives. Someone was told by their friends or colleagues about their own experience of volunteering with an initiative and was invited to join the next time. And someone simply came to one location with clothes for donation and got a chance to either speak to a member of an initiative or got motivated to search for more opportunities.

However, not everyone was able to get involved in those organizations they wanted to. It usually happened with big established organizations, which people were trying to either contact to get more info, or even applied through the website, and got a negative response or even never got any response:

I did write to Salvation Army, and they never answered me, nobody answered me. (Volunteer)

> I contacted VluchtelingenWerk few months ago, and I got an answer 'We are not able to help you'. That is the problem. (Volunteer)

> I put my name in three lists in August: with Leger des Heils, VluchtelingenWerk, and Red Cross. Because there were calls from them 'Help wanted!'. So I put my name and info in three lists, and nobody answered me. Nobody. (Volunteer)

Experienced failures with beg organizations might be one of the reasons why so many people responded to all these new initiatives. It was much easier to get involved through RefugeesWelcome by simply filling in the doodle, or through Needs Now, AMS Helpt, etc. by sending donations or coming to help to sort and pack donations. However, additional fact that stimulated so many people might be that all the activities organized by new initiatives aiming to help refugees were, so to say, "extra" activities. One did not have to be a specialist to welcome refugees at the Central Station, or have a special training to pack and send a donation; therefore it was easier for a person to step in.

To conclude, people who became active as volunteers in Amsterdam during the refugee crisis did not really care where exactly to volunteer. They chose those places and activities that were open and where they could get involved in "real action". They preferred new initiatives that could get them directly to the helping process, give tasks "hands on" and connect to actual refugees. People probably saw in new initiatives a real chance to do something and at the same time not to be tight by strict rules and regulations. They did not need to proof any skills or a specific education background, they themselves defined the level of their commitment, and they could see the result of their work 'then and there'. However, what played an important role in volunteers' choice is Facebook. In the next chapter I discuss how Facebook united and kept volunteers involved and became even richer source of social capital for volunteers than their families and friends.

4.3. United at Facebook

Social capital is an important resource for volunteers because it creates opportunities. And having opportunities to realize one's need for volunteering is crucial. Respondents who were not born in Amsterdam and came there to study or work pointed out that it was easier to get involved in volunteer activities there, and the city itself offered more opportunities comparing to their hometowns. What it meant for them is that they had to be more proactive and spend significant amount of time on searching activities in their home countries:

> I think it's something that is more into society much more in here than in my hometown, so there are less chances and you have to be more active searching

let's say. Here they come to you a bit, you know someone, they know someone [laughing] So it's like 'Ah, I'm doing this, do you want to join?' (Volunteer)

What is following this remark is that a person needs acquaintances to get involved in volunteering in Amsterdam. In other words, one can and should use social capital to search for opportunities. Especially it is important when there is no response from big established organizations and one has to look for other possibilities to become a volunteer, as it was in our case. And many respondents indicated either about their past volunteer experience or about the most recent ones that they got involved through their friends, coworkers, or family members. Many of them mentioned that in some cases they were not looking for any volunteer job at all, but it came to them through their personal ties.

However, different networks, different ties, different social capital led people to different opportunities. For example, some of our respondents had a friend who decided to set up a foundation and asked them to join, or this person contacted his / her friend when noticed news about that foundation. Another respondent indicated that she got involved in a new initiative by chance and by her connections:

Actually, with Takecarebnb my husband was asked to participate, but he didn't have time, so he knew that I would be interested and forwarded it to me saying 'Would you maybe be able to go to this meeting?' So I emailed this initiative and asked if I could come instead of my husband, and got a reply 'Oh, you're very welcome!' And that's how I got involved. (Volunteer)

Other respondents, on the other hand, indicated that the lack of connections became an obstacle. It was true for those people who were new in Amsterdam. Since they did not speak the language (Dutch), and most of the information on official websites of big organizations is in Dutch, they could not reach that information. But even if they could, they did not feel confident to apply:

But where can I go for that? And also I don't speak Dutch, and I don't speak any Arabic languages, so I don't know if refugees speak English… (Volunteer)

Or if they applied, they did not get any response from those organizations. As a result, they were using their Facebook as one of the main sources of information, and it led many of these foreign volunteers to RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam, partly because it was "so easy, you just sign up":

I searched in the Internet, and also I asked my colleague, and he told me that there is a group. He also lives in the North, so he saw volunteers at the Central Station when he took a ferry. So I searched for their page on Facebook and came to the Central Station. (Volunteer)

Volunteers' stories of various activities they did with their spouses or relatives are another way through which social capital influenced volunteers' choices. Some respondents shared stories of how they went to the Central Station to participate in RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam with their spouses or children. Others took their children to collect donations or to pack a parcel that was sent to refugees in Greece. And some of them asked their relatives if they could donate something for refugees. As it can be seen, social capital of those people, relatives of our respondents, brought them into volunteering or donating, and defined their choice among various opportunities.

