

PERCEPTIONS OF VOLUNTEERING EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG VOLUNTEERS IN
KAZAKHSTAN

ҚАЗАҚСТАН ЖАС ВОЛОНТЕРЛАРЫНЫҢ ВОЛОНТЕРЛЫҚ ТӘЖИРИБЕСІН
ҚАБЫЛДАУ СИПАТЫ

ВОСПРИЯТИЕ ВОЛОНТЕРСКОГО ОПЫТА МОЛОДЫХ ВОЛОНТЕРОВ
КАЗАХСТАНА

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Humanities and Social Sciences of Nazarbayev
University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Eurasian Studies

at

NAZARBAYEV UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

ASTANA, KAZAKHSTAN
2017

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NAZARBAYEV UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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June 2017

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Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to thank Professor Sofia An, Professor Zbigniew Wojnowski and Professor Azamat Junisbai for their support and advice during the writing process of this work. I highly appreciate encouragement and inspiration that they gave me during the years of the graduate school. I also would like to express my gratitude to all participants of the study for their enthusiasm and curiosity that added more value to the work. Special thanks to Ainur Absemetova, an excellent expert in development studies, who shared her ideas of personal observation and research in volunteering with me. Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family who expressed much understanding and support in my pursuit of education.

Abstract

This thesis focuses on opinions of research participants on their volunteering experience, particularly, on their motivations and benefits from volunteering, main issues that influence their perceptions of relationships with other actors (society, the state, volunteering organization, beneficiaries). It focuses on volunteering as a modern phenomenon that has emerged in Kazakhstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, volunteering phenomenon and especially individual volunteers' experiences have been neglected by social science research in Kazakhstan. Therefore, this study was undertaken to investigate the emergence of volunteering as a new unexplored social process and the role of volunteers in it. This thesis heavily relies on interviews with volunteers and key informants (employees of volunteering organizations and experts in the sphere). I explore how perceptions of young volunteers form during their volunteering experience and the factors that are important for them to volunteer. In addition, I review the laws of Kazakhstan related to the non-governmental and non-profit sector that indirectly touch upon volunteering and recent Draft Law on volunteering (June 16, 2015). This allowed me to consider information from different perspectives such as opinions of experts, volunteers, and government representatives. The results of the study show that relationships of volunteers with beneficiaries and conditions offered by the state, society and volunteering organizations are important for the formation of volunteers' perceptions and motivations to volunteer. Although the study shows that volunteering sphere does not require control from the above-mentioned actors, these actors can stimulate and support volunteers' motivation. Based on the findings of the study, I developed the model of relationships of volunteers with other actors of volunteering sphere.

Introduction

On the territory of Kazakhstan, activities similar to volunteering existed during pre-Soviet and Soviet times. Kazakhs had developed community organization of mutual help in the sixteenth century. These voluntary actions of mutual help (*asar*) spread not only on social events (wedding or funeral, for example) but also for more expanded issues such as security of the tribe. Further, under the influence of modernizing tendencies, Kazakh nomad communities developed new forms of volunteering such as fundraising activities for children to study in educational institutions of Tsarist Russia in the nineteenth century (Hansen, Askarbekova & Yerofeeva, 2002). With the emergence of the Soviet regime, Party and state-sponsored organizations uniting students and young people replaced pre-revolutionary forms of volunteering. During the Soviet Union, activities similar to volunteering was developed in many Soviet institutions and the character of the activity was mandatory (Kuti, 2004).

After independence, many international organizations emerged in Kazakhstan and granted financial support to local NGOs to do the work in which volunteers were involved. Thus, these organizations were the first to contribute to the development of volunteering in the independent country. Peace Corps and UN Volunteers Programmes, for example, started their work in 1993 (Kurganskaya, 2002; Sagyngaliyeva & Kukayeva, 2012). Some international organizations brought their own volunteers to the country. In 1999, Volunteers Services Overseas also operated on the territory of Kazakhstan. Locally, the Society of Red Cross and Red Crescent actively attracted local volunteers to their activities. In 1998, Soros Foundation established the Volunteer House. In its turn, Volunteering House worked in cooperation with volunteering centers in seventeen Kazakhstani cities with the goal of exploring the volunteering environment across the country (Kurganskaya, 2002). Thus modern types of volunteering emerged in Kazakhstan after independence with the emergence of international organizations.

This thesis is focusing on volunteering as a modern phenomenon that has emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union in Kazakhstan. Unfortunately, volunteering phenomenon has been

neglected by social science research in Kazakhstan. Therefore, this study was undertaken to investigate the emergence of volunteering as a new unexplored social process. Particularly, I explore how perceptions of young volunteers form during their volunteering experience.

Research question

This study is focused on perceptions of young volunteers of Kazakhstan who had diverse volunteering experience in different parts of Kazakhstan, mostly Astana and Almaty regions. The main research question of the study is “How do young people in Kazakhstan perceive their volunteering experience? More specifically the study aimed to address following questions:

How volunteers of Kazakhstan define volunteering?

What are the motivations and benefits of volunteering for volunteers?

What is the meaning of volunteering activity for volunteers?

What are the relationships between volunteering organizations and volunteers?

What is the relationship between volunteers and the state?

What is the relationship of volunteers and society?

Due to the range of activities that are considered to be volunteering in different parts of the world, volunteering has no single definition. Therefore, the first purpose of the study is to identify what the term ‘volunteering’ means for the local volunteering community in Kazakhstan. Secondly, I seek to understand motivations of volunteers to engage in volunteering as it explains their first perception of volunteering as a newcomer. For the same reason, I would like to understand the benefits that volunteers can gain during volunteering experience. I also seek to understand what kind of meaning volunteers put in their activity. This is essential as it shows the significance of volunteering phenomenon for young people. Lastly, I question how the relationships of volunteers with external actors as the state, society and volunteering organizations form their perception.

Motivation for the study

My personal interest in doing research on volunteering related to my own volunteering experience. I became a volunteer in 2011 and actively volunteered until 2015. After the beginning of graduate school, I had to become a passive volunteer and recently lost my interest in volunteering in comparison to the early years. I did not understand the reason for it. This situation upset me a little and I realized that I want to understand why a person actively engaging in volunteering suddenly loses interest in it.

The second motivation to research volunteering is related to the people I met during volunteering experience. From my personal observation, I usually met curious, interesting and nice people in volunteering sphere. This made me question what is so special about volunteering that usually I meet such incredible people almost everywhere where I go to volunteer.

The third motivation is that I learned many interesting things, gained much knowledge and meet many of my friends during volunteering experience. Everything I got during that time is still helping me in life. Thus, I wanted to understand whether volunteering experience is so wonderful for other people as well.

