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Investigating the Embedded Conditions Behind Participant
Motivation in Civil Society –

*A Mixed Methods study of En Jul för Alla,
Soppök Malmö*

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Bachelor Thesis: UTKV03

15 hp Spring Term 2016

Supervisor: Olle Frödin

ABSTRACT

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Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) provide a broad range of services and are becoming increasingly involved in topics of policy and governance. At the core of any organisation are the members who constitute it, and the strength of civil society is tied to the strength of its support base. Questions of increasing participation rates are therefore not just matters of concern for fellow participants and key figures within the civic community. Such questions are also matters of concern for individuals interested in the role of civil society to foment progress in policy toward the abstract societal challenges that face a society, particularly those challenges receiving a disproportionately low degree of attention relative to their severity. Connecting with people on terms and conditions they can relate to is an essential task for CSOs relating to individuals who otherwise hold ambivalence for the CSO's cause. Having participated in the CSO Soppkök Malmö on the organisation's Christmas 2015 event En Jul För Alla, the author conducts a mixed methods case study investigation to explore the social environmental conditions among participants' lives that relate to their decisions to participate. This investigation draws on quantitative data from self-completion surveys submitted by fellow Soppkök Malmö registrants, ethnographic observations from the participation and online sources to produce and present findings of independent variables on motivations to participate in a CSO.

Keywords: Civil Society, Participation, Symbolic Interaction, Social Ecology Framework, Social Motivation, Soppkök Malmö, En Jul För Alla

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List of Abbreviation

Abstract Societal Problems	ASPs
Civil Society Organisation	CSO
En Jul för Alla	EJFA
Social Ecology Framework	SEF
Soppkök Malmö	SKM
Symbolic Interactionism	SI

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1. INTRODUCTION

Civil society, characterised by the voluntary pooling of resources and time by citizens for common purposes and services to society, is a familiar means of collective action in contemporary society, (Lipschutz 2007; Koo, 2007). In recent decades civil society organisations (CSOs) have had an increasing role in society, either by stepping in to meet gaps in service provision left by receding state activity, or as a response to waning legitimacy in modern politics (Jovanović, 2009). At any rate, civil society is embedded within today's liberal-democratic political and economic structure (Mercer, 2002), offering an access point for interest groups to influence public policy and public opinion (Alexander, 2010; Amenta & Ramsey 2010). CSOs' level of success is contingent on the degree of engagement and support afforded by the public. The reliance of CSO capabilities on participation rates make understanding the socio-environmental conditions behind motivations to participate in civil society a relevant field of analysis for the sociology of sustainable development policy formation. This study investigates the socio-environmental conditions behind participant motivation in the case study of Soppkök Malmö (SKM), a soup kitchen in Sweden which the author participated in as a volunteer.

1.1 Definitions:

Embedded conditions: references of those social experiences which collectively compose an individual's Social Ecological environment (*See theory section on Social Ecology Framework*). Embedded conditions consist of those experiences routine to life such as: occupation roles, group relations, social networks, habits, localities, occupations, social structures, infrastructure, urban planning, customs and so forth (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Social objects: components which an individual interacts with, interprets and derives meaning from (Blumer, 1969). Social objects can be physical items, concepts, relations, individuals, institutions or anything an individual can indicate.

Pro-social: a term used in this paper as a means of indicating the characteristics of being humane and providing social support.

Participants & Respondents: As this paper routinely references the engagement of individuals in two activities, SKM as well as this survey, the term 'participant' will be used only in reference to individuals' engagement with SKM. The term 'respondent' will be used to reference individuals' engagement with the survey used for this study.

Motivation to participate: This term is in reference of motivation to participate in a CSO. Though at most points the use of this term will be self-evident, there may be occasions where this isn't explicitly inferred.

1.2 Previous Research - Civil Society: Opportunities and constraints

Viewing how civil society contributes to sustainable development can be assisted with a brief historical overview of the developmental paths taken by high income economies. Economic prosperity in today's developed and leading developing economies appears to have benefited from strong governance, institutional stability, and the redistribution of gains in economic growth, political and economic resources (Moore, 1966; North, 1981; Lipschultz, 2007; Haperlin, 2013; Brandt & Rawski, 2008; Kay, 2002; Griffin et al, 2002). A uniting factor across these points is that top down policy is concerted and integrated across society while receiving support through varying means of bottom up legitimization from citizens acquiring sufficient stakes in national development (Moore, 1966; North, 1981; Brandt & Rawski, 2008). Pro-developmental change has been fundamentally structural in the economic, political and societal sense; effected by macro drivers such as policies, technology or societal paradigm shifts (Moore, 1966; North, 1981; Brandt & Rawski, 2008; Kay, 2002; Griffin et al, 2002). These drivers are beyond the capacity of civil society to effect directly. Additionally, direct civil society intervention by means of aid style service provision provides at best poverty relief and incremental localised progress towards development and at worst squandered resources through ill-conceived and unsustainable projects (Easterly, 2002; Chambers, 2008; Dichter, 2003).

Hall (1993) argues that policy paradigm shifts occur after incumbent paradigm proponents exhaust all options to adapt to societal challenges while attempting to remain true to the paradigm fundamentals. The resultant depletion of legitimacy opens the way for a policy paradigm shift to the strongest contending paradigm. In contrast to the above stated limitations of CSOs in development; CSOs offer a lawful and accessible means of deliberative democracy by helping citizens to organize, exercise agency, participate in the political process and challenge the legitimacy of a policy paradigm (Haddad, 2006; Lundåsen, 2014; Öberg & Svesson, 2012). This is relevant for development challenges and pro-social causes where policies and will among private and state actors may be found wanting, absent or outright obstructive. CSOs can advocate against entrenched blockages to societal, institutional or policy reform. The rise of civil society is itself argued to be an inherent component of modernity, a reaction to the evolution of nation state power and the commodification of the commons (Lipschutz, 2007). The expansion of state regulation into society likewise private agendas of an antisocial nature can 'activate latent sources of solidarity among the population' (Portes, 2010) into forming CSOs.

CSO can affect public opinion through the direct, external means of consultancy, campaigning and service provision as well as by passive and internal means among participants. Participating in civil society can introduce individuals to a stimulating environment of new norms (Lee, 2015; Lundåsen, 2014). Participation inevitably involves social interaction with other participants, target groups, state and private actors. The dialogue and debate obtained from participation can garner fresh critique and ideas to incoming individuals engaging with elements of society they may otherwise not have socialised with outside of the CSO (Lee, 2015; Lundåsen, 2014; Tracey, 2011; Walker, 2008). Somatic knowledge; the fruits of learning by doing and behavioural replication among participants, can be developed through CSO participation (Tracey, 2011). Civic education within CSOs can foster evaluation, relative to the CSO discourse, between participants of their priorities, political opinions and commitments (Omoto et al, 2012; Lee, 2015)

The benefits of CSOs strengthening their position to affect greater influence on policy direction and social norms as well as the opportunities for CSOs to enhance their support among participant bases, all is reliant on a crucial mitigating factor: the decision and act of individuals to initially attend in the first place. Much work on motivation to participate in CSOs has focused on the framework laid out by Clary et al (1998) which is characterised by factors of a value, social, understanding, career protecting and career nature (Caldarella *et al*, 2010; Agostinho & Paço, 2012; Principi *et al* 2016). Findings from these studies have seen motivations to participate as a returning volunteer, be based in positive experiences and benefits from previous participation (Caldarella *et al*, 2010). The extent of CSO participants' social networks have been identified to relate with their levels of motivation (Agostinho & Paço: 2012) as well as the levels of human and social capital available to older generation participates (Principi *et al*, 2016). The only literature that could be identified to focus on and analyse *how* social environmental condition could motivate participation in CSOs was that provided by Jonas & Morton (2012). Though insightful and certainly a valuable contribution to this investigation, its focused was limited to participation in conditions of crises. There is therefore much need for continued investigation into how the conditions embedded in CSO participants' social environments can be understood in contributing to their motivation to participation.

1.3 Significance and Aims:

The primary aims of this study are to descriptively map out the conditions embedded within respondents' social environments that are evidenced in accordance with the chosen theory, to relate to respondent motivations to participate in En Jul för Alla (EJFA). This investigation also seeks through exploratory analysis, to present in preparation of future research (Punch, 2005:14-15),

specific embedded conditions which could serve in future studies as independent variables against which CSO participant motivation could be tested.

The investigation combines the use of primary data from ethnographic observations with quantitative data collated from a survey sent out to SKM volunteer registrants as well as secondary data from municipal reports and news media sources. The data will be described and subsequently interpreted through an exploratory analysis using the social ecology framework's (SEF) 'useful heuristic for conceptualizing the multiple social environmental influences' (Cummings et al, 2012) on SKM participant motivations. Additional theories, primarily Symbolic Interaction theory (SI) will supplement the use of SEF to analyse the nature of dynamics and engagement between respondents and the embedded conditions of their social environments.

1.3.1 Research Question

1. Using SEF Theory, which embedded conditions can be identified to characterize the social environments of respondents' daily lives?
2. How can SI, Propinquity and Social Motivation theories interpret these embedded conditions and relate them to respondent motivation to participate in EJFA?
3. What independent variables to respondent's motivation to participate in EJFA, can be proposed on the analysis of answering research questions 1 and 2?