As it was mentioned above, Facebook really became one of the most important sources of information and means of connection. Respondents pointed at Facebook while explaining how they found out about one or another organization. They also talked about Facebook being a source of images and news that coerced them to step in all the activities aiming to help the refugees:

> When the war broke out, I started to follow specific people in Syria on Twitter and Facebook. I also looked for information about Lesvos, and I saw all the photos on Facebook, I felt powerless, and at first I wanted just to go there. But instead we started a Facebook page about donations here. (Volunteer)

> I think social media is a very strong component of today's volunteer communities, because everybody's like 'Oh, I have a bag of children's clothes', and then immediately you get 20 likes. Or 'Oh, I brought some shampoo to…' and a reply from someone 'You are amazing, thank you so much'. You immediately feel great. Before you did the same thing and you just had to pet yourself on the back, it's not the same feeling. (Volunteer)

Most of the initiatives in the beginning of their activities addressed their personal networks, asked their friends, families and acquaintances for help. Two friends, for example, decided to found RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam, and used their network for gaining resources and people. It is not the only example, most of the new initiatives began with a group of friends or acquaintances who decided to do something. And all of them also mentioned Facebook as the easiest and the fastest way of recruiting new volunteers. Additionally, they used it to spread their message and promote themselves. Some initiatives even said that the whole organization has started as a post in Facebook, then it transformed to a page, then it got more and more followers, and as a result it became popular and successful:

> So I put on my Facebook "I'm planning to buy 100 bottle of shampoo, who wants to support me?" you know. And then a friend of mine came and brought me stuff, and other people donated money, and I just went and bought some things for refugees. (Volunteer)

> The funny thing was we did not know how successful our initiative would be.
> So it started with a Facebook page, and I think the first day we had 700 likes,
> which was good. And after three days I think it was about 2300. So it was really
> going sky high, and I think the first Saturday the website of DHL collapsed.
> (Dutch Parcels for Refugees)

Volunteers told stories about various donations actions that were simply Facebook pages with some information about goods they are collecting and addresses where to bring them. Many of them mentioned a group "Wat is nodig vool vluchtelingenopvang div lokaties Amsterdam?" as a central group of all activities happening in Amsterdam and aiming to help the refugees. As we can see, people got activated and used Facebook to either find opportunities to get involved, or to spread the message about their organization and activities.

In conclusion, it is not surprising that Facebook served as a main platform of connecting people in Amsterdam who wanted to do something for refugees. Nowadays, when the Internet and social networks are integral parts of daily life, it seems natural and logical that new initiatives used Facebook to boost their ideas and recruit new members. People in Amsterdam appeared to be united in the network aiming to help the refugees and what they can to relief the stress. Facebook made it possible to build new ties and accumulate social capital that allowed many volunteers to get access to the information about various activities happening in Amsterdam. We can also conclude that social capital made its influence on volunteers' choices through Facebook. Since people were connected to different groups they got involved in different activities; since people were connected to their networks of friends and acquaintances on Facebook they received information about different organizations. As a result, volunteers were using their social capital to find their way in to different organizations; new initiatives were using social capital to draw on new members and to spread their message; and social capital itself in some way defined volunteers' choices among various opportunities. As it is true that a lot of people got involved, it is true that everyone had his / her own motivation to get involved in the first place, which I discuss in the next chapter.

4.4. What goes around comes around

A lot of people got involved in various activities aiming to help the refugees in Amsterdam. Besides general willingness to help others, they all had their own reasons to become a volunteer. In this chapter I present several motives that moved volunteers to step in various activities.

One of the reasons that were pronounced by many volunteers and volunteer organizations' employees (although not the most popular one) was media in all its variations.

People mentioned television and social media as main resources of images and "horrible news":

> The television all over the world let see that people are coming to Europe, are coming over to the Netherlands. So everyone expected a group of people coming here, and that's the reason that people wanted to help. (Salvation Army employee)

> There is only an image in the newspaper, one photo, and that is about it. And I think all the social media really helped me to realize that there really was a problem. (Volunteer)

However they also mentioned that media show only one side of a problem, and they could learn more while talking to people from their network, for example. Many people also faced the problem in the real world. Some went to the refugee shelters with donations and was faced with such conditions that motivated them to do something about them:

> I came there just to bring clothes, and then I saw there was nothing there. No books, no shop, no classes, nothing, nothing to do. The refugees were just hanging around, and these children out there in the street. I was totally shocked [laughing] So I speak Moroccan and Arabic, so when I heard people were starting to give Dutch classes, I just went there. (Volunteer)

Some of volunteers were in Syria a while ago, or were just following pages on Facebook or Twitter related to Syrians, so they were seeing the news and were especially connected to them because of their past experience. Others experienced something on their vacations in Greece, Turkey or Budapest, or heard stories from local people at those areas.