Thesis organization

This thesis work heavily relies on interviews with volunteers and key informant. Thus, I start the first chapter with the description of the methodology of the research based on the fieldwork (interviews) in Astana and Almaty cities. In the second chapter, I review relevant literature on volunteering phenomenon. Literature review starts with the review of characteristics of volunteering and key paradigms by which scholars explain volunteering. Then, I move to the literature on various outcomes of volunteering and motivation to engage in volunteering activity. As this work focused on young volunteers one of the sections review literature on volunteering in relation to age. Lastly, I review the literature on volunteering in post-Soviet and post-communist countries as Kazakhstan has a similar background with these countries. The third

chapter of the thesis work is dedicated to legal and policy framework of volunteering. Here, I review the laws of Kazakhstan related to the non-governmental and non-profit sector that indirectly touches upon volunteering as well. Also, I review recent Draft Law on volunteering and other documents related to meeting on June 16, 2015, dedicated to the discussion of the Draft Law. This allowed me to review opinions of experts, volunteers and government representatives on volunteers' position and volunteering in Kazakhstan. The fourth chapter of the thesis present findings of the interviews. I divided the chapter into four sections. The first section describes the notion of volunteering in Kazakhstan. The second section present opinions of participants on their motivations and benefits from volunteering. The last two sections describe main issues that influence perception and motivation of volunteers in relationships with other actors (society, the state, volunteering organization). In the last chapter, I discuss relationships of volunteers and their motivation and perceptions presenting the model of relationships of volunteers with other actors. Also, I discuss strengths and limitations of the study and present questions for further research.

Chapter 1. Methodology

Design of the study

This study applies qualitative exploratory research methodology as it seeks to study the volunteering phenomenon in Kazakhstan from the perspectives of people who are involved in volunteering. The volunteering phenomenon has been examined through the interpretation of experiences and opinions of the people involved in the field collected through in-depth interviews. Since the aim was to investigate volunteering in Kazakhstan within the political context, in addition to face-to-face interviews, a set of legal and policy documents concerning volunteering in Kazakhstan has been analyzed to examine the policy and legal environment around volunteering.

Recruitment of research participants

I began with a list of volunteer organizations and people that I knew from my personal volunteering experience and who are well known in the sphere in Astana. In partnership with the US Embassy in Astana, one of these organizations held two events for Kazakhstani volunteering organizations on how to recruit volunteers. I attended these events on the 8th and 9th of June 2016, where I met representatives of Kazakhstani NGOs, unions, and public funds that work with volunteers. This helped me to gain access to volunteers and experts who served as interviewees and key informants of the study. I made a list of volunteers and experts whom I already knew and combined it with the list of the experts that I met on the above-mentioned events on 8th and 9th June. After a few interviews, I developed a broader list of potential participants in Astana and Almaty. Then I contacted them via social networks, e-mail or phone and invited to participate in the research. I sent them information letters about the study and an electronic version of inform consent. Each interview was followed by asking the participant to suggest potential participants for the study. Thus, in the course of my fieldwork, I used snowballing purposeful sampling to find and recruit new participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Sample characteristics and sampling procedures

Participants for the study were selected through nonprobabilistic purposive sampling strategies. According to Merriam & Tisdell (2016, p 96), nonprobabilistic purposeful sampling is “based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned.” Two categories of research participants were identified: 1) formal/informal volunteers, and 2) Experts/key informants. The first group of volunteers was chosen from the people involved in formal and/or informal unpaid voluntary activities for the benefit of society and individuals or aimed to solve particular issues. Formal volunteers are the people who engage in volunteering through cooperation with volunteering organizations. In contrast, informal volunteers are the people who volunteer independently of official organization individually or making an initiative group (unregistered groups of people that volunteer). The group of key informants or experts are the people involved in the sphere of volunteering as employees of an organization or those who have studied the sphere for a long time.

The main criteria for the inclusion of participants were their relation to the volunteering sphere (see more in Appendix A). The volunteers should have had no less than 6 months of volunteering experience. Gender, ethnicity, and education were not included in the set of selection criteria because the study was designed to include volunteers from diverse backgrounds and with diverse experiences. As the study aims to explore the young population of Kazakhstan, it covers participants from 19 to 37 years old. The average age of participants is 25 years. The participants live in cities or they spend most of their life living in urban areas. All participants have higher education or currently study at institutions of higher education. The total number of interviews is twenty-four. Seven interviews were conducted with male participants and seventeen with female participants. Twenty-two interviews were oral and two were paper based.

Volunteer organizations in the study are organizations that recruit volunteers to their work and/or conduct volunteering activities. These organizations are formal or informal groups, non-

governmental (NGO), non-profit organizations (NPO), public funds, international organizations, unions, groups, and associations. The criteria for choosing the organization to the study were the number of volunteers and the sphere of volunteering. In order to not to be repetitive in the sphere and to obtain a diverse sample of organizations, I tried to find organizations working in social, environmental, and other spheres. According to the field or characteristics of the activities, the sample included participants involved in the environmental protection sphere, charity (related to vulnerable sectors of the population), youth development organizations, and professional associations that recruit volunteers in their work.

I prepared two interview guides (see Appendix B) for volunteers and key informants, but some questions (such as questions about their background and experience in volunteering) were overlapping. For example, some key informants had personal volunteering experience prior to becoming experts or employees in the field. In such cases, I used questions from both of the interview guides: I first asked about their personal experience as volunteers and then moved to general questions about their expert opinion. It turned out that responses given by participants were similar and did not have any significant differences in relation to the status of respondents, thus the study does not make a division between volunteers and key informants' (experts, heads of organizations, etc.) answers.

Study geography

The fieldwork took place in Astana and Almaty. Astana is the capital of Kazakhstan, while Almaty is former capital that is currently one of the biggest cities in the country. In comparison to Astana, Almaty has a richer history of volunteering and a more active volunteering community. In addition, Almaty has environmental and cultural projects more, while volunteers in Astana are mostly focused on social issues. Both cities are social, cultural and educational hubs and therefore accumulate most of the young population of Kazakhstan. The population of both cities is quite diverse. Because of the relatively developed infrastructure and economic opportunities, both cities attract people from different regions of Kazakhstan. Finally, many

NGOs, including branches of international organizations and movements, are situated in Almaty and Astana. There are also many individually run voluntary service organizations in both cities. Therefore, these cities were suitable sites to find diverse participants for the study. Moreover, I found out that people involved in the volunteering sphere both in Astana and Almaty are familiar with each other and work in close cooperation on different projects in both cities. This indicates that the Kazakhstani volunteering sphere is relatively small. In addition, I found out that even volunteers from around Kazakhstan travel much in order to participate in the projects in both cities and I met many of them on volunteering events in Astana and Almaty as well. The trip to Almaty revealed that volunteering initiatives were not rooted in one center or big cities such as Astana and Almaty, but rather there are people interested in the sphere in different cities of the country who even travel to learn about new opportunities for the implementation of their ideas. In addition, one paper-based interview was also taken in Kyzylorda as many participants of the study mentioned the participant as a key person in the sphere. The data collected from this interview proved particular themes already collected from the other participants of the study. Therefore, it did not reveal different information.