This study's contributions are made with particular regard for how to build support and civic engagement toward addressing abstract societal problems (ASPs). These include such societal problems as those raised by SKM of social exclusion and poverty, but also beyond to other pressing challenges ranging from structural inequality to climate change. Many such problems persist as much due to shortcomings in material and policy solutions as to insufficient public and political engagement and support for the credible solution which currently exist (McMichael, 2008). In having to compete with other societal interests, sympathetic ethical values alone are insufficient to galvanize public support for policy change (Klintman, 2013). Civil society is one group of societal stakeholders with the will and position to go beyond relying on such issues to ascend mainstream public and political agendas by virtue of the prevailing interests and directions (David *et al*, 2010). With their limited resources, civil society's challenge is in successfully engaging communities with ASPs which they might otherwise view as low priority. Thus, the broader justification for this study's aims is to produce empirically based findings of use to CSOs or likeminded researchers, which further insight into how and where embedded conditions serve as channels for fostering civil society participation.

1.4 Background

1.4.1 The Case Study Context: Malmö, Sweden

Following Malmö's industrial decline after the 1980s, the municipality sought to regenerate and rebrand the city as a regional economic centre of knowledge and cultural innovation underpinned by values of social and environmental sustainability (Ref; *Malmö General- och Översiktsplaner 1950 – 2000*; Malmö Stad, 2005; Malmö Stad, 2014). The policy values surrounding social sustainability place homelessness and social segregation on the municipality agenda (Malmö Stad, 2013; Malmö Stad 2014 *Det fortsatta arbetet...*). While Malmö Kommissionen's monitoring of inequality in the city demonstrate implementation of these values, the monitored rises in inequality and homelessness, particularly among children (Malmö Stad, 2016) are indicative of deficiencies in municipal social sustainability policy. The problems are stated to derive from economically structural drivers. Population growth and capacity constraints in the housing and rental sector contribute to economic pressures that push up rental property prices in central and popular city areas, concentrating residents with lower economic security into less popular urban areas (Malmö, 2016). Population growth has along with domestic inward migration, been influenced by the influx of refugees during autumn 2015 as well as Romani migrants from Eastern Europe during a longer period over the preceding 5 years (Edlund *et al*, 2014; Malmö Stad, 2016). Romani migrants have often come as economic migrants and have faced challenges gaining access to housing, education and the formal labour market (Edlund *et al*, 2014). With Malmö being a key entry point into Sweden from mainland central Europe, Malmö municipality in particular experienced acute challenges in meeting the housing requirements to accommodate incoming refugees (Malmö Stad, 2016). In both instances, these migrant communities face challenges with general societal integration and surmounting barriers that derive from needing to develop language skills and understand the cultural and social norms at play in day to day Malmö life (Edlund *et al*, 2014). Social segregation and homelessness risk becoming an outcome of these challenges.

The municipality states an awareness of its relative difference to civil society in positionality, access and insight into topics of homelessness and social segregation. Subsequently, Malmö municipality expresses eagerness to draw on the perspectives and experience of civil society organisers such as SKM, to consult on topics of homelessness and segregation (Edlund *et al*, 2014; Malmö Stad, 2016; Malmö Stad, 2014 *utredning om civil samhälle*). A formal partnership currently exists between Malmö Stad and Idéburna, the latter of which is an umbrella CSO. The partnership is based on gaining as broad an access as the insights afforded from specialised community groups (Ref:*Idéburnamalmö*).

The connection to policy making this affords supports the premise of this investigation for civil society going beyond relief services and onto making structural contributions to development.

1.4.2 *Soppkök Malmö:*

Soppkök Malmö (English - Soup kitchen Malmö) SKM is a socio-political initiative among the city's civil society community that since 2011 has been active in co-ordinating monthly events in Folkets Park, Malmö. SKM seeks to create a meeting place where visitors and volunteers can exchange stories and understanding of each other's predicaments; challenging social divisions and prejudice that may tacitly justify homelessness and social segregation. Procurement processes from lobbying local businesses, organisations and government to sponsor time and resources for monthly events also doubled up as an advocacy process to raise SKM issues on the local public and government agendas. SKM recognises that the social problems it address require integrated and comprehensive solutions that are beyond the capacity of grassroots organisations to deliver. SKM management is therefore adamant that it be regarded strictly as an initiative and not a charity, holding no resources of their own nor seeking to compensate for deficiencies in social and economic policies. In addition to SKM monthly events, since 2013 the initiative has co-ordinated larger all day events. The 2015 Christmas Eve event *En Jul för Alla* was held at *Moriskapaviljongen* in Folkets Park, Malmö. Live music, a children's play area, massage and relaxation facilities, a hair salon, Santa's grotto, drinks, snacks and Christmas dinner were all included. Volunteers for the days leading up to at the event itself were sourced from a recruitment process with around 380 registrants. The author was involved in the project management and running of the EJFA event.

Founders and long term members of SKM noted marked increases since SKMs inception in participant registration numbers as well as a perceived increase in the presence of homelessness and social segregation in the public debate and on the municipality agenda. Discussions at EJFA with participants reproduced similar claims for an increasing sense of awareness of homelessness and social segregation in the public debate. A number of participants mentioned that they had not previously participated in a CSO, and a reasons for deciding to join varied beyond simply wanting help out. These testimonies, which shall be regarded as informal for the sake of this investigation, suggest the social nature of drivers leading to participation and illuminate the suitability of SKM volunteers as an ideal case study to use in pursuing the aims of this study.

1.4.2 *Disposition of Author:*

As stated, I participated as a volunteer in the project management of EJFA and continue to participate in similarly oriented organisations. My motives for participation were primarily to engage with

segments of society suffering social deprivation and from whom of which I have inadvertently segregated myself. Contextualising theoretical knowledge obtained throughout the course of this bachelor degree as well as gaining practical work experience in an organisation relevant to my education were also important factors behind my decision to engage in SKM. Though I was already seeking to engage in such endeavours, my decision to begin participating in SKM from Autumn, 2015 onwards was facilitated by personal contact with the initiative's organisers and prompted also by the influx of refugees to Sweden and particularly Malmö during the Autumn of 2015.

2. THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

From a social constructionism perspective knowledge, decisions and behaviour derive from being co-constructed between an individual and their social environment (Karahana & Roehrig, 2015), i.e. the individual and their embedded social conditions. Embedded conditions that foster participation take to the individual the circumstances for generating motivation as seen in the motivating of environmental activism through school projects (Karan & Roehrig, 2015) and motivating of organic dietary habits through school canteen menus (Brand, 2015). This would contrast to individuals actively placing themselves in motivating circumstances located outside their regular lifestyle.

2.1 Social Ecology Framework:

The social ecological framework (SEF) lays emphasis on the holistic study of multilateral influences between an individual and their social environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Social environments are conceptually allocated into 4 levels of hierarchical abstraction, each level of abstraction consisting of a horizontal array of multiple social environments in a case study's reality (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). In order of decreasing levels of abstraction the SEF environments consist of the macro-system, exo-system, meso-system and micro-system, each one distinguishable by its scope, proximity and degree of interaction with the topic of analysis. The lower the abstraction, the narrower the scope and the greater proximity and intimacy of interaction between the individual subject of study and their environment.

The macro-system is the social environment of prevailing norms, practices and expectations which are characterised by and universally reproduced throughout a society in spite of heterogeneous traits e.g. the boundaries of national culture (Collins et al, 2010; Bronfenbrenner, 1977). An exosystem can be considered as the structural conditions in an individual's environment which guide and influence them through restricting opportunities of experiences and development. Socio-economic background, place of residence, access to resources and opportunities 'media, local government policy... and wider social networks' (Collins et al, 2010) are typical exosystem conditions. A micro-system

consists of ‘the complex of relations between the ... person and [their immediate] environment’ (Bronfenbrenner, 1977) and are thus specific to the individual. Examples of micro-system conditions are personal relationships, social roles, the home, work, the car (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Collins et al, 2010) and other conditions that compose the fundamental actions and relations of an individual’s daily life. The meso-system is the collection and relation among and individual’s separate micro-systems. As micro-systems are individual specific, each individual’s meso-system will be unique, no two people lead genuinely identical lives.

On its own this framework facilitates the mapping and deconstruction of an individual’s embedded environment, and in this respect is in part a method of analysis. The SEF can provide some tools for analysis in relating conditions among micro-systems, but its capacity to assist in analysing the nature of conditions in specific environments is limited. Complementary theories used inside the SEF can be based on their ability to analyse regulating factors among the embedded conditions (Cummings, *et al*, 2012). The following sections will detail the theories to be used for analysing the social regulative processes on participant motivation.

2.2 Symbolic Interactionism Theory

An analysis into the influence of embedded elements on participant motivation is one that in part inherently seeks to decipher the nature of engagement between actor and environment. Symbolic Interaction (SI) Theory centres on how routine interaction occurs between humans and all objects - physical, conceptual, social constructs or ‘*anything that an individual can indicate to [themselves]*’ (Blumer, 1969) - on the basis of those object’s meanings. Social interaction is itself taken as a fundamental source of influence on actor decisions, behaviour and identity, being more than an inert channel for psychological and social processes (Blumer, 1969).

Self-awareness is central to SI, as it is with the internal interaction of ‘the self’ that external acts and objects are registered and measured against one’s own ideals and expectations, measured against those of others, given meaning and then responded to in accordance with that meaning (Blumer, 1969). The objects which one associates to themselves - physical items, virtues, ideologies or status - are regarded as symbols representing the expectations and ideals of ‘the self’ which the meanings of external objects are judged against (Blummer 1969; Johansson & Lalander, 2013). In SI, the composition of symbols which individual’s associate with themselves is in continual flux on the basis of meeting objects and negotiating appropriate action against social expectations, social conditions and the individual’s preferences.