> I was in Turkey, in a small place which is across the border from Greece. So we sat on the beach, and one of our friends who lived there told us that there had been a boat that shore on the beach with six people alive and three people dead. And not long ago again on the same beach 30 people washed upon the shore dead. And also our friend from Turkey told us that in August there were people sleeping in the streets, waiting until they could go to Greece. Then I realized this is gonna be big. (Volunteer)

One of the most popular motives pronounced by volunteers was those that represented some discontent with the current situation. Respondents mentioned a recent cut of well-fare state and the coming understanding that they will need to care about their society themselves. They mentioned negative reactions on refugees from some people and political groups, and since they did not support their views, they were trying to show the exact opposite of what those groups were saying or doing:

> We wanted to show the world, or Amsterdam then, that you can accept people who fled their own country in a different way. (Takecarebnb)

Those who initiated something for refugees or got involved in some foundation aiming to help them, usually appeal to the gap of activities and the lack of infrastructure. Since the procedure of asylum seeking takes refugees months, and they have a right for bread, bed and bath only, there are almost none or very little activities organized for them. Thanks to this long waiting time, these gaps in procedure, on the other hand, there are plenty of possibilities for volunteers and initiatives to step in:

> We saw a lack of activities there, and for me it was a strange and unacceptable situation to see that. So what's next, you know, they cannot organize it, and we just bring it in. (Volunteer)

Besides those who faced problematic situations in the reality and not only in the media and those who expressed discontent with government's and other organizations' activities, there are those volunteers who got activated because of their personal background. A lot of former refugees either organized initiatives, or participated in activities organized by others. These were Dutch foreign people, i.e. who came in the Netherlands a while ago, most of them also as refugees, got their papers and stayed to live in Amsterdam. In RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam a lot of young Afghani and Turkish people got involved, who came to the country as children. Moroccan, Algerian, Eritrean, Iranian, Iraqi, etc. people became active during this refugee crisis because they remembered their experiences from the past, or they heard stories from their parents or grandparents, so they knew who it is to be a refugee and wanted to help these newcomers:

> We are just two Moroccan boys from Amsterdam East who came with the idea to do something. (RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam)

> I lived in a refugee center for 11 months, and I remember how isolated you feel living there and just waiting for restart. And I also remember that it helped us a lot when we got our own house that some neighbors were willing to do nice stuff for us. (Volunteer)

But even Dutch people referred to their past. Some of them mentioned their parents being refugees; others mentioned their grandparents actively helping during the Second World War to Jewish people:

> All Dutch who wanted to be a host family refer to Second World War, how their parents have been involved in either hosting refugees, or were refugees. (Takecarebnb)

It is also professional or educational background that motivated some volunteers to get involved in projects aiming to help refugees. Most of the young people involved are students studying in the field in some way related to society focused studies, human rights, politics, migration etc. Some people who participated in an organization of Dutch lessons were

teaching Dutch in the 80s to the labor migrants, and some of them spoke Moroccan and Arabic. And some people got involved because of their professional qualifications like having an experience in organizing educational programs for adults. Or because of inability to do whatever they want to do at their work because of all the restrictions, rules and chain of command, and they did not have to ask anyone's permission to start an initiative. On the other hand, there were few cases when (mostly) young people, students and recent graduates who were trying to gain some wok experience while helping the refugees.

A lot of people also appealed to the feeling of belongingness to the group as a motivator to participate in refugees related projects. People used such words as "family", "cozy", "feel important", "happiness", "friendship", "warmth", "love" to describe their experience in volunteering with various new initiatives and organizations. This desire to be relevant, to be part of the group, to contribute, to stand on the side of helpers and have a right to say "I helped the refugees" was a real motive for many people to step in. Another strong emotion that moved many people was responsibility or even obligation to help. Some people referred to religion and the need to help other people as one of the values. Others again referred to their past refugee experience. And some were imagining themselves on refugees places and realized that they could be them and would need their help. Some volunteers also appealed to the scale of the situation as a strong motivator to pet effort in projects:

> Because the problems of the refugees are so much bigger than my job so I feel
> much more involved. We are not important, they are important. (Volunteer)

Most of the people used the word "obligation" to explain why they decided to participate in one or another activity. Some volunteers felt their responsibility to help the refugees because of the understanding that they are currently in a better life situation and they have a chance and time to help those who are in need:

> The question really just becomes how, which way I can contribute the best. You
> feel the need to contribute not because you feel that it's not done enough, or not
> because the government is failing, but more because at some point you are in a
> position when you can give something back. (Volunteer)

To conclude, we can distinguish eight groups of main reasons which volunteers mentioned as their motivations and which are partly in line with six functions described by Clary at al. (1998). The authors distinguish six functions of volunteering: express humanitarian concerns, use knowledge and practice skills, engage with friends, prepare for a career or improve it, overcome the feeling of the guilt over being in better situation, enhance personal growth and self-esteem. These functions may be seen as six groups of motives that drive volunteers. In our case as main motives were pronounced media, professional or

educational background, witnessing problems on the spot, experiencing discontent with the current situation, remembering past personal experience or family stories, contributing to their CV and work experience, desiring to be a part of something, and feeling responsibility and obligation. Although volunteers were motivated to help the refugees, it was not always easy and smooth. In the next chapter I discuss what exactly volunteers usually did, how much they spent on it, and what difficulties they experienced.

4.5. Nobody said it was easy

As it was said before, various organizations in Amsterdam aimed to help coming refugees and drew on volunteers to reach this goal. But what kinds of activities were offered to local people? What did volunteers actually do? During our observations, we found that there were four groups of activities offered to volunteers who wanted to help the refugees: donating, teaching the language, meeting at the Central Station, facilitating refugees.