Data collection procedures

The main source of data for the study were interviews. I conducted 24 in-depth semi-structured interviews with two categories of participants. In addition to prepared interview guide, I used probes and asked additional questions from participants that ranged from participant to participant in relation to their specific characteristics, occupation, etc. 22 interviews out of 24 were in person, while 2 participants provided written answers to my written questions sent via e-mail. Face-to-face interviews lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours. The average time of each interview was one hour. All 22 interviews were tape recorded with the permission of interviewees.

I also conducted textual analysis of public reports and legislations on volunteering in Kazakhstan. All relevant policy and legislative documents concerning volunteering and issued

since Kazakhstan becoming independent were selected. Public reports or textual documents that I used were publicly available on the web.

Data analysis procedures

Qualitative data analysis procedures were applied to analyze the interview data and textual documents (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). First, I transcribed all interviews and divided texts into 5-line paragraphs in order to develop a reference system and find relevant data easily. Transcripts were then analyzed using open coding, axial coding and selective coding procedures (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p 204). Data analysis included constant comparison and was conducted simultaneously with data collection. The constant comparison method involves comparing pieces of data and emerging themes to each other constantly in the process of data collection (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Then open codes of each interview were compared to the codes from other interviews in the group. Open codes were analyzed and grouped together into categories/subcategories or themes. This “process of grouping [...] open codes” is axial coding or analytical coding (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p 206). The process was repeated for the rest of the interviews. The final step of coding was selective coding, which is aimed at “core category propositions and hypothesis developing” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p 229). I applied axial and selective coding to identify themes, categories/subcategories, and relations among them.

Validity and reliability

To ensure the trustworthiness of the study, several strategies have been used. First, the triangulation strategy was applied. Data on volunteering activity have been collected from different sources, including legal and policy documents, expert analytical reports, and in-depth interviews. Second, interviews were conducted with two categories of research participants who had different perspectives and experiences in the volunteering sphere: volunteers and experts on volunteering.

Third, I sought to attain a maximum variation sample for this study. Maximum variation is “purposefully seeking variation or diversity in sample selection to allow for a greater range of application of the findings by consumers of the research” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p 259). The sample of study participants was heterogeneous with regards to volunteers’ age, gender, background, volunteer experiences, and the area of interest. Fieldwork was conducted in two different cities of Kazakhstan, which allowed me to account for regional variation.

Fourth, I kept a clear “audit trail” or a record of the steps taken throughout the research process. All interviews were audiotaped and fully transcribed. The findings of the study have been described in detail in order to develop “thick” description.

At the end of data collection and analysis, I reached the point of saturation or redundancy, when no new themes were emerging. It is also important to mention that the key individuals and organizations in the volunteering sector have been included in this study, as some participants referred to the same person (a volunteer or an expert) as a potential participant when I asked them to suggest participants for the study. This shows that people in the sphere are tightly connected as they know each other very well.

Researcher’s bias and assumptions

My purpose for doing this research comes from my personal experience in volunteering. I have quite a diverse volunteering experience in social projects, mass events such as the Asian Winter Games, TEDx conferences, and educational projects. During volunteering, I got acquainted with many people and found new friends and like-minded people. This volunteering experience helped me to gain new skills (especially communication skills). Currently, I have no time or interest in volunteering. One of the reasons to investigate the topic came from this. In the beginning of the research, I thought that there are two types of participation in volunteering. The first one is when young people are interested in having a new experience, gaining knowledge and skills and they come to volunteer seeking for those things. The second one is when people who

already have work and life experiences involved in volunteering to share their skills and knowledge and to do useful things. I also believed that volunteering is reciprocal, thus volunteers help others and gain knowledge, skills and new connections. Currently, I see that the phenomenon is more complicated that means people are not bound to the above-mentioned two ways of participation. Rather, there are more types of interests and effects of volunteering.

Ethical consideration and risks

First of all, in order to ensure that the study complies with research ethics, I applied and received an ethical approval of the Institutional Research Ethics Committee at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Nazarbayev University. Key strategies aimed to protect the participants and the researcher from potential risks were used. Participation in this study was voluntary. Written inform consent was offered to research participants at the beginning of interviews. Participants were constantly reminded of the voluntary character of their involvement in the study and of the withdrawal opportunities at any time during the research. In addition, participants were informed of the purposes of the study. Participants could ask questions about the research any time before, during, and after the data collection. The data gathered during the research were used only for academic purposes. Confidentiality of the participants was protected, as no names appear on the transcripts. Names and private information are coded. Recording of the interviews, field notes, and transcriptions of the interviews are stored on the investigator's personal computer protected with a password. Printed versions of research documents are kept in a locked drawer in order to limit access only for the researcher.

The study does not touch on sensitive topics, therefore potential risks for participants were minimal. Some questions that touched personal topics such as childhood, relationships with relatives, and close people or any other questions that participants were not feeling comfortable to answer were eliminated or asked very carefully. The participants were reminded that they had the right to refuse to answer. During the interviews, a tape recording was done only with the agreement of the interviewees.

Chapter 2. Literature review

Introduction

In the recent decades, volunteering has become a widespread social phenomenon around the world. Outcomes of this activity and its effects on solving social, political, and economic issues are significant. Therefore, volunteering has attracted the attention of scholars in different parts of the world. While in developed countries, research on volunteering has been conducted for several decades, in developing countries, it is a relatively new focus of study. Thus, this literature review mostly relies on the studies of volunteering in Western societies.

This chapter will begin with characteristics of volunteering and its definition in the Western literature. The next section is devoted to the ways in which scholars study the outcomes and effects of volunteering activities. The following section focuses on the motivation to volunteer, which is the most studied topic in the sphere of volunteering among scholars. The aim of the section is to find out why people volunteer, whether their motivation relates to individual characteristics of each volunteer, specific group characteristics, or macro-level factors such as the political system of the country. The next section focuses on how the motivation to volunteer varies among people of different age. Finally, the last section reviews the literature on volunteering in relation to the country where volunteering takes place. It focuses on the ways in which scholars explain the significance of the post-communist and post-Soviet contexts of volunteering.

Defining volunteering

The etymology of the word volunteering, the roots of the word goes to French word “volontaire” that is the form of Latin word voluntarius (willing). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the West and in Russia, the word volunteer described people who went to military service by their own will (Loktionova, 2012). Nowadays, the term volunteering, as well as volunteer, have different meanings. Modern volunteering is a general term for voluntary actions

that recently spread around the world. In this section, I will discuss diverse perspectives and various characteristics of volunteering in the context of the modern world.