G. H. Mead theorised how early life consists purely of socialisation from a dominant role model termed the ‘significant other’ such as a parent. Through minimal awareness and a blank identity canvas, symbol absorption from the significant other supersedes symbol negotiation (Johansson & Lalander, 2013). Negotiation appears with the continued development of identity through contact with other groups and their respective symbols (Ibid). Symbols negotiated amongst groups can derive in part from the symbols that the negotiating individual has acquired from other symbolic groups. The mutual preferences held amongst group actors for a given symbol provides a common point of affiliation and belonging, this point is referred to as a shared symbol (Bilton, et al, 1993). While Blumer (1969) strongly supports the role of actor agency in interpreting objects and guiding subsequent action, he nonetheless concedes to the importance of context in selecting the objects available for interpretation and the conditions under which interpretation is to occur. The following theories, chosen for their attempts to conceptualise these criteria of context and conditions, will be briefly introduced and each reviewed from the perspective of SI.

2.3 Propinquity and The Mere Exposure Effect:

In Propinquity theory, proximity is viewed as an active influence on the individual’s perception of preference to those around them. The degree of an individual’s proximity to a social object positively correlates with how that object is viewed. Amplifications in the conviction behind an individual’s existing sentiments toward the object follow greater degrees of proximity (Aronson et al, 2013). Appreciated traits are interpreted on an increasingly positive basis whereas unappreciated traits become increasingly disruptive and irritating. Correspondingly, greater distance conduces attitudes characterised increasingly by indifference (Aronson et al, 2013). The influence of proximity on attitudes between individuals occurs in tandem with the phenomenon of mere exposure, the latter of which can be interpreted as a temporal form of propinquity. Studies into the mere exposure effect conclude that the more contact one has with another person, the more pleasant that person is likely to be viewed (Moreland & Topolinski, 2010, Aronson et al, 2013). Of course, proximity relates to exposure in that someone or something nearby is likely to be experienced more frequently.

2.4 Social Motivation Theory

Klinton’s evolutionary psychology approach to motivation states that cost-benefit rational choice decision making is subconsciously at play when actors opt for the outcome that indirectly maximizes recognition from respected peers (Klinton, 2012). Social motivation theory’s foundations in evolutionary psychology rest on stating that homo-sapiens achieved greater evolutionary success when pooling resources in groups. Actors are prepared to invest social trust in a peer who is judged

to wield sufficient social capital, for the reciprocation of that peer's trust. The perusing of social trust manifests as following and mimicking the behaviour and dictates of peers wealthy in social capital. In return an actor gains peer recognition and acceptance into the group (Klintman, 2012) equating to an advantage in the struggle for existence and superior evolutionary fitness (OU, 2008). The type of social capital wielded by peers being judged has particular characteristics, people are more likely to respect the opinions of, as well as reproduce the actions of peers who are viewed in certain forms of positive light. The social trust which underwrites the positive perception from one person to another is afforded to individuals who are seen to be hedonistic and successive in commanding respect (Klintman, 2012). Giving reference to the Greek god Dionysus's reputation for hedonism, Klintman terms this form of trust as Dionysian trust.

3. METHODS

Seeking to analyse the embedded conditions and motivation of multiple respondent cases ($n=75$) at the same point in time suggests this to be cross-sectional research (Bryman, 2008). However, with all respondents engaging in the single common organisation of EJFA, and the problem of participant motivation being one shared by other CSOs likens to a certain extent this research to a representative case study (Bryman, 2008). Addressing the specific empirical problem of generating motivation to participate in CSOs brings an action research focus to the study; insufficient respondent participation in the research process and the need for further research stop it short of outright action research (Punch, 2005). Nevertheless, this mixed methods research is centrally characterised by the collation of quantitative survey data guided by qualitative ethnographic observations from the field, the former being supplemented in its management and analysis by secondary data sources.

3.1 Data Collection Methods:

3.1.1 *Ethnography:*

The element of field research deriving from the author's participation as a volunteer in the EJFA event as stated in sec. 1.4.2 played an important role in establishing the foundations investigations. Discussions with established and new SKM participants broadened insights into to the varying means by which motivation was generated, not least upon frequently hearing from respondents of their own surprise in making the transition to participate. This last point raised questions. What conditions lead to these participants from not being the '*volunteering*' type, to being individuals prepared to take the step to engage with civil society? Essentially, what fostered the transition from ambivalent spectator to purposive actor? If it could occur with these people then could it occur with anyone? Or, were there underlying subtle conditions that pre-disposed these participants as likely volunteers in the first place?

A benefit with the author's participation not being an intentional ethnographic study from the beginning was for the experiences gained to be true to the cause of volunteering in a CSO, and not influenced by concerns from the research process. When considering this from the analytical perspective of SI in understanding the meaning given to interaction by individuals; 'if the scholar wishes to understand the action of people it is necessary for him to see their objects as they see them' (Blumer, 1969). The author's ethnographic experiences provided a calibrating lens through which to perceive the survey data, turning the potential risks of bias views from engagement in the research context into an analytical strength. Participation enable the study of development of respondent motivation 'to be made from the position of the actor' (Blumer, 1969). The clearest manifestation of this was the input into the survey design of the authors own disposition, experiences and motivations behind participation. Ethnographic experiences also guided the selection of SI, Propinquity and Social Motivation theories employed in this thesis.

3.1.2 Self-completion Survey & Survey Design:

The choice of data collection through a self-completion survey was made so as to gain the broadest picture of embedded conditions as possible. This is because the aim of the survey was to look out for the patterns of association of motivation across as wide a spread of participant conditions that could be reasonably said to apply to a further study of participation in CSOs in general. 'Reasonable' here would be defined as embedded conditions that are common in society and do not have any inherent link to SKM or the respective CSO of study. The limits of insight reached through ethnographic experiences illustrated the limits that would come with qualitative in-depth interviews in seeking to observe wider condition-motivation patterns. Additionally, being context specific to SKM, findings from such in-depth studies would also be challenging to deploy to broader quantitative study of CSO wide participant bases.

As motivation is a latent trait respective to participation in SKM, it cannot be directly measured beyond the dichotomy of attendance versus non-attendance (Punch, 2005). Theory had to therefore be operationalised by a combination of guidance by ethnographic experiences, but also with using proximate indicators to motivation (Punch, 2005). Beyond which questions were asked and how they were put to respondents, the definitions and selection of indicators is one of the most specific levels of author derived subjectivity within the survey. Implications for this reside in the validity of measurements for motivation to participate (Punch, 2005). One attempt to counteract this was the inclusion of '*other:please specify*' category in multiple choice questions in order reduces the confines on respondent answers. Indicators included a range of basic demographic data to establish which

sectors of society were interested in participating as well as theory specific questions. Questions which could potentially have a disperse range interval answers such as age and income had options provided as bands (Bryman, 2008) e.g. 18 – 24 yrs, 25 – 34 yrs etc to assist data handling at a later stage. Given the exploratory nature of the research, a number of questions were included in the survey which were general and had only a vague rooting in ethnographic observations. A benefit of this was in bringing new categories into contact with those based on theory, while a downside lay in bulking out the survey and deterring respondents from fully engaging in it. Attempts were made to be frugal in using questions of this nature.

In an effort to reduce the exclusion of participants, the survey was distributed in both Swedish and English. The quality of Swedish translations was reviewed and verified by native Swedish speakers among personal contacts judged by the author to have English language skills exceeding the already high level of proficiency prevalent in Sweden. The survey was also subject to a trial-distribution among 10 contacts in order to gain feedback and improvement prior to its live distribution. A copy of the surveyed used for this investigation can be found in the appendix section.

3.1.3 Sampling & Survey Distribution:

Having participated in the project management of EJFA provided access to the event's database of volunteer registrants. Other key organisers in EJFA were consulted for approval prior to the distribution of the survey. Using the online platform Survey Monkey, the survey was emailed to all 340 registered volunteers. Respondent identities remained anonymous from the moment multiple respondents completed the survey. Courteous reminder emails were sent to the respondents at two week intervals three times following the original distribution of the survey. A deficiency with this method of email distribution method was in the omission of individuals who used a proxy email to register for EJFA

3.1.4 Secondary Data Sources

All secondary data has been obtained through online sources. These predominantly included municipal reports from Malmö Stad's archives, new articles and video sources from local and national media outlets, as well as academic texts sourced from Lund University's online library database LUB search.

3.2 Data Management

3.2.1 Data Processing Methods

A range of methods were used to process the data into a format that could be statistically analysed. Processing was particularly relevant for quantising qualitative data from self-declared respondent answers. These qualitative data presented in the survey were managed through processes of coding that labelled, grouped and categorised respondent answers (Bryman, 2008; Punch, 2005). Coding was based on themes observed among the data and served to also narrow down the range of responses so as to observe the broader patterns across the data set. The trail of logic employed in the coding processes can be observed in the attached coding matrix for questions 4, 5 and 11. Where questions gave respondents the option for multiple responses as well as to rank answers, weighted scoring was applied to responses in order to account for the hierarchical information within the data as well as the varying number of answers submitted by respondents. A guide is available in the appendix titled *Survey Data Management Chart* for viewing the methods of data processing employed. Once all respondent data had been coded into numerical format, SPSS was used. Central tendencies, frequencies and where possible correlations by means of bivariate analysis assisted in observing and comparing the data to provide a holistic perspective of respondent answers.

