





A qualitative exploration of reasons for volunteerinng in rual Northern Irish youth clubs

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Abstract

The research aimed to explore how the religious and political background to Northern Ireland impacted on an individual's decision to volunteer and also the impact of their sense of community and family involvement in the area. A total of 9 semi-structured interviews were carried out so that the individuals were given time to share their stories. The interviews were ethnographic and supplemented by the researcher's auto-ethnographic diaries. The study was informed by Grounded Theory. The main argument is that the religious context as well as the social context in which the volunteers live in Northern Ireland, impact on their decision to volunteer. The effect of religion on the decision to volunteer is dependent, in volunteers in this study, on whether they were male or female. The Northern Ireland Troubles was not found to impact directly, either negatively or positively, on why the participants in this study choose to participate.

A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION

OF REASONS FOR VOLUNTEERING IN RURAL NORTHERN IRISH YOUTH CLUBS

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INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale

The study of volunteering in rural communities and specifically Catholic communities is limited, especially in Ireland (see Department of Social Development, 2007 and Volunteer Development Agency, 2007). It is interesting to note that there is a split between parties in the North of Ireland along Nationalist or Unionist lines. Unionist are broadly Protestant parties are generally pro-provision in the voluntary sector, whilst the broadly Catholic Nationalists are more statist (Cheney, 2010). However what impacts on the decision to volunteer? The research aimed to explore how the religious and political background to Northern Ireland impacted on an individual's decision to volunteer.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Volunteering is for this purpose as defined in 'It's all about Time' Northern Ireland (Volunteer Development Agency, 2007): 'Volunteers and volunteering refer to individuals and the work action they undertake for the benefit of others or the community (outside the immediate family).'

The above indicates that there is a policy of encouraging people to volunteer and having positive reasons for doing so and getting some benefit from doing so. The Department of Social Development (2007) suggests that the youth service in Northern Ireland relies on the majority of its staff to be volunteers. This study looks at volunteer youth workers in rural communities in Northern Ireland and why they volunteer.

Community and Fairness

Volunteering is more common in rural areas according to Musick and Wilson (2008), however, this is dependent on how people think about their neighbourhood. Bower (2004) stated that newcomers are less likely to know their neighbours and older residents but those with a more positive attitude are more likely to volunteer; with those with negative attitudes moving away. Fitch (1987) also found that students volunteered for both egotistic and altruistic reasons. Exchange Theory (Blau 1967, Cnaan & Amrofell, 1994) takes the view that one will not give services unless one gets something in return (Smith 1982). For example, the social reasons outlined above would be to meet new people and for social approval. People in rural areas may be more isolated and therefore want to get involved in their community.

Upbringing

Segal (1993) would argue against a predisposition to pro-social behaviour, saying that it is purely environmental and part of discourse, giving meaning to and shaping behaviour. Mead (1934, 1970) explains that people develop and pass on meanings by interaction and communication and people are moral as a result of seeing things from another point of view. However, Haski-Leventhal (2009) and Kahil (2004) proffer that this does not explain why individuals react to the same situation differently. Those who reported their own parents to be volunteers or altruistic, were more likely to complete a volunteer programme (Clary and Miller, 1986 and Pancer and Pratt, (1999). However Rosenthal (1998) found that family environment at the time of volunteering was much more likely than childhood experience to impact on volunteering.

Religion

Studies such as Friedrichs (1960) found that religious people reported that they were more likely to help others or show benevolence. This was however, self-reported and further findings found that the link with actual behaviour is unconvincing. (Batson & Ventis, 1982). Although, more religious may not be more altruistic as outlined above, studies have found religious people to volunteer more and it is the most commonly cited reason for volunteering (Greely, 1997). Although being religious may make you more likely to volunteer, it is however interesting that UK and US studies consistently indicate that Catholics, although volunteering more than the unaffiliated, volunteer less than their Protestant counterparts (Ladd, 1999; Lam, 2002). The studies on religion may be too reductionist and narrow; focusing on religion and its relationship with other motivations and so this study may find that more comprehensive models give a broader framework for the analysis.

The Troubles

The negative effect of violence is well documented (WHO, 2002). A particular feature of Northern Ireland is the legacy of the Troubles. Goldenberg and Matheson (2005) describe trauma as being associate with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). There is however conflicting evidence for the negative impact of the Troubles (Smyth and Fay, 2000) and the longer term effect may have been essentially ignored (McNally, 2007). Vazquez and Gonzalo (2008) discuss the positive effects of terrorism as Post Traumatic Growth (positive psychological growth as a result of challenging life circumstances): it is not unusual to find altruistic behaviour after disasters (Fischer et al, 1994), although, Vazquez and Gozalo (2008) believe other philanthropic behaviour is harder to define.