Probably one of the most popular ways of helping was through donations. Among the organizations we observed in our study AMS Helpt, Dutch Parcels for Refugees, Needs Now, and RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam focused on organizing donation actions. People were donating money and all kinds of goods: food, blankets, clothes, sleeping gear, hygiene items, first aid kits, etc. One could transfer the money and support the collection of goods as Needs Now offered, one could bring goods to collection points, or one could send the item mentioned in a list provided by Dutch Parcels for Refugees to refugees outside the Netherlands. Besides this, new initiatives drew on volunteers to sort, package, and load the donations to trucks as AMS Helpt did. Additionally to that many donation actions were organized by individuals, for example:

> I was in another group, and they asked, 'Please, fill up a bag of toilet treats, because we want to send it to Greece'. I did it with my daughter, and then I looked online where do I have to bring it. So there was this address, I went there by bike to bring my two bags with toilet treats. And it was Moroccan shop, and behind the counter were three boys. And I said, 'Am I here really to give women toilet treats?' And he said, 'It's amazing, my whole cellar is full, the garden is full. We thought we would go with one truck, but now we will go already with two trucks'. (Volunteer)

Another activity volunteers got involved in aiming to help the refugees was teaching them languages, either English or Dutch. Few organizations organized formal lessons drawing on volunteers to be teachers. For example, Gastvrij Oost organized Dutch lessons three times a week on three different levels, which means they have at least nine teachers who do this on voluntary basis. Additionally to that, they organized conversation lessons as a complementary

practice for the refugees, and these lessons involve at least 40 volunteers. However, people were giving lessons even if they were not part of some organization. Individuals who volunteered with Salvation Army at emergency centers were practicing or teaching languages during their shift in, so to call, free time. Besides, various groups were organized on Facebook where people offered their help to the refugees with learning languages, one of the biggest is Refugee Start Force.

The activity organized by RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam stands aside the others. This group of volunteers was working in shifts seven days a week at the Central Stations to meet coming by trains refugees. Volunteers were standing at the platforms wearing orange jackets and holding signs saying "Refugees Welcome!". Participants were helping the refugees who approached them by providing them with some tea, snacks and blankets at the Central Station; walking them to De Regenboog center where they could get clothes, take a shower, eat and stay for a night; and were supporting them by talking, listening and answering questions.

And another kind of activities was focused on facilitating. Salvation Army asked volunteers to serve dinner, run shop and laundry, and maintain order and cleanliness at the kitchen and the dining room. In Gastvrij Oost volunteers could get involved in cooking, construction work, fixing bikes, and other occasionally organized activities. This organization also drew on volunteers' help to maintain website, organize promotions, and coordinate other volunteers. Volunteers working with VluchtelingenWerk Nederland were asked to provide legal help and advice to refugees. And people who decided to become matchmakers in Takecarebnb were organizing meetings between host families and refugees and supporting them through the whole process of moving in together.

However, it was not always easy for volunteers to perform these activities. Our respondents noted several difficulties they met while participating in different projects. They did not call language to be a barrier between them and the refugees, but they did mention that sometimes they had to work harder because of the language and cultural differences:

> It's tiring because you need to put double energy for everything, because you have to be so understanding and patient. And there are a lot of things that don't follow the path you are used to follow. So continuously it's let's say a work of patient and just say 'OK, it's just different, and it doesn't bother me'. (Volunteer)

> There are some refugees as well who are quite arrogant, and they say 'Oh, no, I don't want lessons at Gastvrij Oost, because they are amateurs, I need professionals'. They don't say it in this way, but they mean it in this way. So it's not only organizing lessons, but as well dealing with difficult people who live in the house. (Gastvrij Oost)

Founders of new initiatives or coordinators of volunteers also revealed some problematic sides of their work:

> A lot of refugees asked legal advice, and that we cannot give because we just don't know and we had to communicate that to our volunteers, not to say things if they were not sure about them. Especially legal advice. (RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam)

They also mentioned difficulties in work with volunteers, and that for refugees it was not easy either:

> There are people that are very difficult. Like they want a lot of attention, or they are going to behave like a mother. One refugee told me, 'She is taking me to the park, and she wants to see me every day, and…' It's just too much. And because it's volunteers, they [refugees] hesitate to say 'No, I don't need you, I don't want you, bye bye', you know. And it's also not the way you behave in Syria, I think, because it's like a present. (Gastvrij Oost)

Besides the language and cultural differences volunteers mentioned difficulties related to personal conditions. People said that they were noticing sometimes signs of depression or melancholy in refugees and they did not know how to react because they did not want to offend other people by intervening in personal space. Or they started to act automatically and treat every person the same, without personal approach, and refugees themselves pointed on it:

> One day a man came to me and asked me something, and I was a walking cassette tape, I told him what I tell every refugee. He then said 'Whoa, wait a minute, how do you know that this is the best thing for me to do?' (RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam)

Another part of volunteering during the crisis that required extra efforts from volunteers' side are workloads. As it was discussed in the chapter about initiatives' structures, working hours for volunteers remained flexible and open for discussion. However, almost all respondents who participated in new initiatives indicated that they stayed for extra hours and spend extra time to get work done. For example, those who volunteered with Salvation Army in emergency centers worked in shifts, each one of them lasted eight hours, and coordinators stated that there is group of people who come to volunteer regularly which is usually once or twice a week, and others once a month or rarely. Those who got involved in new initiatives, and especially those who participated in organizing, spend a lot more time:

> It's two full time jobs for me. And it's not sustainable at all. I worked 80-100 hours per week. I realize sometimes that I work two-three o'clock in the morning for the refugees and I forget about my own work. (Gastvrij Oost)

It was not always easy on a personal level, but for new initiatives it was not always easy on organizational level either. As it was discussed in literature review and theoretical

frame sections, collaboration is usually a key to a successful crisis management. Here I discuss how initiatives and established organizations cooperated with each other, with the government and with businesses. Many initiatives stated that they did not get much attention from the government:

> At a certain moment we did ask the authorities if it was possible to provide us with space where we could store our donations, but they refused to help. After that I went to my employer at NS to ask them if it was possible to arrange storage space at Amsterdam Central Station, they also refused to help us. Thus we just continued in doing things as we do and not to rely on authorities or formal organizations. At a certain moment we lost hope in the authorities. (RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam)

On the other hand, they were able to cooperate with corporations. AMS Helpt, for example, cooperated with Praxis that provided them with moving boxes, Bagels&Beans that helped to find transport, Tony Chocolonely that sponsored the transportation operation, Teti Foundations that helped to maintain initiative's financial affairs. Cooperation with other organizations did not end in the Netherlands, and when AMS Helpt arrived to Lesvos with all donations, they got in touch with Stichting Bootvluchteling, Het Noorse Drapen i Havet, and Starfish Foundation. Gastvrij Oost cooperated with De Meevaart and other neighborhood communities in Amsterdam to attract people and to set up the initiative. They also got in contact with the Hogeschool can Amsterdam, the AUC, and the UAF to explore the possibilities for refugees to begin or continue their studies in Amsterdam. Takecarebnb cooperated with "Ik ben een gastgezin voor een vluchteling" and Vluchtelingen Welcom. Dutch Parcels for Refugees collaborated with Salvation Army, Starfish Foundation and Stichting Bootvluchteling on Lesvos for consultations about the situation on a island, and DHL. RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam worked together with De Regenboog and Red Cross. As we can see, new initiatives actively acquired help and resources from other initiatives, big organizations or corporations.

All in all, we observed that despite all the difficulties volunteers and founders of initiatives stayed highly motivated. How can we explain that? Drabek and McEntire (2003) claim that multiple studies reveal that volunteers devote bigger amount of time and energy to the activities that represent shared values. Therefore, right motivation can overcome stress, extra working hours, ambiguity and other difficulties in volunteer work. As one of the volunteers said "We know that we have to do this for the refugees. We are not important, they are important. So you have to find a way."

Discussion and Conclusion

In literature review and theoretical frame section we extendedly discuss what is known about social capital, volunteering, what types of volunteering exist, what we know about volunteers' motivation, crises, and what place volunteers take during a crisis situation. The question that arose from that review and became the main question of this research is:

How can we understand the relation between different forms of volunteering and volunteers' social capital in the host country the Netherlands in the context of the refugee crisis?

In order to answer this question we conducted an ethnographic research in Amsterdam. This research took an approach of multi-sited ethnography, and overall design of a project has taken a qualitative approach. The collection of the data took place from February till April, 2016, and a method of snowballing was used to find respondents. Semi-structured interviews, observations, and secondary research like database reviews and analysis of newspapers, conventions, reports, etc. were used as main methods to collect the data.

We included people who had long experience in volunteering, whether through formal organizations or informal projects; people who were involved in it professionally like NGOs' members; people who were new to Amsterdam and its opportunities in volunteering; people who were involved in activities related to refugees for a long time, and people who got involved only recently as our respondents. Such organizations and initiatives as Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA), Salvation Army (Leger des Heils), VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN), Present Amsterdam, Vrijwilligers Centrale Amsterdam (VCA), De Meevaart, Wereldhuis, AMS Helpt, Dutch Parcels for Refugees, Gastvrij Oost, Needs Now, RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam, and Takecarebnb were addressed to collect data. It allowed us to have different perspectives on the same situation and notice various nuances.

The organization and analysis of collected information took place from May till June, 2016. During this period all interviews were transcribed, observation notes and all related documents were organized. Second step was to place transcribed interviews to scientific software Atlas.ti in order to code the data and start analyzing it.

During the research we were aiming to answer such questions as:

How did volunteers' behavior change in the context of a crisis situation in Amsterdam?

What distinguishes volunteering experience during the crisis situation from volunteering during 'normal' periods?

How do volunteers decide where to volunteer, in what kind of activity to participate?

Do they rely on volunteer organizations in this decision-making process?

How does the social capital of volunteers responding to the refugee crisis in Amsterdam looks like?

What distinguishes volunteering response to refugees from regular volunteering in Amsterdam?