3.2.2 Data Analysis Methods

Critical realism is used to analyse the quantitative data which constitute the bulk of feedstock material for analysis. An interpretistic handling of the data is used to derive meaning from relationships between variables where analysis resides somewhere between constructivism and positivism (Bryman, 2008: 590). Following in the direction of interpretivism secondary data derived from online sources is handled using a hermeneutics approach. Hermeneutics has particular benefits for this study in combination with an SI analysis, 'as a strategy that has potential in relation both to texts as documents and to social actions and other non-documentary phenomena' (Bryman, 2008:533). Secondary data will therefore be analysed for the purpose of its content as well as the meaning of the object itself. Additionally, as mentioned in the theoretical section, the use of a SEF will serve to organise data corresponding to the theory prior to its actual analysis. Much data from the survey such as demographic data pertaining gender, political opinions, ethnicity and religion, inherently communicates how respondents identify with themselves. Furthermore, direct SI enquiry of respondents' motivations to participate in SKM occur where respondents are requested to state; words they would use to describe themselves; groups that they identify with and; words associated with their embedded conditions and motivation to participate in CSOs. Resultant data from these questions feed

into the majority of SI, propinquity, and Social Motivation analysis on the relation of respondent embedded conditions to their motivation to participate.

3.3 Epistemic and Ontological Considerations of Research Method

Quantitative research has a close tie to positivistic research of identifying objective truths. In this sense its ontology and therefore that of the quantitative data in this investigation could be interpreted as regarding the abstract theoretical conclusions to be universal. To avoid misguiding of seeming ontological and epistemic contradictions in this study by the use of both qualitative methods (ethnography, SI & coding) and quantitative methods (self-completion multiple choice survey & statistics) the ethnographic observations, and theoretical and conceptual frameworks set out the ontological parameters within which to pursue the positivistic epistemology of motivation to participate. Thus, it is important to state here that any conclusions from this study do not purport to be absolute and exclusive accounts of respondent motivation to participate either within or beyond the boundaries set by the theoretical and conceptual framework. This study's findings are merely one account of these social realities within the ontological parameters set out by the study aims and theory. These findings are therefore open to scrutiny both within these parameters or externally from any challenging theory or interpretistic disposition.

3.4 Limitations

Lessons have been learned from conducting this research of how and how not to undertake a quantitative survey. Shortcomings particularly in regard to the data obtained, collection methods and operationalising of theory have all become apparent and had marked influences on response rates (22% $n=340$) as well as the quality of the data derived from completed questions. The capacity and function of correlation analysis has been relegated to a supplementary role subject to the availability of sufficient data as opposed to searching for statistically significant correlations suitable for producing generalisations. It is for this reason that the study's overall orientation was restricted to an exploratory and descriptive analysis; presenting the conditions recorded in the data and evidenced by the chosen theory as the most plausible independent variables behind motivations to participate. Due to the low response rate, consideration is paid to a potential selection bias amongst the composition of respondents, and are therefore handled by default as a subset of the entire SKM participant base. These are merely the critical reflections of the author's hindsight alone but nonetheless simply serve to illustrate that subject to external scrutiny further shortcomings of this investigation and subsequent improvements are likely to be both identified and welcomed. It must also be recognised that irrespective of the response rate, the findings are based on the context of one CSO in a single city.

Thus, any possibility of observing and relating CSO participant motivation to innumerable other categories of embedded conditions e.g. political turmoil, natural disaster, religious governance, rural settings, to name just four – is totally omitted.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

It was unknown at the time of my volunteering in EJFA that the experience would feature in my research. From an ethical perspective, although I fulfilled the role of complete participant (Bryman, 200:410) I was at the time not a researcher. At the point that my role doubled up as a researcher both retrospectively and through composing the survey, this role assumption was communicated to all respondents in the survey. A shortcoming of this was in fellow EJFA participants not being given the opportunity to judge their to-be albeit tacit and indirect engagement in the ethnographic elements of this research.

4. DATA & ANALYSIS

4.1 Social Ecology Framework Overview

Analysis of the data will progress first through the perspective of the SEF and then onwards to critically analysing the relationships within the data from the perspective of the remaining theories outlined in the theoretical framework. Macro- and exo-system levels analysis will give insight into the embedded conditions that CSOs must accommodate when seeking to foster participant motivation. The meso- and micro-systems will be analysed under the same heading due to their close relation.

4.1.1 *Macro system:*

Demographically speaking, SKM respondents appear to mostly consist of middle-aged individuals with 75% between 25 – 54 years old. Judging by the prevalence of middle to high incomes among respondents with two thirds earning between 18,000SEK/pm to + 45,000SEK/pm, the majority of respondents could be regarded as being in mildly secure employment. Though a range of professions and educational backgrounds are declared across the respondent base, the data displays that 77% of declared education backgrounds and 54% of occupation types are in pro-social fields of law & government, health & social care and Education & training, occupying the central tendencies in these categories. To a certain extent motivation to participate does not appear to be monopolized by any one region of the political spectrum.

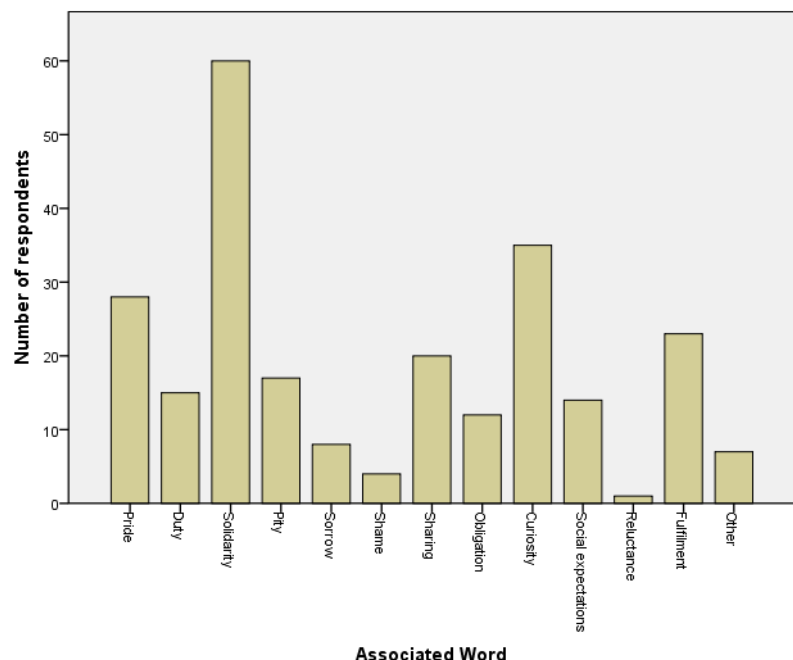
Figure 1: Respondent Political opinion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Left (1)	14	18,7	35,9	35,9
	Centre Left (2)	11	14,7	28,2	64,1
	Centre/Liberal (3)	7	9,3	17,9	82,1
	Centre Right (4)	2	2,7	5,1	87,2
	Right (5)	5	6,7	12,8	100,0
	Total	39	52,0	100,0	
Missing	Uninterested	36	48,0		
Total		75	100,0		

Despite respondents who identify themselves as politically left/centre-left constituting a greater share than those identifying as right/centre-right, their

majority is not strong. The large portion of declared politically *'uninterested'* respondents is a source of uncertainty and misconstrues the political landscape of the macrosystemic conditions. Those declaring to be politically uninterested may not explicitly identify as politically left or right, but may potentially reflect a culture of proximate adherence to standpoints commonly associated with certain political disposition. Such consideration is supported when reviewing that the words *'solidarity'* and *'collectivist'* were those most associated with decisions to participate, the former overwhelmingly so (See fig. 2). This suggests anything from widespread veiled sympathy for the political left among respondents, to respondents identifying with the left in all but name. The moderate prevalence in the data for the words *'pride'*, *'curiosity'* and *'fulfilment'* words associated with individualism and utilitarianism (Martinelli, 2005: ch4-5; Scott, 2010) can be interpreted to tacitly evidence motivations to participate deriving from the political centre right/right. That could suggest of a macrosystem in which political dispositions to the right nonetheless carry undertones of the political left. To combat such ambiguity in observations of the socio-political culture behind motivation to participate, data collection could employ a more rigorous system of proxy indicators to account for both subliminal and explicit political leanings.

Figure 2: Tally of Words Associated with Respondents Decision to Participate



The high proportion of female respondents (74%) suggests a gendering of participation, and while it must be recognised that this bias may lie in a gendering of survey responses, ethnographic observations from SKM corroborate this statistical observation. The modal central tendencies among female respondents are that they are upper middle aged, high-income, engaged in pro-social employment, educated in the social sciences, largely of no religion, divorced or single and roughly split between being politically left leaning or politically uninterested. Females declared higher mean scores for the identity symbols ‘*inquisitive*’, ‘*just*’, ‘*reflexive*’ and ‘*confident*’, with males only scoring higher averages on the ‘*hedonist*’ and ‘*structuralist*’ symbols.

Figure 3: Female Identity Mean Scores

	Inquisitive	Just	Progressive	Hedonist	Structuralist	Collectivist	Humanist	Reflexive	Resilient	Confident
Mean	3	4	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	2

Figure 4: Male Identity Mean Scores

	Inquisitive	Just	Progressive	Hedonist	Structuralist	Collectivist	Humanist	Reflexive	Resilient	Confident
Mean	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	.	2	.

Stark differences along gender lines appeared regarding the type of groups that respondents declared and scored a sense of belonging to. Those differences that stand out are the strong association of females to ‘*family*’ and ‘*social groups*’ (mean score out of 5 as declared by respondents: 2,01 & 2.21 respectively) whereas male respondents declared overwhelmingly a sense of belonging to their work and somewhat less so to family (mean score out of 5 as declared by respondents: 2,58 and 1,5 respectively). From a macro-system perspective it suggests a cultural gendering of group affiliation. Analysis on what this might mean at the microsystem level will follow.