Northern Ireland is very much split along Catholic (Nationalist) and Protestant (Unionist) lines. Children often go to different schools; families live in different areas; they are even buried in different cemeteries. The Department of Social Development (2007) however, found that only 7% of respondents feel that the divisions in Northern Ireland Society are reasons why people cannot become more involved in voluntary activities and 39% found that being involved in unpaid work can contribute to an improvement in cross community relations.

The questions to be explored are:

- 1. Why do youth leaders volunteer in a rural community in post peace process Northern Ireland?
- 2. Does religion impact upon the reason for volunteering in rural communities in Northern Ireland?
- 3. Does affiliation to the community impact upon the reason for volunteering in a rural community in Northern Ireland?

METHODOLOGY

Epistemology and Ontology

Underpinning this study is the desire to establish the subjective experiences of youth club leaders in rural Northern Irish settings and their reason for volunteering. Ontology is the study of 'what is' and the study of reality and the study of being. (Crotty, 1998). Ethnography considers that there are multiple realities and not just one objective reality out there. In this study it is considered that the participants will have their own realities which will be interpreted through the researcher's own reality. This study involves social constructivists, which is guided by the principle that meaning is not discovered but constructed.

Ethnography

Ethnographic research, which evolved from anthropology, involves the study of a cultural group or groups. In ethnography, a study is made of the shared and learned patterns, beliefs and behaviours. Coolican (2009) argues that ethnographic research is holistic and concentrates on meaning.

Autoethnography

The social context of the participants is central to questions being asked in ethnography. It also lends itself to auto-ethnography research. Taylor (1994) contends that this challenges the traditional mistrust in the use of self within research. Ethnographers believe that the researcher cannot be separated from the study. In the case of this study, the researcher's experience as a youth leader and the relationship she also has with the leaders, helped build a rapport with them during the interviews and was invaluable for the research. Gilgun, (2005) contends that the silence of the researcher is contrary to qualitative research and that all voices and perspectives should be heard.

Case Study

Case study is part of ethnographic research. Simon (2009) outlines the situation where case studies are appropriate and states that the case study is not to ensure representation but to explore similarities and differences. Simon defines the case study as the study of the singular and in particular the unique.

Sampling

The study aimed to recruit volunteer youth leaders from a rural youth club in Northern Ireland. The inclusion criteria were that they were adult volunteers. In total 9 participants were interviewed ranging in age from 24 to 71 years of which three were male and six were female. Two were Protestant whilst the others were Catholic. A non-volunteer and an informal volunteer were also recruited.

The sampling method adopted and the researcher's relationship with the participant may mean that (i) they were overly influenced by the researcher's opinions and (ii) they gave socially desirable responses. However, research cannot be separated from the researcher's social context and there are some benefits in knowing the participant well; for example in terms of trust and knowing where to probe.

Design of the study

Qualitative semi-structured interviews. Data collection and analysis to be informed by Grounded theory.

Ethical approval

Permission for the interviews to be conducted was gained from the management committee of the different youth clubs. An ethical review form was also completed and signed off by the researcher's tutor, who felt as there were no vulnerable participants etc, it did not have to go before the Ethics Committee.

Interviewing

Interviews are described by Coolican (2009) as more able than quantitative methods to gather rich and informative data where time for trust to be established is given. Participants are also able to ask for guidance to avoid possible confusion. Seven open ended, semi-structured questions were asked and more probing questions followed to illicit further information and also to confirm that the researcher understood what the participants were trying to impart. Interviews according to Coolican have a 'pre-set list' of topics but in which 'natural' conversation is attempted and the interviewer 'plays it by ear' as to whether sufficient information has been provided by the interviewees.

The interview schedule was compiled to enable participants to talk about life in their respective villages and their personal and family connections. The participants were then asked to talk about issues in the present as well as in the past, which may have impacted upon their decision to volunteer or not. They were also asked if they practised religion and whether they thought this impacted upon their decision to volunteer or not.