There are two main paradigms developed in Europe and the US that are widely discussed among scholars: the civil society paradigm and the non-profit paradigm (Zappala, 2000; Rochester, 2006). From the perspective of the civil society paradigm (political and social sciences' perspective), volunteers are those interested in mutual work in order to reach a common goal or solve a shared problem in society (Rochester, 2006). In this paradigm, volunteers are treated as a force to address social problems. In other words, volunteers are an instrument of development of civil society through the accumulation of social capital. Therefore, volunteering actions are an important element for the formation of civil society. The civil society paradigm is different from the non-profit paradigm that treats volunteers as unpaid labor. In the non-profit paradigm, volunteering is seen as a philanthropic action – “a gift of time” to the public that does not require any material reward (Rochester, 2006, p 3). Volunteering can also be treated as a leisure activity (Parker, 2000; Rochester, 2006; Lockstone-Binneya, Holmesb, Smith & Baumd, 2010). This perspective on volunteering is the youngest among other paradigms. Volunteering as a leisure activity implies that people became interested in volunteering to acquire or express their knowledge, skills, and experiences (Rochester, 2006).

In addition, some scholars think that volunteering is closely related to but is distinct from activism, acts of services, and unpaid labor (Wilson, 2000, 2012). Volunteering implies that volunteers bring benefits for society, solve certain issues or do any other activity beneficial for society or individuals. For example, activism and volunteering are closely connected; however, while volunteers are more interested in the well-being or solving problems and being active, activists may do voluntary actions for the sake of the action or interest in being active (for instance, political activism) (Wilson, 2012). By this volunteers improve situations or solve problems being useful for society, while activism can be realized without bringing any benefits for society. Activism can be a compound of volunteering activity as well. According to

Rochester (2006), the civil society paradigm implies that volunteering is activism that influences the development of civil society. Volunteering can also be seen as unpaid labor as it is an act of philanthropy which is reflected in non-profit paradigm. However, volunteering is not purely activism, unpaid labor or leisure activity. Rochester claims that volunteering is a combination of two or all three of these elements (i.e., activism, unpaid labor, leisure). Therefore, volunteering takes different forms.

From the broader disciplinary perspective, volunteering has been studied in psychology, sociology, economics, and political science. The motivation for volunteering, self-concepts, and characteristics of the person was studied from a psychological point of view. Sociological theories studied volunteering from the sociodemographic characteristics and ecological variables. Economic theories studied volunteering remuneration, free labor, and the resourcefulness of volunteering (Wilson, 2012). There are several economic models such as the “private benefits model”, “investment model”, “consumption model”, “public good model” and others, to explain volunteering behavior (Hustinx, Cnaan & Handy, 2010, p 415). From the political science perspective, volunteering is seen in relation to civil society and democracy. Civic organizations demand an adequate number of volunteers to generate social capital and become an intermediary between citizens and other institutions (Hustinx et al., 2010; Wilson, 2012). The presence of volunteers in society activates the involvement of citizens in political, social, and economic processes; it prevents dictatorship and oppression (Hustinx et al., 2010; Wilson, 2012).

Because of many definitions of volunteering in scholarship, scholars tried to identify common features of volunteering in order to develop a clearer picture of the activity. Cnaan, Handy & Wadsworth (1996) identified four dimensions of volunteering that are common for many definitions of volunteering: free choice, the absence of remuneration, structure, and intended beneficiaries. Each dimension was discussed in the works of other scholars as well, but

the concepts discussed separately from each other (Rochester, 2006; Wilson, 2000) or in different classification (Snyder & Omoto, 2008).

According to Cnaan et al. (1996), the first dimension of volunteering describes the voluntary character of volunteering and the extent to which an action is voluntary. Some respondents claimed that volunteering should be based on purely free will (Snyder & Omoto, 2008), some saw volunteering as an activity influenced by others (when a person is expected to volunteer by employee, supervisor, etc.), and some recognized an obligation to volunteer as volunteering as well (for example, required by school). Rochester (2006) put last two above-mentioned characteristics in the category of non-voluntary unpaid labor along with internships. However, the author recognized that volunteering may contain “moral coercion” (p 4) that comes from given promise, convention or circumstances. In addition, Cnaan et al. (1996) underlined that making voluntary activities do not make the activity a volunteering activity. For example, entering military service voluntarily do not make it volunteering (p 365).

The second dimension is related to volunteer remuneration and debate whether volunteering can be rewarded. Volunteering activities are not paid, moreover, some volunteers pay for their expenses during volunteering. The authors also pointed out the other extreme of the unpaid character of volunteering is that the activity could be paid if it is less than the value of the work or service provided by volunteer (Cnaan et al., 1996). Some other authors claimed that volunteers cannot expect any specific remuneration for their activity except those that came naturally (for example, feelings) (Snyder & Omoto, 2008). There are still many debates on whether volunteering should be rewarded or not.

The third dimension is the context of volunteering activity (Cnaan et al., 1996) or structure (Rochester, 2006). According to some definitions given by participants of the study by Cnaan et al. (1996), some respondents think that volunteering is performed through organizations (NGOs, NPOs and even private for profit), while some others think that help to neighbors and friends is also volunteering. According to Rochester (2006), volunteering can take different forms such as

civic participation, informal, and formal volunteering. Civic engagement refers to participation in public events, due to the membership in society (signing a petition, for example). Informal and formal volunteering refer to individual unpaid help and help through organizations respectively. Moreover, Snyder and Omoto claim that volunteering should take a certain amount of time and should not be a one-time spontaneous activity. Volunteering should include some kind of decision-making. In other words, decision making means volunteering is not a spontaneous act of help, rather planned or thought out help. In contrast, Rochester (2006) says that under the diversification of social life and institutions in modern time, volunteering developed long-term and short-term types. Long-term volunteering demands a strong dedication to the actions and to the organization, while short-term volunteering is an episodic phenomenon. Thus, volunteering may take a form of one-time activity.

The last dimension of volunteering is related to beneficiaries. Beneficiaries range from strangers and people of the same background (relatives and with the same socioeconomic and cultural characteristics) to volunteers themselves (as self-help). For example, Snyder & Omoto (2008) claim that volunteering is commonly done through organizations and is aimed at those who are not related to the volunteer (friend, neighbor). Moreover, in their opinion beneficiaries should welcome the help of volunteers.

As volunteering is a complex phenomenon that has multiple dimensions, models of volunteering have been developed to study the phenomenon from different perspectives, such as the Volunteering Process Model (VPM) (Snyder & Omoto, 2008) and the Volunteer Stages and Transition Model (VSTM) (Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008). The VPM model considers psychological and behavioral features on three stages of volunteering process and in different levels of analysis. Each stage unfolds new characteristic of volunteering process. Those stages are antecedents, experiences, and consequences. The levels of analysis of the model are individual, group, organization and social or cultural context (p 7). Antecedents of volunteerism focus on the investigation of the personality, socioeconomic characteristics, interests and other

qualities of individuals that volunteer. The next stage focuses on the relations between different subjects of volunteering activity including the volunteer, volunteer organizations, staff, recipients, and others. The final stage focuses on the consequences, effects of volunteering on behavior, opinions, and knowledge of volunteers. The model analyzes data putting it in crossing boxes between the levels of analyses and stages of volunteer process as it is shown in Table 1. The VPM is based on the volunteering practices of AIDS and HIV volunteers that limit the sphere of volunteering under the study. The change of the sphere of volunteering might add or exclude some elements of the model. Moreover, Snyder and Omoto (2008) developed a definition and characteristics of volunteering for their studies that exclude volunteers who do not engage in work with volunteering organizations. Lastly, VPM describes volunteering stages and characteristics of each stage and level of analysis, but it is not illustrative in describing the transition from one stage to the other.