That the SKM event was held on Christmas Eve, the main day of Christmas celebration in Sweden, might contribute to explain the overall dominance of single/divorced respondents (57%) in the event. Those without family to spend Christmas with may be limited for options as the majority of other people are busy celebrating with their familiar. Likewise, for similar reasons those who do not celebrate Christmas may also have their options limited for the day as well. At any rate, ‘*companionship*’ was the second highest scoring expectation at 21.5% of the vote share (across 9 categories) among respondents, suggesting the macro-system condition of Christmas combined with loneliness may have factored into some motivations to participate.

There is a disparity between the declared 94.5% of respondents declaring to be of Swedish background, and municipal statistics stating 68.3% of Malmö residents with a Swedish background (see webservice section *Nationality demographic Malmö*). However, there is a larger share of respondents at roughly one third, who declared a non-Swedish ethnicity. While declarations of ethnicity seem to fit closer to official demographical statistics, this nonetheless obscures the picture.

It could be interpreted that the studied macro-system provides weak conditions to motivate immigrant communities to engage in local civil society. Influential factors could include cultural differences in opinion towards voluntary work and who should bear responsibility for causes taken up by CSOs (Haddad, 2006), differences in understandings of welfare provisions structures (Haddad, 2006) or language barriers. If CSO participation of the nature which SKM is associated with is culturally rooted, then first generation immigrant communities may identify less with what will loosely be termed as ‘Swedish culture’ compared to their offspring. Second generation immigrants in comparison will have interacted with, interpreted and obtained meaning (Blummer, 1969) from Swedish society since birth. Further potential explanations relating to these data are presented below in the appropriate analysis section with respect to the different systems in the SEF.

4.1.2 *Exo-system*

Secondary data such as news media, municipal and academic publications as well as ethnographic sources, help contextualise the respondent data and illuminate conditions and potential sources of motivation within respondents’ exosystem. Much of the sources reviewed in research background section regarding the context of Malmö also allude to these prevailing exo-system conditions surrounding SKM. The influx of refugees into Sweden during the 2015 autumn immediately preceding EJFA not only gained widespread attention but also galvanised considerable civic engagement in general across the city. Simultaneously a combination of homelessness, labour market saturation/barriers to entry for Eastern European EU migrants was in the spotlight due to the eviction of an informal Romani settlement and their ensuing weeks-long sit-in outside Malmö city hall (Sydsvenskan, 2015; Svt, 2015; The Guardian, 2015; Red Cross, 2016). Over a longer period ‘Post-industrial’ Malmö, has undergone a transformative process centred on international competitiveness to attract high skilled labour. This transformation has included sustainable-themed urban development, economic and infrastructural integration of the greater Öresund region - Malmö, Lund, Helsingborg, Copenhagen & Helsingör – (Malmö Stad, 2014) and economic transformation toward education, training, innovation and services (Holgensen, 2014; Rodenstedt, 2015). The restructuring and accompanying narrative have had ramifications on Malmö’s demographic, political, economic and physical compositions developing what Holgensen (2014) terms as a ‘schizophrenic Malmö’ characterised by ‘its flag ship developments in Western Harbour as well as for its poverty, slums and social unrest’. Urban planning policy was drawn in and pursued along the lines of domestic and international inward migration of high skilled, middle and high income labour, feeding back into urban planning processes of gentrification (Rodenstedt, 2015).

Two particular sets of conditions characterising this state of political economy in Sweden are worth reflecting on, laying somewhere between macro-system (due to their scale and rooting in the popular political culture) and exosystem (due to heterogeneous outcomes and implications across society). The first is the steady receding of state participation in market activity to the private sector and simultaneous pro-market concession by the state in response to trends of increasingly open and global markets (McMichael, 2012; Rodenstedt, 2015; Olofsson & Lundahl, 2013). The second is the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent great recession which served to exacerbate the first factor. These factors' relevance for this analysis are their combined contributions towards fostering competition, flexibility and insecurity in labour markets, particularly toward young adults and immigrant communities (Holgersen, 2014; Olofsson & Lundahl, 2013).

Along with other Malmö CSOs, SKM organisers commented on observed increases in volunteer participation around the same time of the 2015 autumn influx of refugees. The survey did not explicitly enquire if respondent motivations to participate were directed in assisting refugee inflows or to engage with migrant communities. Nevertheless, data from certain variables - the strong declarations of '*solidarity*' and hopes to gain insights into '*homelessness and exclusion*' and '*different cultures*' - can potentially be in reference to these communities, the latter two toward Malmö's Romani community in particular. Additionally, a third of respondents, having decided to participate in SKM, did so while of the understanding that the initiative's primary purpose was to '*foster integration*'. These data's weaknesses lay in their lack of exclusivity to the communities they postulate on. Viewing respondent data from the perspective of the exosystemic conditions outlined above reveals numerous other potential sources of motivation. The third of respondents declaring themselves as non-ethnically Swedish having themselves personal or kinship experiences as immigrants or refugees may empathise with the predicament of those undergoing similar circumstances. Relating back to the disparities between data on respondent nationality & ethnicity, an exo-system perspective of these data may consider conditions in which weak entry points to the local and indigenous based social, cultural, and labour networks regulate against entrance to SKM participation. Those networks that are likely available to incoming immigrants will be based on existing social capital ties to established ethnic enclaves in the regions they settle in (Portes, 2010). Barriers of economic insecurity may exist among first generation immigrant demographics that mean voluntary work not based in socially embedded networks and activities would be an economically costly and unfeasible undertaking (Portes, 2010).

The lower portion of middle aged (25yr-34yr) respondents together with those of a younger age still, together counts for 40% of respondents. This is the demographic facing increasing challenges to

gaining labour market entry, employment in a stable long term job (Olofsson & Lundahl, 2013) or in one that matches their education (Standing, 2013). Two thirds of respondents in this age group earn under or around 10,000SEK/pm despite being university or college educated. Meanwhile ‘*experience*’ was the joint third scoring expected gain from participation. Solidarity based in sympathetic or empathetic understanding for the exosystemic conditions that promote precarious welfare, economic and employment options for SKMs target groups may therefore have motivated participation. Lastly, the strong declaration of solidarity, followed by curiosity and the wish to learn more about exclusion and homelessness as the highest scoring expectation, collectively communicates clear awareness for rising inequality in Malmö.

4.1.3 Meso- and Micro-systems

Until this point those conditions discussed of exo- and macro-systems are as a whole, contingent on the respective communities and societal culture surrounding SKM. By definition of the SEF, the agency individuals have towards these conditions is limited to the passive engagement of how they interact with, interpret and reproduce them. Individual actors’ capacity to fundamentally alter macro- and exo-systemic conditions are extremely limited. The embedded conditions at the microsystem level observed in the survey data are characterised by the direct interactions respondents have with people, social groups and activities in the immediate vicinity of their personal world.

Trends appeared in numerous fields of microsystem conditions but, those in particular appearing in the fields of occupation and details pertaining respondent peers in CSO activity were the most explicit. The high portion of respondents with a social-oriented occupation suggests of many respondents’ employment based microsystems bringing them into regular contact with objects of welfare provision and social support. That respondents collectively gave ‘*work*’ the highest sum score among bodies which they felt a sense of belonging to suggest of the microsystemic influences deriving from socially oriented employment. Respondent senses of belonging to their occupation in combination with the presence of medium to high income occupations (64% of medium to high-income respondents) suggest that work features as a consistent and stable micro-system among respondent meso-systems. For those respondents working on 75% hours or more, this micro-system will likely compose of much their social activity. Data is weak in the category *field of study* with a 28% response rate only, and while few identified a sense of belonging to their education, among respondents who declared their field of education, 77% of them stated some form of socially oriented education.

Figure 5: Type of education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Social Sciences	11	14,7	50,0	50,0
	Design	3	4,0	13,6	63,6
	Humanities	4	5,3	18,2	81,8
	Health & social care	2	2,7	9,1	90,9
	Science & tech	1	1,3	4,5	95,5
	Arts	1	1,3	4,5	100,0
	Total	22	29,3	100,0	
Missing	Missing	53	70,7		
Total		75	100,0		

In comparison to occupation, education as a microsystem actively works to shape the perspective and behaviour of individuals (Standing, 2013), making education in pro-social

disciplines a likely explicit source of respondent motivation. Another category of microsystem institutions, one which relates to the high declaration relative to other options of the ‘*humanist*’ symbol (55 point share of 244 points across all respondents and ten symbols), are those of religious organisations.

The earlier analysis - between interest in social exclusion and the manifestation of its outcomes in respondents’ exosystem conditions - is also telling about the state of those respondents’ individual microsystems and mesosystems as a whole. That exclusion and homelessness is a stated topic of interest and curiosity for a large portion of respondents reflects the degree to which respondent lives are otherwise isolated from these topics. This data also reflects the state of urban based social segregation in Malmö as well, whereby respondents are aware of the deprivation but do not interact with it in a way where they can derive meaning and understanding from it (Blummer, 1969). These respondents’ microsystems are confined to the economically and socially integrated elements of Malmö society, something reinforced by statistics of two-thirds majority of respondents’ earning upwards of 18,000SEK/pm and identifying most with their work.

Reflecting back on the composition of respondent ethnicities and nationalities, the near total absence of non-Swedish nationalised migrants as respondents stood in stark contrast to the strong presence of non-Swedish visitors, the observation of which is based on ethnographic data. This contrast could reflect on SKM successfully disseminating its service through the microsystems of migrant communities. First generation immigrant communities may feel that attendance over participation is more relevant for them, this may particularly be the case for those interested in engaging with established traditions in Sweden i.e. Christmas celebrations.