Data Analysis and Grounded Theory

The analysis and collection of data was informed by Grounded Theory which was developed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 to challenge the dominant hypothesis testing of a few established theories (Coolican, 2009). It is an inductive process rather than a deductive process and is grounded in the data. There is interplay between proposing and checking. Grounded Theory is particularly good for developing local theories such as rural Irish communities (Coolican, 2009). At the end of the process a model or theory emerges from the data. An example of this is that a dominant theme emerges of volunteers wanting to give something back to their community. This raised the question of whether

non-volunteers felt they wanted to or indeed felt they did give back to their community and whether this was also felt by Protestant volunteers. There are two main aspects to Grounded Theory (Coolican, 2009), firstly there is the developing of categories for concepts located in the presenting data. It is also the development of a theory or model which is finalised at the end of the project. Constant Comparative Analysis is used to develop and unpick the data. During open coding the researcher highlighted sub categories and comparisons were made between and within participants' data, allowing core categories to be established. Gaps in the data were highlighted and additional participants selected, such as non-volunteers to elicit extra data to explain more fully the concepts and categories already identified.

RESULTS

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Emerging Themes

Core – category	Sub -category			
COMMUNITY	Family connections			
	Integration in			
	community			
	Attachment to			
	community			
	Pressure to participate			
	Social aspect			
	Giving back to			
FAIRNESS	community			
	Giving back because of			
	children			
	Karma			
	The Troubles			
UPBRINGING	Family volunteering			
	Involvement in Youth			
	Association			
	Impact of religion			
RELIGION AND				
OTHER ORGANISATIONS	Other religious			
	organisations			
	Other volunteering			

Core Category Community

The research looked at extended family connections, and in particular how connected was the participant's family to the area now and over previous generations.

There was not really a continuum for this sub category. Everyone had some family connection to the area either through themselves or their spouses, including the researcher. All but the researcher could go back generations for their family or in laws living in their particular area. The next core category outlined how tied the participant felt to their areas. Those who have been here for generations feel very connected to the community. Those that moved to the community during childhood or adulthood e.g., to be with relatives or because of spouses, feel less connected, except for the things they are involved in such as Claire who does volunteer; Ave who does not volunteer also feels connected through the Church. The core category of the social aspect of volunteering looked at whether social reasons were key indicators. This was quite similar to community involvement, in that those who had been here for generations said that they did not volunteer for social reasons. Those who were not born in the local area cited social reasons for being involved in their youth clubs, whether Protestant or Catholic.

Core Category: Fairness

Most of the participants cited giving back to their community as a key reason for volunteering. Anthony felt that giving back to the parish was important:

'And I did feel that, you know, a sense of duty, you know it was an opportunity to give something back to the parish.....you know, so um, that was part of it as well. My own children were past the age of being at youth club, so it wasn't that for my own children'

Four of the participant had children at the club: For example Davina said:

'Yea... I mean I think it's important you know, as a parent myself, I send my child to things and you know there ...'

Angela felt that the exchange came after the 'good deed ':

'Life experiences they can relate to and give their time to, you know. But you get something back as well'

Core Category: Upbringing

This category outlines what it is from a participant's upbringing that might have influenced their decision to volunteer or not volunteer.

The younger volunteers, Angela and Alice had parents and other family members heavily involved in volunteering:

'Yeah. It's kind of always been one of them ones, that growing up mum and dad always' [involved] (Alice)

But older Catholics said there was no formal volunteering. Volunteering was through the church. Charlie said you were asked rather than volunteered.

'No, no they wouldn't have. But the chapel didn't really ask for volunteers. It was sort of step back and people were picked, you know.' (Charlie)

Both of the Protestant participants had been involved in youth organisations when they were young and thought this had positively influenced their decision to volunteer now in youth work. The only Catholic who went to a youth club was Angela, who was also the youngest.

'The one that was here before... [youth club] Yea it was grand, um, we didn't really go out,,, like it was once every two weeks..'. (Angela)

Other Catholics brought up in the North of Ireland, including the non-volunteer and informal volunteer said there were no youth organisations when they were younger. Young people informally hung out with their friends.

Sub Category: The Troubles

Angela was too young and therefore minimally affected and Ave and the researcher spent most of the Troubles in England. Along the continuum, Charlie stated he had been affected but living in a rural area had moderated that effect. Betty stated that during her youth, people could not go out because of the Troubles and Claire recollected that because she came from America, she had been struck and intimidated by the abnormality of Northern Ireland society. Brian had a class mate murdered in the Troubles and Alice had extended family members in the security forces murdered during the Troubles. Davina's father, a Protestant, worked in the security forces and was shot and lost the use of one of his legs before she was born. Barry's father, a Catholic, was murdered in the Troubles when Barry was a baby.