Levels of Analysis	Stages of the Volunteer Process		
	Antecedents	Experiences	Consequences
Individual	Personality, motivation, life circumstances	Satisfaction, stigma, organizational integration	Knowledge and attitude change, health
Interpersonal/ Social Group	Group memberships, norms	Helping relationship, collective esteem	Composition of social network, relationship development
Agency/ Organization	Recruitment strategies, training	Organizational culture, volunteer placement	Volunteer retention, work evaluation
Societal/Cultural Context	Ideology, service programs and institutions	Service provision, program development	Social capital, economic savings

Fig. 1. Schematic of the volunteer process model.

Table 1. Volunteer process model (Snyder & Omoto, 2008, p 7)

Another framework called the Volunteer Stages and Transition Model focuses on the exact process of transition of volunteers from their first encounter with volunteering to retirement from doing this activity. The model identifies five phases (nominee, a newcomer, emotional

involvement, established volunteering, and retirement) that the volunteer passes during the socialization process (Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008). The model also describes the process focusing on the socialization that volunteer experience becoming a part of an organization. The authors argue that many aspects of volunteering such as motivation, effects, turnover were studied as separate categories, while when they are studied in relation to each other they change significantly. The authors criticize the VPM as the model is not describing the experience of a volunteer on each stage, rather focusing on the stages themselves. While the aim of VSTM is to compare experiences and perceptions of new volunteers (less than 6 months of volunteering experience) and senior volunteers (more than 12 months) tracing their development. The model is described in Table 2. The model aimed to understand the process of socialization of volunteers within organization, thus it does not take into account external factors outside the organization (related to society and a state) that may influence volunteers' work.

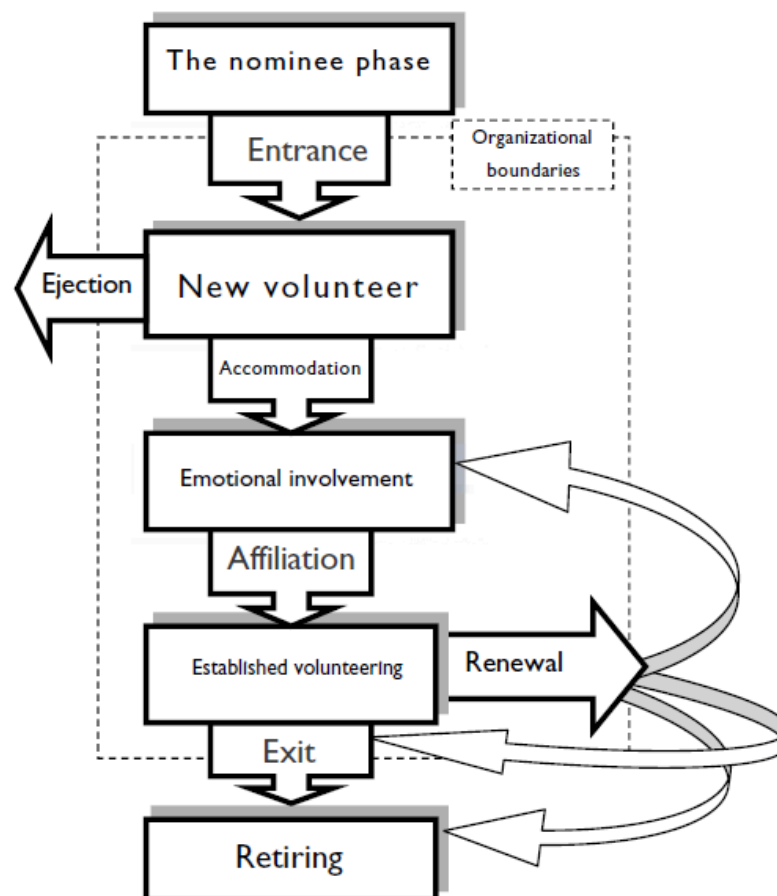


Table 2. Volunteer Stages and Transition Model (Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008, p 74)

Personal, social and political outcomes of volunteering

This section gives an overview of the literature on effects of volunteering activity on volunteers' personality and their social and political representation.

Literature indicates that volunteering might have a range of personal, social and political effects. Scholars who study volunteering claim that volunteering experience changes volunteers' understanding of the world and of themselves (Haski-Leventhal, 2008, Snyder & Omoto, 2008, Wilson, 2012). Volunteers themselves claim that their experiences change them significantly (Omoto & Snyder, 2008). Volunteering has positive effects on the self-esteem, academic achievements, confidence, and personal improvement of volunteers (Wilson 2000, Omoto & Snyder, 2008; Hustinx et al., 2010). It also helps the volunteer to reduce depression and stress and to improve mental health (Omoto & Snyder, 2008). Volunteering can be beneficial even for physical health and lower the level of morbidity and mortality (Wilson, 2012).

Social interaction is one of the benefits of volunteering as well. In many developed countries, volunteering experiences can help in finding a job and in improving one's career prospects (Wilson, 2012). Volunteers are more engaged with social issues than non-volunteers. Thus, they are more socialized and feel responsible for their actions before society; they tend to develop leadership skills and be more interested in political life (Wilson, 2000; Omoto & Snyder, 2008).

Besides, active volunteering actions in the political and social life of society lead to the development of democracy (Putnam, 1995; Wilson & Musick, 1999). Thus, active citizenship is one of the effects of volunteering (Wilson & Musick, 1999). In the eighteenth century, for the first time relation of civic engagement and democracy was studied by Alexis de Tocqueville in his book *Democracy in America* on the example of American civil society (Putnam, 1995). Later on, social scientists developed the concept of social capital ("features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual

benefit”) (Putnam, 1995, p 67). According to this concept, volunteering activity influences the development of social capital of individuals and raises their civic engagement that contributes to the improvement of democratic society.

Apart from positive effects, volunteering can also have negative effects. According to Wilson (2012), many volunteers idealize their work and overestimate the effects of their help. Volunteers should learn to handle their expectations. Otherwise, volunteering can eventually lead to burnout. Emotional displays should also be restricted. As volunteers mostly ‘work’ in tight connection with a staff of volunteering organizations, sometimes volunteers and staff have different views and because they are dependent on each other, it can be quite problematic to come to a consensus. The sphere of volunteering plays a vital role, too. Sometimes, instead of improving their mental health, volunteers in disaster settings or those who volunteer with vulnerable layers of society might suffer from depression (Hustinx et al., 2010; Wilson 2012). Additionally, in relation to governmental organizations, volunteering can lead to a decrease of a sense of responsibility of official institutions and rise of reliance on volunteering organizations (Hustinx et al., 2010).