4.2 Complementary Analysis - Symbolic Interaction, Social Motivation & Propinquity

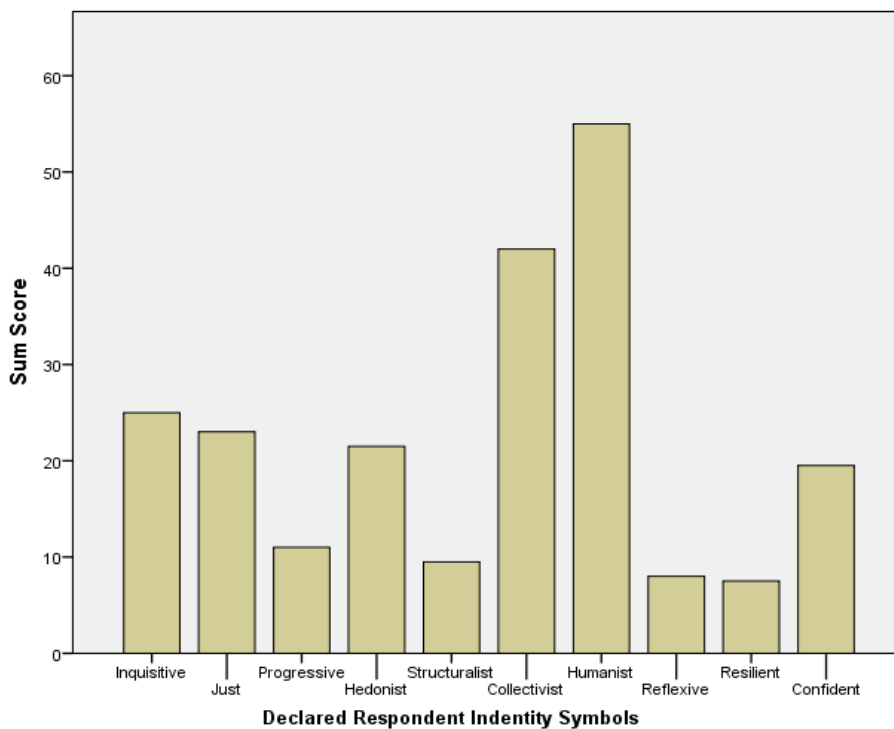
Given that SI analysis is aimed at all of an individual's interactions with and interpretations of objects throughout their day to day lives (Blumer, 1969), the majority of SI analysis is relevant to respondent motivations derived from their micro-systems. Social Motivation will follow the SI analysis, with both theoretical sections drawing additionally on propinquity perspectives. Where appropriate, SI and Social Motivation analyses will also be applied to exo- and macro-systemic conditions.

4.2.1 *Symbolic Interaction and Propinquity*

Religion, certain occupations and educational institutions were above discussed as placing respondents engaged with these microsystems, into conditions characterised with being pro-social. But what is the connection between being in these conditions and having a motivation to participate in SKM? Employment and education are major occupations of an individual's time; the active practicing of faith places individuals in regular contact with faith institutions. Individuals engaged with any of these categories of micro-systemic conditions are also in regular contact with the respective communities, both at the localities of work, education and faith, but potentially also outside for social leisure purposes (source of friends related to work/school/church). As these data show, simultaneously confirming that which Blumer (1969) recognized, that context at the macro-, exo- and micro-systemic level is important in shaping the composition of objects that an individual interacts with. This SI perspective applied in combination that of propinquity which would consider the frequency and proximity of interaction with social objects, puts forward a proposition of which interactions are likely to occur and how preferably they will be interpreted by respondents. Those respondents who declared one or more of a faith/pro-social-education/pro-social-occupation will be subject to regular interaction with objects of welfare provision and social support. The higher frequency and proximity of interaction with these objects lends bias to their preferential interpretation (Moreland & Topolinski, 2010; Aronson et al, 2013) from these respondents while also filtering on a temporal basis, the chance for other objects to interact with them. A preference for deriving meaning from these objects would therefore also be based on the frequency and proximity of interaction (Blummer, 1969). Thus from a SI-propinquity perspective, even a cynic when located in a largely pro-social meso-system would form pro-social traits in their identity and motivations.

Analysing those pro-social meanings which respondents derive from objects and derive to an extent which relates to their motivation to participate, is to analyse the identity of respondents and how much respondents identify with pro-social meanings from objects they interact with (Blumer, 1969; Bilton *et al*, 1993:ch18). Respondent declarations of words that reflect their identity, as well as declared words associated with their decision to participate are the most direct measurements of how respondents identify with themselves. Given the symbolic function of declared words associated with respondent identity (Blummer, 1969, Bilton et al, 1993), they will be referred to here as symbols. Respondent symbol declarations can be in figure 6. As can be seen, among the declared symbols by

Figure 6: Sum Scores of Respondent Identity Symbols



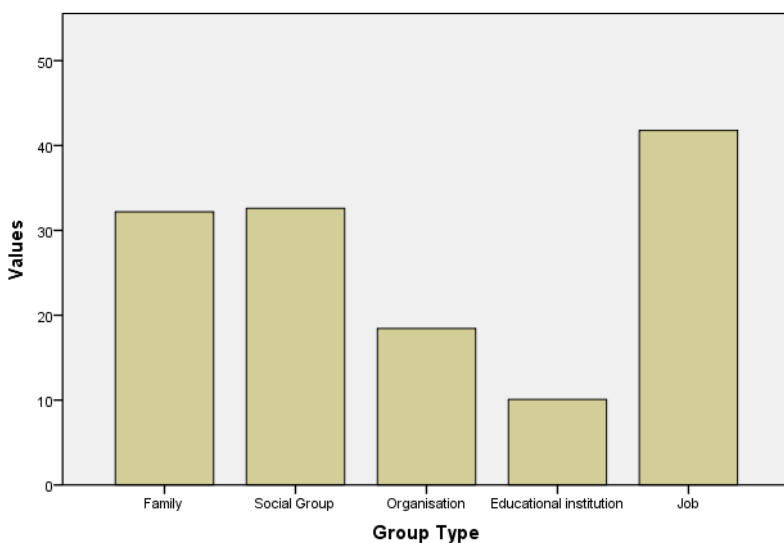
the 37 respondents who answered the question, the ‘*Humanist*’ symbol received the dominant share (24,7%) of the 222 points. Although the ‘*Just*’ symbol scored a lower share of the points at 10.3%, the collective score of these two symbols account for over a third of how respondents identify themselves. When considering this with regard to people

identifying themselves on the basis of more than one concept, the score for pro-social symbols represents relatively speaking, a large portion of these respondents’ identity. This data would therefore suggest that these respondents gain a moderate degree of interaction to prosocial conditions which may relate to their decision to participate in SKM. The *collectivist* symbol, ranking second with a 18,9% share score of the vote points is not a symbol inherently affiliated with pro-social causes nor therefore an inherently pro-social micro-system condition. However, correlating the score for this latter symbol, with respondent political opinion revealed a moderate correlation (Cramer’s $V = 0,493$) with declared *left* and politically *uninterested* dispositions, which would suggest micro-systems characterised by politically left conditions may contribute in fostering motivation to participate. However, uncertainty is raised by data on the ‘solidarity’ symbol which received a low value, high frequency and therefore broad response, with a sum score (35,1%) in the question asking respondents

to declare a word they associate with participation. As a word typically associated with the political left, ‘*solidarity*’ displayed a lower correlation with political opinion (Cramer’s $V= 0,367$). This ‘*solidarity*’ correlation supports the above discussed topic of politically centre right and right dispositions having undertones of left leanings. Contextualizing this correlation in SI suggests respondents encounter across their meso- exo and macro-systems political left conditions which they interact with and acquire moderate meaning from, irrespective of stated political dispositions, to a point which motivates participation.

This theoretical premise of motivation derived from interaction with objects in their micro-system would thus state that respondents with a high intimacy and frequency of exposure to pro-social micro-system conditions are more likely to orient their motivations accordingly (Blummer, 1969) i.e. among other things, participate in a pro-social civil society organisation. When including into the count of respondents who declare interaction with pro-social conditions, those also stating they ‘*participate in another CSO*’ then a total of 74% of respondents have intentional exposure to some form or another of a pro-social micro-system. Counting further still respondents whose only declaration of a pro-social condition, is a relational connection to a CSO by virtue of knowing a CSO member adds an extra 13%. This last addition is made of the basis of capacities of motivating participation to diffuse amongst social networks from single members who alone participate in civil society (Lundåsen, 2014). Including this last figure into the count of respondents experiencing pro-social micro-system conditions brings its portion of all respondents up to 84%. The dominance of respondents with a connection in their mesosystem to pro-social objects suggests that macro- and exo-system conditions alone are unlikely to motivate participation and may need to combine with conditions at the level of

Figure 7: Respondent Scoring for Group Belonging



respondents’ microsystems. Conversely, while the data suggests a strong relationships of pro-social micro-system conditions with motivation to participate, evidence is lacking to investigate if connection to pro-social conditions at the micro-systems level is sufficient to motivate participation. While there was a favouring of identifying with the social body ‘*work*’, by respondents answering

the question 12 , *'family'* and *'social group'* follow close behind. Propinquity would suggest that these shared objects are prioritized on the basis of their embeddedness within respondents' lives (Aronson *et al*,2013). It would correspond that these shared objects, which are typical to mid-life, are ones which the predominantly middle-age respondents interact with more so than other objects, subsequently having their identities and motivations influenced by these conditions. The dominance in the data toward middle-aged, middle-income family oriented individuals suggests therefore a bias of influence from meso-system conditions characterized along class lines, in this particular instance income security and stability (Portes, 2010). An ensuing suggestion may be that any other trending meso-systems among respondent data based along class lines might be characterized by meanings associated with those meso-systems own respective shared symbols.