'Um, well... I remember being in a car and being stopped by police and them asking you what is your name, where are you going, where are you coming from? And I felt like so violated because, but that's not why I volunteer' (Claire)

'That was actually before I was born, it was 1972, I was born in 1974, so it was actually before I was born. ... So its I suppose what I am used to growing up, he lost the use of one of his legs ...but I would not say that that was why I volunteered really' (Davina)

Barry did not go into great detail 'my father was killed but ... I don't think it influences me in that way,' although he had talked to me about it a little before the study.

The participants recognised that things have improved and they valued that, bearing in mind how difficult things were before, but none of participants felt that the situation in Northern Ireland as it was then or in the sometimes fragile peace that there is now, directly impacted upon their decision to volunteer now.

Core Category: Religion and other Organisations.

A typical question asked was, can you tell me how much religion has impacted on your decision to volunteer? Also, are you involved in any other religious organisations?

Sub category: Impact of Religion on Value Base

There seems to be a division along gender, with males indicating that religion does not have a big influence on their decision to volunteer, although Anthony feels that religion is behind the way he lives his life in general. The six females are along a continuum with Claire stating that religion has a big influence and Alice stating it has an indirect influence and Angela commenting that she thought God would look after her if she did good deeds. Davina does not consider herself religious but feels that religion underpins the value system directing her to volunteering.

'I do agree with that. I think you need to go to mass every week to continue with your faith. I mean I don't think it's good not to go to mass, you know and I think its good for your children to see you are practicing your faith and learning about God and um... so yah I agree you can be a good person by doing that, but its also good to do good things on the side as well as going to mass, so I agree with both' (Claire)

'I agree with Claire that you need to do other things other than going to mass to practice your religion. You have to be a responsible person and help out. That's not everyone's view though I accept that' (Researcher)

Ave and Betty, the non-volunteer and informal volunteer are both very religious, for example, Betty attends mass daily. However, they believe that you can still do good works within your own family or your own social network.

DISCUSSION

This section will analyse the categories discovered and the relationship between them. The focus will be on community, fairness, upbringing and religion and the Troubles.

Community

All but Ave, the researcher and Betty, had family connections going back generations in the area, although this did not seem to be the key reason given by volunteers for volunteering. Those who had moved to the area because of their spouse or because of family connections including the researcher stated that social reasons, such as making friends and meeting new people were an important underlying reason for getting involved in the youth club. It did not seem to impact on the more reserved Ave and Betty however, who stated that they did not wish to meet new people. This does not seem to be borne out but there are different reasons for volunteering. People who had lived in the area from birth said that they knew enough people.

Fairness

The question still remains however, whether volunteers are volunteering for purely altruistic reasons? Exchange Theory and according to Smith (1982) you only give if you receive. Over half the leaders in the study are parents of children going to the clubs and so support this view endorsing Exchange Theory and the Current Population Survey (2003) in the USA that volunteers between 35-44 years particularly, are about giving back to their community. Many

however did not specify what was given to them in the first place, just 'giving back'.

Exchange Theory also does not explain why some, like the author who do not have children, volunteer, or why some parents of children at the youth club do not volunteer.

Religion

This study supports Friederich's (1960) assertion that religious people believe that they were more likely to help others and detracted from Batson and & Ventis (1982) criticism of studies being self-reported and researching helping as opposed to volunteering. Betty, who informally volunteers, attends mass daily and Ave attends a couple of times each week but does not do any volunteering at all. The others, with the exception of Davina attend church weekly. Furthermore, Davina stated that although she is not religious; religion underpins her value system because she attended religious clubs as a child. Greely (1997) states that volunteers often cite religion as a reason for volunteering. Support for this is, however, split along gender lines. The men tended not to agree with this, for example, Anthony did state that religion affects his life in general, but not specifically volunteering. The women on the other hand agreed that religion underpinned their volunteering, including Protestant participants.

Previous studies have indicated that Catholics volunteer less than Protestants. Ladd, (1999), Lam (2002). This study indicates that Catholics may not have had a tradition of having clubs to enable them to volunteer as many of them have indicated, and in their religious activities you were often selected: you did not opt to volunteer. In terms of the difference Protestants and Catholics make in their reasons for volunteering; either making you a better person or to make a difference: it is difficult to be definitive from such small numbers, however 'seem to be making a difference and giving back to your community' is more prominent for both religions rather than concentrating on them as spiritual people.

The Troubles

It was clearly identified by interviewees was that the Trouble's had a major influence on all those living in Northern Ireland during that period, with the exception of Angela who said she was too young. Claire had been in her early twenties when she came to Northern Ireland.