Motivation to volunteer

This section focuses on motives that drive volunteers to start and continue they activity. The reasons why people volunteer can be very diverse, including individual qualities of the volunteers, general characteristics of the geographical location, and requirements of the specific period of life of people, and other factors.

Scholars who study the motivation behind volunteering are divided into two camps (Batson, Duncan, Acherman, Buckley & Birch, 1981; Shye, 2009; Stukas, Hoye, Nicholson, Brown & Aisbett, 2016). The first camp claims that volunteering is an act of altruism; reasons or motives for volunteering are understood as a sacrifice for the well-being of others. The second camp describes motives of volunteering as the actions in order to gain something for oneself

from the activity (egoism). In other words, Stukas et al. (2016) call volunteering led by egoistic and altruistic motives self-oriented and other-oriented volunteering respectively. Therefore, it can be seen that while in the first case volunteering is based on giving, in the second one it is based on reciprocity. Shye (2009) calls interaction of both cases the altruistic-egoistic duality.

Comparing these two positions, Batson et al. (1981) concluded that the more empathy the volunteer feels, the more altruistic volunteering is. The other study by Clary & Orenstain (1991) and Rubin & Thorelli (1984) found that other-oriented volunteers were more likely to sustain a commitment to volunteering than self-oriented ones. Similar to it, Penner and Finkelstein (1998) found that the lengths of AIDS volunteer service depended on the extent to which the motivation of volunteers could be considered altruistic. Also, the other-oriented volunteers are more likely to show frequent activity in society (Omoto, Snyder & Hackett, 2010). Thus, the conclusion might be that other-oriented volunteering is more likely to be productive. However, in another study, Omoto & Snyder (1995) found that self-oriented volunteers show longer activity than other-oriented among AIDS volunteers. This might be because of the sphere of volunteering when it is emotionally difficult.

Among scholars who focus on volunteering as a self-oriented activity, there are differing interpretations of the kinds of benefits that volunteers obtain from their activity. From the social accounting perspective, Handy & Mook (2011) used cost - benefit analysis. They describe a few models that explain motives of volunteering. According to the consumption model, volunteers benefit by receiving private benefits known as the “warm glow” (positive emotions from giving) (p 412) from their activity. In the investment focused model, the skills and knowledge acquired from volunteering raise the human capital of the volunteer, while volunteers’ social capital benefits from social networks that are built up.

The above-mentioned studies focus mostly on altruistic and/or egoistic aspect of a motivation of volunteering, while Clary and Snyder (1999) were the first to develop a more complex theory of six personal and social functions of volunteering using the functional

approach. The findings support the conclusion of the study that the nature of volunteers' motivation is complex and people have different reasons to volunteer. Therefore, a motivation for volunteering cannot be only altruistic and/or egoistic. Hustinx, Handy, Cnaan, Brudley, Pessi & Yamauchi (2010) developed another complex approach applying social origins theory and signaling theory to research motivation to volunteer across countries. They assume that even though individual motivation plays an important role in volunteering, macro-level societal forces of volunteering need to be addressed as well.

In addition, Shye (2009) develops one of the most complex theories. It is a new approach to the study of volunteering motivations called systematic quality of life theory. According to Shye, the problem of previous studies of motivation is a reliance on spontaneous answers of volunteers or on the list of answers from findings of previous studies. Shye argues that the motivation to volunteer could be studied more systematically. The problem mentioned by Shye is the classification of causes and motivations (as in previous studies by Clary and Snyder (1999), Wilson (2000) and Rochester (2006)). In this study, motivations are divided into three groups: demographic antecedents, motivations, and circumstances. The first group includes personal resources and assets that make the person able to volunteer. Wilson discussed personal assets and resources at length (2000, 2012). The second group is motivations that are actually the reasons why people want to volunteer. The last group is circumstances or opportunities that are events or reasons because of chances of volunteering appear (invitation, for example).

Volunteering in relation to age

In the sphere of volunteering, the reasons for volunteering and its types vary according to the age of the people involved. Many scholars covered the topic of volunteering in different age and over the life course. Following age groups can be allocated from the scope of literature on this topic: teenagers, young adults, middle-aged adults, and older adults. Some scholars specifically focus on one age group, while others research a few age groups in comparison. This

section identifies the reasons why people volunteer at different ages and whether their age affects where and how they volunteer.

One of the studies that compare different age groups in Australia is the study by Gray, Khoo & Reimondos (2012). The findings of the study show that the involvement of people in volunteering and specific types of volunteering are mostly connected with work and family circumstances, such as the presence of children in the family and the volunteering activity of a partner. Lancee and Radl (2014) in their study in Germany also studied the effects of family characteristics, employment status, and education on volunteering activity in the life course. They found that life course events have limited influence on the volunteering activity except those related to family conditions. People who get used to volunteering in younger age continue volunteering in later life.

As for individual age groups' study, young people and older adults (retired people) are the age groups studied the most. According to Wilson (2000, 2012), a prosocial behavior of children is related to their family origins. Children are more likely to volunteer if their parents are involved in this activity. Also, the atmosphere in the family and fulfillment of feelings of a child by parents play a crucial role. External factors outside the family such as school, extracurricular activities (Brooks, 2007) and mandatory volunteering at school (in the case of the USA) are positively correlated with the continuation of volunteering in the future. Additionally, Handy et al. (2010) found out that resumé building is one of the primary reasons for young people to volunteer in developed countries. However, the intensity of such volunteering is less than of those volunteers with other motives. Overall reasons for volunteering among young people can be different according to their occupation or extracurricular activities and so on (Brooks, 2007; Francis, 2011).

Volunteering in later life is significantly different from volunteering in adulthood or younger ages (Morrow-Howell, 2010). Early research on volunteering during retirement described volunteering as an activity that allowed the elderly to stay active during retirement

(Ekerdt, 1986). Currently, the discussion in the topic changed to serious civic engagement among retired people. Older adults are more likely to volunteer in social or community organizations (Musick & Wilson, 2007; Gray et al., 2012). However, while Musick & Wilson claim that older adults in the United States tend to volunteer in religious organizations, Gray et al. claim the opposite tendency in their study of Australia. Thus, geographical characteristics and country specificities are important for understanding the motivations to volunteer among different age groups. The purposes of volunteering are also different. While youngsters and middle-aged adults volunteer with the purpose to promote or improve their skills, knowledge, and career, older adults are more interested in helping and remaining active after retirement (Okun & Schultz, 2003).