4.2.2 Social Motivation and Propinquity

Of the 57 respondents that declared knowing a peer involved in *'SKM or another CSO'*, 49 quantified how much each of 12 selected adjectives represented their respective peer (Q17). Adjectives were selected both on the basis of traits generally perceived as preferable and attractive, and on the basis of those perceived as unattractive in modern Western society (Martinelli, 2005, Standing, 2013; Klintman, 2013). A 5 point Likert scale was used for respondents to rate each trait, where attractive traits scored as: *'Not at all'*=1 to *'Very Much'*=5 and, reverse scoring was applied to those adjectives generally perceived as unattractive and less preferable. Central tendency scores of mean and standard deviation were derived from respondents' sum-total scores of their declared perceptions toward their peers. The mean score across the valid count of respondents was 47.06 (out of a potential total score of 60) displaying that by and large these respondents view their peer in a positive light, even when taking into consideration the standard deviation of 8,659. From a Social Motivation Theory perspective, individuals seek to gain the acceptance of group members who they judge to wield sufficient Dionysian trust (see theory section 2.4) by replicating the behaviour of those individuals. There is a high rate among respondents of positive perception toward their stated peers involved in civil society activity. The level of respect held by respondents to these peers can serve as a proxy for the level of Dyonisian trust they hold in them. Using a 7 point Likert scale regarding how much the same 57 respondents *'respect'* their stated peer, all but one (98,2%) scored their *respect* upwards of *'4'* (10,5%), *'5'* (8,8%), *'6'* (19,3%) *'7'* (57,6,%). A bivariate analysis of *respect*-for against *perception*-of their stated peers produced a moderate/high correlation of $r = 0,692$ ($r^2 = 0,47$). Declared by the 57 respondents, again on a 7 point Likert scale, 68,4% ranked *'closeness'* to their stated peer as being in the upper half of scores, ranking *'5'*, *'6'* & *'7'* at 12,2%, 8,8% and 47,4% respectively. The bivariate correlation between *closeness* and *perception* resulted as $r = 0,647$ ($r^2 =$

0,41). Lastly the correlation between *closeness* and *respect* while lower than the previous two is nonetheless moderate: $r = 0,585$ ($r^2 = 34,2$).

The only conclusions that can be drawn from analysis of these correlation statistics in and of themselves is that there is a positive relation between every pair combination of the three variables *perception*, *closeness* and *respect*. There is no inherent inference to the direction of the influence or any inherent inference of influence among the variables at all for that matter. This latter point suggests that consideration should be given to the possibility that these correlations are spurious, where three variables are equally dependent on a fourth unidentified variable (Bryman, 2008: 330-331). However, viewing these correlation statistics from the perspective of propinquity and exposure perspectives would infer that should the engagement be on practical or obligatory terms then direction of causality would likely be from '*closeness*' towards '*perception*' (Moreland & Topolinski, 2010; Aronson et al, 2013). This would infer that the direction of causality continues then on towards the forming of *respect* as this would also be rooted in the same terms of engagement. Further investigation of motivation to participant would benefit from clarifying these terms of engagement. Any eventual satisfying of these conditions would give grounds for concluding that social motivation amongst pro-social communities can be regarded as a micro-system condition factoring into motivation to participant.

5. **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING DISCUSSION**

A number of key finding can be summarized from the preceding analysis. First and foremost, motivation to participate in EJFA had a strong relation with pro-social conditions located amongst respondents' micro-system environments. In a portion of these cases evidence was found to suggest of positive social relations between respondents and their respective declared peers, who are located within the pro-social context, to motivate respondent participation. However, it must be re-affirmed the evidence was not conclusive but merely provided a strong premise for further study in this particular direction. Despite strong connections among respondents to pro-social conditions, there was evidence to suggest that these connections are nonetheless still restricted by elements of social segregation. The continued social segregation was analysed to maintain subsequent degrees of interest and curiosity in homelessness and social exclusion to an extent which may have fostered motivation to participate in EJFA. Though the political *left* was the choice of political disposition which respondents declared as identifying with the most, it was accompanied by other respondents' identifying sizeably with the *centre* or *right* political dispositions, in addition to the many respondents declaring an *un-interest* for politics. Proxy indicators though more consistent in their displaying of political opinion to the left, blurred the overall picture of political opinion among respondents.

Findings were limited to inferences of all political opinion being characterized by undertones of politically left ideology, with this being a potential source of motivation. The strong relation between respondent motivation and ethnicity was analysed to be guided by embedded conditions at the level of exo- and macro-system environments. Opportunities to participate were proposed to be regulated by the degrees of socio-economic opportunities, social integration and identifying culturally with the act of volunteering in a CSO. Motivation to participate appeared to be highly gendered and relate to correspondingly so gendered identifications with social bodies. The gendering of a sense of belonging to family (females) and work (male) suggested of differing interactions in these environment, differing motivations between males and females.

Additional findings, though albeit supported by weaker evidence and analysis were the potential motivations to participate based on loneliness and; empathy from younger respondents for the socio-economic insecurity faced by SKMs target audience. Taken as a whole the findings suggest that motivation to participate relates to a multitude of embedded conditions. However, variations among conditions fostering motivation to participate occur loosely in accordance with different meso-systems delimited by all too common divisions within society such as gender, economic stability and ethnicity. Motivations of respondents belonging to different meso-systems would themselves therefore be correspondingly different.

In reviewing these findings it is possible to extract and present suggestions for independent variables which would form the basis of a subsequent investigation into a further chosen CSO case study, of the relation that motivation to participate has with participants' embedded conditions in their social environments.

Figure 8: Summary of Findings

<i>Proposed Independent Variables to Embedded Social Conditions on Motivation to Participate in CSOs</i>	
Connection to Pro-social conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measure the frequency and conditions of connections that CSO participants have to pro-social conditions • Measure the frequency and conditions of connection a random non-CSO-participating control sample of individuals have to pro-social conditions.
Social Motivation - Terms of engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measure the terms under which CSO participants engage with peer/s who they view in a positive light that are also engaged with a pro-social activity.

Latent political identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measure CSO participants' respondent political motivation by proxy indicators.
Barriers to migrant integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measure if CSO participants with migrant backgrounds were born in the country of the studied CSO or abroad. • Map out the level of social geographical integration/segregation in CSO environment e.g. a city, of participants with a migrant background. • Measure the socio-economic terms under which 1st generation migrant participants arrived in Sweden and the socio-economic terms under which the parents of 2nd generation migrants participants arrived in Sweden
Different meso-systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measure and compare participant compositions of meso-system affiliation • Operationalise meso-systems on the basis of desired theory of social division, e.g. class , gender roles etc.

Analysis of the data through the perspective of the theories employed generated further ideas related to the presented findings. These ideas would make interesting topics of investigation, but were omitted from this analysis due to deficiencies in the data. However, one idea warrants mentioning here for its relevance to the broader aims of this study, and the rooting of its conception in the analytical thought applied throughout the duration of this investigation. The idea surrounds the dynamics at play where CSO participants themselves become objects of pro-social influence within their meso-system by virtue of being a CSO participant. From a motivation perspective, what happens when this meso-system overlaps with another individuals' utterly different meso-system save for the common condition that brought these two actors together? An SI analysis targeted specifically on what might be termed trans-meso-system interactions between individuals, drawing on the independent variables outlined above can further investigation into the how motivation to participate in CSOs may diffuse throughout society and across typical cleavages of social division.

In reviewing this investigation's aims it can be seen that the study has achieved the objectives stated at the outset of this paper. This can be judged to have occurred in as far as contributing to understandings of how relations between respondents' social environments can serve as sources of motivation to participate. The achieving of the study's objectives can also be judged to have occurred through the presentation of set independent variables to base further study on.

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Red Cross – Volunteer

<http://www.redcross.se/vart-arbete/v/volontar/>

7. APPENDICIES

Appendix 1: Survey Design

1. Age:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| a. Under 12 years old | e. 35 – 44 years old |
| b. 12 – 17 years old | f. 45 – 54 years old |
| c. 18 – 24 years old | g. 55 – 64 years old |
| d. 25 – 34 years old | h. 65 + years old |

2. Gender

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------|
| a. Male | d. Cisperson | f. Other: Please state |
| b. Female | e. Intergender | |
| c. Transgender | | |

3. Income

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. Irregular income | e. 18,000 - 30,000 SEK per month |
| b. Under 5000 SEK per month | f. 30,000 - 45,000 SEK per month |
| c. 5000 - 10,000 SEK per month | g. 45,000 + SEK per month |
| d. 10,000 - 18,000 SEK per month | |

4. Occupation:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|
| a. Employed: Please specify: | c. Unemployed: |
| b. Self – Employed: Please spec | d. Student |

5. Level of education

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. High School | 3. University: please specify |
| 2. College or equivalent | i. Field of study: |

6. Political disposition:

- i. Please specify:

7. Nationality

- i. Please specify:

8. Ethnicity

- i. Please specify:

9. Religion:

- i. Please specify:

10. Marital status:

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------|-------------|
| a. Single | c. Sambo | e. Divorced |
| b. In a relationship | d. Married | f. Widowed |

11. Do you feel there is one or more belief/s, disposition/s, interest/s, skill/s preference/s which reflects your identity? If yes, then please state up to three, with placing the most significant at position 1 and least significant at position 3.