In this section main findings and discussion of our research are summarized and presented. To begin with, we found that all organizations we studied in Amsterdam that became active during the refugee crisis in Amsterdam can be divided into four categories discussed by Drabek and McEntire (2003): Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers (COA), VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN), and Vrijwilligers Centrale Amsterdam (VCA) will represent established organizations; Salvation Army (Leger des Heils) will represent expanding organizations; Present Amsterdam will fall into category of extending organizations; and AMS Helpt, Dutch Parcels for Refugees, Gastvrij Oost, Needs Now, RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam, and Takecarebnb will represent emergent organizations. For analysis purposes we combined all studied organizations in two groups: established organizations that were established and active in Amsterdam before summer 2015, and emergent (or new) initiatives that were founded or started their actions in the period from summer 2015 and till the end of my fieldwork, April 2016. Since the typology discussed by Drabek and McEntire (2003) is based on differences in structures and tasks, and our division is based on this typology, we find that new initiatives and established organizations noticeably differed in their structures and work procedures.

The data shows that established organizations in most cases were proclaiming the advantages of being structured, while emergent initiatives were advocating for more flexible way of organizing. According to Majchrzak et al. (2007), fleeting membership, dispersed leadership, unclear boundaries, and unstable task definitions characterize emergent organizations. Our data partly conforms to this statement. We found that fleeting membership and dispersed leadership are indeed the characteristics of emergent initiatives. However, our research shows that new initiatives that emerged in Amsterdam during the refugee crisis clearly bordered themselves and their tasks. We also observed that some established

organizations due to crisis had to change some set process of handling things and adapt to new situation.

We find that different styles of organizing played their role in volunteers' choce: Because of more bureaucratic approach of established organizations to the recruitment procedure and openness and flexibility of new initiatives, many volunteers made their choice in favor of the lasts. Fox (2006), Mellow (2007), Haski-Leventhal and Bar-Gal (2008) described how volunteers have to deal with bureaucracy in volunteer organizations, and Tang et al. (2010) showed that rigid structure, lack of training, and lack of social recognition lead to volunteers turnover. Same logic may be applied to volunteers' choices in which project to get involved in the first place. According to Dynes (1994), organizations that operate within a command and control model experience difficulties in drawing on volunteers during; it happens because of their rigid rank and authority structure that do not allow incorporating new members easily. Our study shows somewhat similar results: We observed that many respondents chose those places and activities that were open and where they could get involved in "real action". People preferred new initiatives that could get them directly to the helping process, give tasks "hands on" and connect to actual refugees. They probably saw in new initiatives a real chance to do something and at the same time not to be tight by strict rules and regulations.

On the other hand, in our study we also observed that some people who wanted to get involved as a volunteer could not reach some big established organizations during the crisis situation. According to Drabek (2002) and Fernandez (2002), unprepared organization cannot efficiently incorporate increasing number of volunteers during the disaster or crisis situation, and as a consequence they have to refuse most of the new volunteers. As the situation developed quite fast and many people responded to it with a desire to become volunteers, big organizations that work with refugees in Amsterdam were swamped by new volunteers. As a result, individuals who did not get response from those organizations and could not get involved through them moved their attention to new, emergent initiatives. Fernandez (2002) finds that developing and incorporating the systematic catalogue of volunteers who can be called during the emergency situation could solve the problem.

However, despite the fact that many volunteers during the refugee crisis preferred the participation in activities organized by emergent initiatives because of their openness and easiness in access, such formal organizations as Salvation Army did not have problems of recruiting either. This phenomenon can be explained by the situation itself: Fernandez (2002), Simo and Bies (2007), Tierney (1994), and others stated that new initiatives and organizations

aiming to lower the stress of the situation actively appear during disasters or crisis. This is exactly what we observed during our research: Many local people in Amsterdam either initiated or supported projects aiming to help the refugees.

Additionally to this, increasing volunteering in our case can be explained through social movement perspective. Wilson (2000) stated that volunteering and social movements have to be studied together. And as it was discussed in a literature review section, debates over migration and refugees represent the broader context in which volunteers operate. As local media and formal authorities adopted the vision of the situation as a crisis, people who decided to involve as volunteers were operating within this discourse. As shown in data presentation and analysis section, they were dealing with different opinions represented in a society and different reactions coming from local people on the matter of helping the refugees. Our data shows that emergent organizations served as a setting for social movement, and people were not simply participating in volunteering projects aiming to help the refugees, they were making a statement and fighting for ideas behind these new initiatives.

High rates of volunteering in the Netherlands in general and increasing volunteering rates in response to the refugee crisis in particular can also be explained by economy and culture. As Inglehart (2003) states, volunteering rates have to do with economic development and cultural features. The author describes two cultural dimensions: First dimension considers shift from traditional to secular-rational values; second dimension regards shift from survival to self-expression values. Inglehart states that societies with secular-rational values do not emphasize the importance of authority, absolute moral and sexual standards and traditional family values; and societies with self-expression values move away from materialist values, intolerance, and gender inequality to higher levels of trust and subjective well-being. The author found that shift from survival values to self-expression values leads to higher volunteering rates. According to the findings, the Netherlands expresses secular-rational and self-expression values on a high level. As a result, volunteering rates in this country are high: on 2008 about 72% of the Dutch population volunteered (GHK - ICF International, 2010), and it is not surprising that we observed an enormous response in form of volunteering to the refugee crisis from the population.