Barry's father had been murdered during the Troubles and Davina's father had been seriously injured. Even so, none of them considered the impact of the Troubles to be a direct reason for volunteering. Post Traumatic Growth (Fisher 1994) describes positive action out of traumatic situations and some of the participants, such as Davina, did cite the desire for the improved situation to continue to get better for the young people. However, as with exchange theory it does not explain why other parents who lived through the same trauma of the Troubles did not volunteer. It could be argued that Post Traumatic Growth could be as prominent as Post Traumatic Stress, This study seems to support Vazquez and Gozalo (2008) that other behaviour, such as volunteering after traumatic events is difficult to define. The study neither supports nor disputes the Department of Social Development (2007) study that most people do not feel the divisions in Northern Ireland deter volunteering and many people (39%) feel it promotes improvement in cross community relationships

CONCLUSION

This study set out to enquire why people in rural youth clubs in Northern Ireland may choose to become a volunteer. This subdivided into the following questions: Why do youth leaders volunteer in a rural community in post peace process Northern Ireland? Does religion impact upon the reason for volunteering in rural communities in Northern Ireland? Does affiliation to the community impact upon the reason for volunteering in a rural community in Northern Ireland? Grounded Theory informed the data collection and analysis. As part of the analysis, a relevant literature review on volunteering was carried out, although there were only a few

such studies on Northern Irish volunteering and none could be found specifically on rural communities in Northern Ireland.

It was interesting that Protestants and the youngest Catholic said that they belonged to clubs when they were younger and that their parents had always volunteered. Older Catholics reported that there were no youth clubs when they were younger and also that their parents did not volunteer. One volunteer said that in the only religious groups that existed, you were selected - you were not given the choice to volunteer. The lack of culture for volunteering in this small scale study may go some way for explaining the difference in the literature between denominations. In terms of volunteering being promoted as a result of the Troubles, the study does not support this theory, but nor is there support for the Troubles / divided society acting as a deterrent to volunteering. It was however interesting to note, that the men in the study said specifically that their religion did not underpin their volunteering decision, whereas the women – even the non religious one – said that religion underpinned their volunteering.

Limitations of the Study

This study is small scale and would have been better with at least 20 participants. Even with more participants, it would not be representative of all youth club leaders in rural Northern Ireland. Many of the leaders in the Catholic youth club for example, have been involved since its instigation 5 years ago and this might have impacted upon their commitment to stay. Other leaders might not have been so attached to the club and may have had different motivations.

The researchers own preconceived ideas and their impact upon the methodology need to be reflected on. These preconceptions would have led the researcher towards areas applicable to the researcher and consequently the researcher might have unduly influenced the findings over the themes discovered and selected for discussion. Also the researcher may have underestimated the impact of talking about sensitive issues like the Troubles and religion in Northern Ireland. Additionally the researcher may not have fully appreciated the uniqueness of each participant's experience with the researcher unwittingly imposing some of her own prejudices. It is important as an ethnographic researcher, that the researcher was aware of her assumptions when data gathering and analysis is taking place. McNally (2007) and Smyth and Faye (2000) for example emphasise that everyone's story of the Troubles is different.

Future Research

Larger qualitative scale studies in different rural areas need to be carried out. More research needs to be conducted to investigate the possible positive impacts of the Troubles in Northern Ireland and also how religion may also impact. Research needs be to done equally in Protestant, Catholic and mixed communities and further emphasis on the historical difference in volunteering and youth organisations in both communities. Research also needs to include more representation of non-volunteers and informal volunteers. Future research could use mixed methodology, for example using the survey method to look at personality and interviews to look at other reasons for volunteering.

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Appendix

Participant Details (Not real names)

Participant	Religion	Age	Gender	Length of stay	Youth club	Occupation
				in community		
Researcher	Catholic	46	Female	7 years because of mother	A	Social worker
Anthony	Catholic	52	Male	Since birth	A	Principal
Charlie	Catholic	44	Male	Since birth	A	Manager
Claire	Catholic	43	Female	19 years because of spouse	A	House worker
Barry	Catholic	36	Male	4 years because of Spouse	A	Community worker
Angela	Catholic	24	Female	14 years because of father's family	A	Chiropodist/ student
Ave	Catholic	71	Female	15 years	Non Volunteer	Retired
Betty	Catholic	56	Female	10 years because of sister	Informal volunteer	Retired through ill health
Davina	Protestant	38	Female	28 because of father's family	В	Social worker
Alice	Protestant	25	Female	Since birth	С	Teacher