1.:

2.:

3.:

12. Tick the following to which you feel a sense of belonging.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------|
| a. Family | d. School |
| b. Social pair/group | e. Work |
| c. Organisation | |

13. To the best of your knowledge, are/have any companions in your from the selected answer in Q12, engaged with Soppkök Malmö or a similar community orientated civil society organisation?

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| a. Yes, Soppkök Malmö | c. No |
| b. Yes, other organisation | d. Don't know |

14. To the best of your knowledge, did this/these companion/s become involved with the civil society organisation before, at the same time or after you registered to volunteer with EJFA?

- a. Before
b. Same time
c. After
d. Do not know

15. On a scale of 1 to 7, What how close would you place your relation with this companion?

Minimal distant relation - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 – Closest and deepest of relation

16. On a scale of 1 to 7, to what degree would you say you respect this companion?

Do not respect at all - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 – The deepest respect

17. On a scale of 1 to 5, state how accurately each of the following words best describes this companion:

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------|-----------------|
| a. Charismatic | e. Clumsy | i. Decent |
| b. Shy | f. Admired | j. Sour |
| c. Problem solver | g. Strong | k. Competent |
| d. Professional | h. Wise | l. Trust worthy |

18. When Registering for EJFA, what if anything at all did you feel you might gain from you participation?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| a. Romance | e. Professional Contacts |
| b. Recognition | f. Insight into exclusion and homelessness |
| c. Class and cultural insight | g. Something different/Change |
| d. Social Companionship | h. Giving |

19. I am active in:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| a. Only Soppkök Malmö | b. Am/have also been involved with other organisations |
|-----------------------|--|

20. I work best:

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| a. Collectively | b. Individually | c. Both equally |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|

21. Approximately how long did you know about Soppkök prior to deciding to register your interest?

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| a. Less than a month | c. 1 year |
| b. 1 – 6 months | d. More than a year |

22. Which words would you say you associate most with your decision to participate in EJFA?

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| a. Pride | f. Sorrow | k. Curiosity |
| b. Duty | g. Shame | l. Pressure/expectation |
| c. Relief | h. Shock | m. Reluctance |
| d. Solidarity | i. Sharing | n. Fulfilment |
| e. Pity | j. Obligation | |

23. What do you feel was the primary motivation behind EJFA?

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| a. Aid provision | d. Social networking |
| b. Awareness raising | e. Integrating migrant and homeless resident |
| c. Advocacy | |

Appendix 2: Education Type Coding Chart

<i>EDUCATION TYPE CODE CHART</i>	
Social Science	Design
Socionom = Social science Socialhögskolan samt kurser = Social science Socialt arbete och psykologi = Social science lärarutb. socionomutb = Social science Socionom = Social science Utvecklingsstudier = Social science socionom = Social science Socionomprogrammet = Social science Internationella relationer = Social science Socionom = Social science	Grafisk form och kommunikation = Design Design = Design Biology and journalism = Design
Humanities	Science and tech
Fil.kand = Humanities Teologi = Humanities Fil kand = Humanities	Mjukvaruingenjör = Science & tech
Health and social care	Arts
Lärare = Health and social care doktor = Health and social care psykolog = Health and social care Psykologprogrammet = Health and social care	Drama-Teater-Film = arts

Appendix 3: Occupation Type Coding Chart

<i>OCCUPATION TYPE CODE CHART</i>		
Law & government	Administration & Management	Sales and Service
Civil servant = law and government Copywriter = law and government Civil servant = law and government Arbetsförmedlingen Clerk = law and government Lawyer = law and government Social work = Health & Social care Director = Administration & Management Civil servant = law and government	Administrator = Administration & Management Project manager = Administration & Management Communication = Administration & Management Manager = Administration & Management Administrator = Administration & Management Project manager = Administration & Management Director = Administration & Management IT = Administration Economy = Administration	Cafe worker = Sales and Service Salesman = Sales and Service Salesman = Sales and Service Restaurant = Sales and Service
Health & Social care	Education and training	
Carer = Health & Social care Doctor = Health & Social care Nurse = Health & Social care Special needs worker = Health & Social care Social worker = Health & Social care Psychology = Health & Social care Social work = Health & Social care Social worker = Health & Social care Psychologist = Health & Social care Nurse = Health & Social care Social worker = Health & Social care	Work coach = Education and training Teacher = Education and training Sports consultant = Education and training Teacher = Education and training Lecturer = Education and training Teachers assistant = Education and training Teacher = Education and training Student assistant = Education and training Researcher = Education and training	
Design & production	Other	
Graphic Design = Design & production Architect = Design & production Technician = Design & production Construction = Design & production	Warehouse = Other Retired = Other Theatre director = Other Logistics = Other Sustainable consultant = Other Journalist = Other	

Appendix 4: Identity Symbol Coding Chart

<i>IDENTITY SYMBOL TO ADJECTIVE CODE CHART</i>		
Inquisitive	Just	Progressive
Analytical = inquisitive Curious = Inquisitive Language = inquisitive My education = Inquisitive Education (Interest) = inquisitive I like to hunt for knowledge = inquisitive Creative = Inquisitive	Human rights = Just Womens rights = Equality Equality = Equality People's equal value = Equality All people are the same = Equality All people should be treated equally = Equity Everyone is equal = Equality I like to fight for what's right = righteous Fair = Balance = Just	Idealist = Progressive Global citizen = outward looking = progressive Sustainability = reformist = progressive Environmental = conservation = reformist
Hedonist	Structuralist	Collectivist
Dance = Expression = positive Fun = Hedonistic Cultural worker = Hedonistic Musician = Hedonistic Humorous = Positive Culture = Interest = Hedonistic Always Positive = Positive Positive Hopeful = optimistic = positive	Rational = Structuralist Organised = Structuralist Tradition = Structure Principled = Guidelines = Structure Loyal = Structure	Socially active = sociable = collectivist Mother = familiai = collectivist Father = familial = collectivist Solidarity = collectivist Social = sociable = collectivist Community = collectivist Company = sociable = collectivist Communal = collectivist Acceptance = Submitting = Collectivist Solidarisk = Solidarity = Collectivist
Humanist	Reflective	Resilient
Care for others = Humanist Helpful = Humanist Empathy = empathetic = caring Humanist Kind = thoughtful = caring = Humanist Thoughtful = caring = Humanist Big heart = loving = caring = Humanist Being a person and helping others = Humanist I like to help people = helpful = Humanist Pacifist = dialogue = Humanist Humanist Care for yourself = Caring	Health freak = concerned = reflexiv Missing family apart from father = lonely = Aware bipolar = Aware = Reflexive Spiritual = Mindfulness = Aware Christian = spiritual = Aware	Activist = pro-active = Resilient Well Informed = pro-active = Resilient go as i say = literal = Forthcoming = Resilient Problem solver = Challenging = Resilient Engaged = pro-active resilient Diverse = Resilient
Confident		
Calm = confident Genuine = confident Happy = confident Humble = confident Self Confident = confident Driven = Confident Leader = Confident Organiser = Confident		

SURVEY DATA MANAGEMENT CHART	
<p>Q11. N = 37 Identity Symbols: Ranking based weighted score</p>	<p>Respondents could state 3 words that best represent their identity ranking them 1st, 2nd and 3rd most representative Responses were coded into ten symbols categories: see chart above. Case symbols received a score according to responds ranking of corresponding word: 3 words: 1st place = 3, 2nd place = 2, 3rd place = 1 2 words: 1st place = 3,75, 2nd place = 2,25 1 word: 1st place = 6 Respondent scores for symbols categories which held two or three words declared by the same respondents, corresponded to the sum of single scores relevant to the single word e.g. with 3 words declared, 1st place and 3rd place words both fall in the 'Just' symbol category, the 'Just' symbol category would receive a score of '4' for that respondent</p>
<p>Q12. N = 27 Group Belonging Weighted score</p>	<p>Group Belonging data was scored according to the maximum amount of answers supplied by a single respondent (5) and the number of respondents $S=5/R_n$ $S=$ Score $n=$Quantity $R=$Responses As 27 respondents answered this question, the total score to distribute between the 5 categories was: TOTAL SCORE = 27*5= 135 Data displayed therefore divides the scores for the five categories between a total score of 135</p>
<p>Q17. N = 49 Opinion of Companion Score</p>	<p>Each opinion category was answerable using the Likert scale consisting of 5 alternatives (Bryman, 2008). Reverse scoring was applied to where relevant categories (see sec 4.2.2 for category criteria) Respondent opinion scores across all twelve categories were summated to result in peer-opinion score total The score ranged between 12 (very negative opinion) to 60 (very positive opinion)</p>
<p>Q18. N = 71 Expectations Weighted score</p>	<p>Expectations data was scored according to the maximum amount of answers supplied by a single respondent (5) and the number of respondents $S=5/R_n$ $S=$ Score $n=$Quantity $R=$Responses As 71 respondents answered this question, the total score to distribute between the 5 categories was: TOTAL SCORE = 71*5= 355 Data displayed therefore divides the scores for the nine categories between a total score of 355</p>
<p>Q22. N = 74 Motivation symbols Weighted Score</p>	<p>Motivation symbols data was scored according to the maximum amount of answers supplied by a single respondent (8) and the number of respondents $S=8/R_n$ $S=$ Score $n=$Quantity $R=$Responses As 74 respondents answered this question, the total score to distribute between the 5 categories was: TOTAL SCORE = 74*8= 592 Data displayed therefore divides the scores for the twelve categories between a total score of 592</p>