Our study cannot prove statistically whether more women or men got involved as volunteers in different activities in Amsterdam during the refugee crisis. Einholf's (2011) findings suggest that women are more motivated to help others, since they are involved in informal helping and housework, are more likely to work part-time, and have broader social networks. However, men have more income, more education, and as a result more resources

to donate or volunteer. The author states that the percentage of men and women depends on the type of organizations. In our study, we observed the presence of more women in such organizations as Salvation Army, Takecarebnb, and Gastvrij Oost. In RefugeesWelcome Amsterdam, on the other hand, from our observation, it seems to be equally men and women involved. It can be explained by Norris and Inglehart's (2006) findings that men and women are equally involved in civic rights organizations. We can assume from our data that gender may influence people's choices among different activities. We observed that more women got involved in such activities as teaching, providing psychological support, or facilitating crisis centers, and more men got involved in organizing and managing activities, although we cannot prove it statistically. Thus, more research is needed on relation of gender to the choice of volunteering activity during the crisis situation.

Many scholars proved empirically that individuals learn about volunteer opportunities mainly through their friends and acquaintances (Musick & Wilson, 1998: 802). Majchrzak and More (2010) claim that social media platforms additionally to the distribution of the information encourage people to contribute to this process and to take an action. This is exactly what we observed: Facebook served as a main platform of connecting people in Amsterdam who wanted to do something for refugees. Facebook gave people an opportunity to build new ties and accumulate social capital, and that allowed many volunteers to get access to the information about various activities happening in Amsterdam. Volunteers used their social capital to find their way in to different organizations; and new initiatives used social capital to draw on new members and to spread their message. We can also conclude that social capital itself in some way defined volunteers' choices among various opportunities, since people were connected to different groups and networks of friends and acquaintances and as result received information about different organizations.

As we showed in our literature review, different scholars found different explanations of volunteers' motivations. For example, Wilhelm and Bekkers (2010) find that empathy serves as a motive for volunteering only when it is supported by a feeling of obligation. Wilson (2012) states that in some cases volunteering is boosted more by a desire to be included, to belong to community than by a desire to provide help. Nichols and Ralston (2011) observe that volunteering is related to employment in a way of gaining useful for further career experiences or contacts, or as a way to compensate discontent with current employment. Our respondents pronounced media, professional or educational background, witnessing problems on the spot, experiencing discontent with the current situation, remembering past personal experience or family stories, contributing to their CV and work

experience, desiring to be a part of something, and feeling responsibility and obligation as main motives that moved them to engage as volunteers during the refugee crisis. We also found that despite all the difficulties volunteers and founders of initiatives stayed highly motivated. As Drabek and McEntire (2003) claim, volunteers devote bigger amount of time and energy to the activities that represent shared values. Therefore, right motivation can overcome stress, extra working hours, ambiguity and other difficulties in volunteer work, and this is what we observed during our research.

Many scholars acknowledged that collaboration between different parties during the crisis or disaster situation is a key to a successful management and fast and efficient relief. Although, many of the new initiatives stated that they did not get much attention from the government, they were actively acquiring help and resources from other initiatives, big organizations or corporations. We cannot say for sure what moved such organizations like Bagels&Beans and Tony Chocolonely to support new initiatives in forms of donations or discounts and reduced fares. However, we can assume that it was what Austin (2000) calls "charitable syndrome". The author states that collaboration between business and non-profit sectors happens on three different stages. On the very first stage some non-profit organization or initiatives simply asks any corporate organization to donate money or goods or to reduce prices. While nonprofits are those who initiate the collaboration, corporations respond positively to such requests because it sees these activities as peripheral and not interfering with its core business. Our data does not provide an empirical evidence on this matter since it was not the goal of our research, it should be studied in further researches though.

All in all, the study shows that established organizations in host countries that have as a main goal or as a part of their mission to bring relief and to respond to the displacement of population usually provide: safe water and basic sanitation; emergency medical care and basic health services; temporary shelter; distribution of food and other urgently needed items. Emergent initiatives in the mean time set up projects that provide extra help and extra activities for refugees. As Wilson (2000) argues, "volunteerism is typically proactive rather than reactive, and entails some commitment of time and effort". And we observed it in Amsterdam: a lot of people decided to volunteer aiming to help the refugees and stayed highly motivated in spite various difficulties. We saw that people involved in various activities ranging from meeting the refugees at the Central Station to teaching them and practicing languages with them, and proclaimed various motives from contributing to their CV to the feeling of obligation that drove them. We also observed that Facebook played an

important role in volunteers' choices among different activities, and found that emergent organizations served as a setting for a social movement.

There are few limitations of this study, chosen methodology approach and methods which I discuss in methodological part. Firstly, chosen method of research setting design, multi-sited ethnography, could lead to a problem of research depth. This approach can result in surface observations, in contrast to single-sited ethnography. However, following Hannerz (2003: 208, 209), I was studying particular sides of organizations and people's lives, and in the end I had a picture of volunteering in Amsterdam in context of the refugee crisis. This type of research fitted the purposes of the study. Secondly, using exploratory data collection could lead to shifts in research course. But since I aimed to understand participants' experiences and motivations through their speech and narratives, it was important to stay flexible and open for new topics that participants may bring (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003). Thirdly, the interviews were conducted in English, which is a second language for both the interviewer and participants. Sometimes it took more time to come to understanding, and for participants it was not always easy to reason in a second language. Lastly, this study covers volunteers in one city only, in Amsterdam, hence cultural characteristics could lead to specific findings.