Using the concept of role identity, Marta & Pozzi (2008) found that young people volunteer because volunteering contributes to their individual role identity. They found that group integration and satisfaction are more important for young people than merged effects and external support. Volunteering organizations play an important role in directing young people in their volunteering activity and thus contribute to the formation of their identity. According to Fraser, Clayton, Sickler & Taylor (2009), collective identity and social support occupy an important place for older volunteers as well.

Overall, it can be seen that there are some patterns in each age group of volunteering that can be generalized. However, other factors such as the policy of the country of study, a level of development, and cultural peculiarities should also be taken into consideration. For example, retired people in post-Soviet countries of Central Asia do not tend to volunteer. Therefore, cross-cultural studies on one or several age groups might show a more diverse picture of volunteering, a different perspective on the life course, and different factors influencing volunteering.

Volunteering according to country

It is important to note that volunteers' characteristics, motives to volunteer, and effects of volunteering depend on geographical and historical characteristics of the region or the country of study. According to a geography of the literature, studies on volunteering cover the following geographic areas: post-Soviet countries (former Soviet republics), post-communist countries (post-Soviet countries, Soviet-controlled Eastern bloc countries, the Balkans), developing or developed countries, groups of countries in cross-cultural studies, and individual countries. As this literature review shows, the character of volunteering activity is dependent on socioeconomic and cultural factors influencing individuals, therefore, the economic, political situation and historical and cultural peculiarities of the country is an important factor. The literature on volunteering in post-communist and post-Soviet countries, including individually in Kazakhstan is discussed in the following section.

Some scholars suggest that development of volunteering and civil initiatives in post-Soviet and post-communist countries is related to the influence of Western cultural and political practices and higher economic development (Kuti, 2004; Voicu & Voicu, 2009). According to Kuti (2004), civil initiatives and self-organization of citizens were a common practice in Western Europe. This practice came with modernization and Enlightenment to the Northern Tier countries (Northern European and Baltic countries), while Southern Tier countries (former Yugoslavia and the Balkans) were not able to transfer this practice because of invasion of Ottoman empire in 15th century. In its turn, Eurasia (the former Soviet Union) was under constant attack of invasions (countries such as Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia) and some of the Eurasian countries (she refers to Central Asia) did not manage to form nations until the formation of the Soviet Union. Therefore, Eurasia did not have freedom and space for independent civil initiatives. She also adds that Western-type of culture was too far to transfer civil society practices in Eurasia. Similarly, Voicu and Voicu (2009) focus comparison of the Soviet regime of post-communist Eastern Europe societies and Central European societies

claiming that volunteering is lower in post-Soviet countries because of the Soviet repressive regime. Moreover, they add that poorer quality of life of the population in comparison to Eastern Europe societies decrease volunteering initiatives. While cultural westernization and spread of democratic values through globalization gradually increased the voluntary actions of the population in post-communist countries.

Some scholars also discussed the religious and cultural context of the post-communist countries. According to Kuti (2004), religion was one more condition for the development of civil initiatives. Mainly Christianity and Islam were spread in the countries of northern and southern Tiers and Eurasia. Both Islam and Christianity have elements of help in their theology. Thus, it could be a good foundation for the development of civil initiatives. Although the author says that charity and philanthropic activities were common for all religions, she mentions that the Orthodox Church's strong emphasis on charity could influence the development of reluctant attitude towards volunteering nowadays. For Islam charitable activities also had an important place, but the introduction of the Soviet rule and destruction of mosques led to fading of this tradition.

The other body of literature focused on the influence of the Soviet or communist past on volunteering, including its effects on the overall population and on different generations of post-Soviet and/or post-communist countries. According to Bell, Reinert, Cent, Grodzinska-Jurczak, Kobierska, Podlet and Vandzhinskaite (2010), coercion to do involuntary volunteering during the Soviet period influenced social behavior of the people in Poland, Slovenia, and Lithuania. In the generational studies, scholars claim that post-communist generations are not likely to volunteer more. Rather volunteering initiatives related to the level of education (Paturyan & Gevorgyan, 2014). In the other study of young volunteers, participants tend to view volunteering as a way to distance themselves from the socialist past and to construct their identities and biographies (Read, 2010). Analyzing volunteering practices of the youth of Czech Republic through the

concept of reflexive modernization, Read, (2010) argued that “historical shifts structure young people’s experiences of volunteering in the present day” (p 550).

Summary

Volunteering as a pre-modern activity has been provided in the form of the help and support among the people around the world. However, volunteering in its modern form is a more recent phenomenon. It is important to note that the modern form of volunteering cannot be neatly defined.

The perspectives that volunteering activity was studied from are diverse, but there are three main paradigms identified in the literature. Using characteristics of these paradigms, I can try to indicate the paradigm in which volunteers work in Kazakhstani context. Also, some authors identify common characteristics of volunteering, which I will try to apply in my studies and consider the characteristics of volunteering among young people of Kazakhstan.

Age was found as an important factor that influences individual motivation to volunteer and can be generalized to those groups with similar life stages like students, adults with children or retired people. However, other factors such as the policy context of the country of study, individual life experience, and education should be counted as well. The socioeconomic factors, culture, and religion can also influence individual motivation to volunteer and the volunteering as a social phenomenon.

The VPM and VSTM are not the models I would like to use. The VPM describes many levels of analysis, but cannot provide relations of these different levels and stages deeply. While VSTM focuses on one type of volunteering and even though it describes the socialization of volunteer within an organization, it cannot describe external influence on volunteers’ work.

There is a limited body of research on volunteering in post-Soviet countries. Scholarly work particularly in post-Soviet countries, do not address specific questions such as motivations to volunteering, volunteering during life course, or effects of volunteering. Volunteering in post-

Soviet countries mostly works in the civil society paradigm and influence of democratic values on the development of volunteering in these countries. Also, the literature on post-communist and post-Soviet countries discusses effects of history and post-Soviet culture on the current state of volunteering and civil initiatives. However, even though this literature mentions the cultural background of the countries, it does not make any analysis of the influence of cultural background.

Chapter 3. Volunteering in the legal and policy framework and its impact on volunteers

Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyze the legal and policy environment that has shaped the work of volunteers and volunteer organization since Kazakhstani independence in 1991. First, I make an overview of the laws adopted from 1991-2016 that regulate non-governmental and nonprofit sector but are also indirectly concerned with volunteering; I will analyze the mechanisms of work of these organizations with volunteers in the framework of current laws. Then I will examine the Draft Law on Volunteering (first drafted in 2015 and adopted in December 2016) and the debate around it. While volunteering can be interpreted in multiple different ways, I will analyze the different perspectives on volunteering of the state and non-state actors involved in the sphere of volunteering. It will allow me to examine the needs and problems of volunteers. In addition, this analysis will show how the law might influence volunteering conditions in Kazakhstan.