There are several elements and unanswered questions that can be investigated in future researches. For example, this research took place in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The findings describe the situation and show volunteers' and organizations' behavior, opinions, and choices in that city. Further investigation of the place of volunteers' during the refugee crisis situation in other settings can help to provide the broader view and, moreover, develop the effective model of the incorporation of volunteers in crisis relief activities.

Another side of the refugee crisis that can be studied in future researches is the way people perceive the refugees. Do people look at the refugees as resources and a contribution to the local community, as cost bringers, or as traumatized people who need help and support? The answer to this question may define the way local people treat the refugees, the way the whole society responds to the crisis situation, and can give another explanation to the increasing number of volunteers during the crisis.

Volunteers in Amsterdam pronounced various reasons and motives that moved them to get involved in projects helping the refugees. Some of them named, so to say, self-oriented motivations like improving their CV, complementing regular job activities, desire to feel attached to the group of people, or experiencing discontent with what they observed in news or in Amsterdam. Others pointed out others-oriented motivations like feeling obliged to help

the refugees or responsible for them, or witnessing something, or feeling bounded to the refugees due to their background. The question that arises here is where the border between self and other is, and how volunteers define it and combine these two sides. In other words, did volunteers get engage in activities that help the refugees for the sake of others or themselves? Additionally, following our respondents' comments on obligation, where do people see their responsibility lies?

In conclusion, this research gives insights on how volunteers make their choices among different volunteer opportunities and what role social capital plays in volunteers' decisions in the context of the refugee crisis. We were able to answer our research questions and to discuss what distinguishes volunteer experience in the host country the Netherlands in the crisis situation. This study expands the theoretical and empirical knowledge in the field of volunteers' studies, shows social capital relation to volunteerism, and discusses the place of volunteers during the crisis situation.

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Appendix 1. Topic guides

Topic guide I. Representatives of organizations / communities

- Organization / community
  - History
  - Structure
  - Activities and projects
- Participant's role in this organization / community
  - Volunteer or paid-work
  - Time period here
  - How they found out about it
  - General thoughts about organization / community
- Volunteers in this organization / community
  - The approximate number of volunteers
  - Activities for them
  - General profile
- Newcomers
  - How they look for volunteers or how volunteers find them
  - Thoughts about volunteers' motivations
- Volunteer experience (if applicable)
  - First experience in volunteering
  - Projects / activities they took part in
  - Frequency of volunteering
- Motivation and choices of the participant (if applicable)
  - Motivation for the first time and further volunteering
  - Search for activities
  - Choice among different activities
- Volunteering with refugees (if applicable)
  - Participant's experience of work with refugees
  - Differences from other projects / difficulties
- Friends and family (if applicable)
  - Whether some of their friends or family members volunteer
  - The usage of their network
  - General thoughts about current situation with refugees

Topic guide II. Volunteers

- Volunteer experience
  - First experience in volunteering
  - Projects / activities they took part in
  - Frequency of volunteering
  - Long-term or one-time

- Organization / community (if they are a regular volunteer in one organization)
  - What they know about its history, structure
  - What they know about its activities, projects

- Newcomers in this organization / community
  - How this participant found out this organization
  - How this organization / community looks for volunteers

- Volunteers in this organization / community
  - The approximate number of volunteers
  - Activities for them

- Participant's role in this organization / community
  - Time period here
  - In what activities this participant takes part in
  - General thoughts about organization / community

- Motivation and choices of the participant
  - Motivation for the first time and further volunteering
  - Search for activities
  - Choice among different activities
  - Comparison of different experiences

- Friends and family
  - Whether some of their friends or family members volunteer
  - The usage of their network

- Volunteering with refugees (if applicable)
  - Participant's experience of work with refugees
  - Differences from other projects / difficulties
  - General thoughts about current situation with refugees

Appendix 2. List of codes

1. Organization
    1.1. Activities
    1.2. Structure
        1.2.1. More structure
        1.2.2. Less structure
    1.3. Collaboration

2. Volunteers in organization
    2.1. Age
    2.2. Gender
    2.3. Number
    2.4. New volunteers

3. Volunteers' experiences
    3.1. Background
    3.2. Experiences
        3.2.1. With refugees
        3.2.2. Other experiences
    3.3. Workloads
    3.4. Way in
    3.5. Failing

4. Social capital
    4.1. Friends
    4.2. Family
    4.3. Facebook

5. Motivation
    5.1. Belongingness
    5.2. CV
    5.3. Discontent
    5.4. Fashion/image
    5.5. Media
    5.6. Obligation/responsibility
    5.7. Profession/study/background
    5.8. Faced problem

6. Refugees
    6.1. Context
    6.2. Difficulties

7. Thoughts about
    7.1. Government
    7.2. Established organizations
    7.3. New initiatives
    7.4. Opportunities