The state of volunteering in policy and legal environment in Kazakhstan

Currently, volunteering activities in the country are practiced within a network of various pieces of legislations related to volunteering organizations such as NGOs and NPOs or in the framework of the other laws of the land. Volunteers' activity emerged in the context of NGOs that played a key role in promoting volunteering in Kazakhstan after 1991. The first law that regulates the activity of volunteering organizations was the Law on Public Associations (adopted on 31 May 1996). According to the law, public associations are political parties, as well as professional and other types of organizations uniting citizens on a voluntary basis to reach common goals within the limits of Kazakhstani law. Though law did not contain any text referring specifically to volunteering or volunteers, it suggested that public associations may use volunteers to help in their work, but the law did not elaborate on their status.

The Law on NPOs (adopted on 16 January 2001), defines NPOs and considers different types of the organizations that can be recognized as non-profit ones. According to the Law, “NPOs may be created in order to achieve social, cultural, scientific, educational, charitable, management objectives; protection of rights and legal interests of citizens and organizations; the resolution of disputes and conflicts; satisfaction of the spiritual and other needs of citizens; protection of public health, environmental protection, development of physical culture and sports; legal aid, as well as for other purposes, aimed at providing public goods and benefits of their members (participants)” (Paragraph 4).

There are therefore many types of NPOs with different aims in the Kazakhstani legislation. They include but are not limited to, public associations, funds, consumers’ cooperatives, and religious unions. They all have one thing in common: they are all voluntary initiatives of the people with shared aims. The activities of NPOs must be related to these aims and fall within the limits of Kazakhstani law. At the same time, more detailed regulations are outlined in the charter of the organizations. The law does not contain any specific regulations or even definitions of volunteering, and it does not define the role of volunteers in NPOs.

In 2002 the government approved the Concept of governmental support for non-governmental organizations (January 23, 2002). According to the Concept, its main aim is the democratization of society through the development of the non-governmental sector that was mentioned in part II “Democratization of Society is the Time’s Order” of State of the Nation Address by President in October 2000. In addition, the Concept was used to develop the Program of governmental support for non-governmental organizations (approved on 17 March 2003) that was meant to help establish partner relations between NGOs and governmental institutions (The Concept, 2002; Kurganskaya, 2002). In contrast to the previous Law, the Program is more explicit in using the term “volunteer” - “*dobrovolets*” (an equivalent of the word of volunteer (волонтер) in Russian) in a few paragraphs. According to the Program,

“NGOs are NPOs created by citizens on a voluntary basis in order to achieve their common goals, not contradicting the law of the land, which are one of the mechanisms of regulation of social relations that serve as intermediaries between the state and citizens in solving social problems in the formation of civil society” (Paragraph 3.1).

Thus, NGOs are seen as an instrument to build civil society, while the role of volunteers in the relations of the state and citizens recognized through the work of NGOs as it is seen from the following statement:

“Public authorities should promote the development of volunteering as an unpaid (безвозмездная), socially significant activities of individuals, being implemented in the framework of the activities of NGOs” (Paragraph 5.2).

The statement suggests that *dobrovol'cheskaya deyatel'nost* (volunteering) is non-profitable and socially important. Volunteering is regulated by the law and charter of NPOs. Interestingly, the term NGO did not appear in the previously discussed laws and this law was the first piece of legislation in a sense related to volunteering. However, it is important to mention that the program currently lost its power as it was developed for the period of 2003-2005 years.

The term *dobrovolets* has been replaced with a more anglicized волонтер (volunteer) in the recently approved Law on Charity (adopted on 16 November 2016). The change to the word ‘volunteer’ may indicate that perception of Kazakhstani lawmakers to volunteers changed and local volunteers became to be seen through the prism of global volunteering movement rather than simply *dobrovol'cheskaya deyatel'nost*. According to this law, there are two subjects of charity activities: philanthropists and charity volunteers (paragraph 4). Philanthropists engage in philanthropic, sponsorship, and patronage activities. A philanthropist can thus be a sponsor as well as a patron. The Law does not explain whether philanthropists can be charity volunteers. Rather, it separates these subjects. Charity volunteers are defined as follows:

“volunteer of charity [area of activity] - an individual who participates in the charity through the use of their experience, special skills, knowledge, abilities, personal contacts on the basis of the agreement concluded with the benefactor.”

The difference between these two subjects might be that volunteer of charity is a person that contributes personal time and skills, while a philanthropist mostly sacrifices his or her material and financial resources. Subjects of charity activity, charity organization and beneficiaries act based on the agreement that describes their obligations and rights. In addition, if volunteers working for a charity collect donations, he should submit a report on his activity for the philanthropist (paragraph 23). This statement demonstrates that volunteer of charity is more involved in the processes of work of charity organization than a philanthropist, while philanthropist plays the role of supplier.

This analysis shows that volunteers have been described in these Laws in relation to the type of the organizations' work that the Laws cover. Thus, each organization decides on its own what will be relations of volunteers and organization as well as how these relations will be regulated. The laws cover only volunteers that belong to some organization or have some kind of relation with it (formal volunteering), while individual volunteers and groups of volunteers that do not work in partnership with any organization (informal volunteering) stay outside the competence of the above-mentioned laws.

Current concerns about legislation on volunteering activity in Kazakhstan

The previous section discusses laws that indirectly address some aspects of volunteering in Kazakhstan; this section discusses the Draft Law on Volunteering which primary focus is on volunteering sphere. Recently, the National Volunteer Network (NVN) raised the topic of the need for the law on volunteering. The organization was founded in 2010 and is well known in volunteering and the NPOs/NGOs sphere. On 16 June 2015, in support of the NVN initiative, Majilis deputy Meiram Begentayev presented the Draft Law on volunteering to experts, officials and volunteers (Analytical group “Club of Institute of Political Solutions” (CIPS), 2015b).

According to Begentayev, he had worked on the draft of the law for three years and discussed it previously in other forums with NVN, expert club “Sarap time”, etc. (CIPS, 2015b).

Although the meeting on June 16, 2016, was the first time when legislation on volunteering was discussed with governmental officials, other discussions on the need of legislation took place among local NGOs and international organizations. According to the Volunteer House (founded by the Soros Foundation Kazakhstan), the absence of legal support of volunteering may bring several problems (Shyndautova, 2003). Firstly, the term volunteering covers wide range activities, and, consequently, can be interpreted in many ways. Secondly, as long as government officials recognize volunteers as employees and not a separate category, they can exact financial fines from volunteering organizations by claiming that labor must not go unpaid. For the same reason, as volunteers do not have official status, their spendings cannot be compensated. Moreover, paid compensation should be taxed, as it can be recognized as individual profit. Similarly, health and safety benefits cannot be provided to volunteers in the absence of a law regulating the sphere of volunteering. Finally, volunteers are responsible for any unintentional harm that may result from their work. Therefore, no legislation protected volunteers’ rights (Shyndautova, 2003). In addition, the theme of special legislation on volunteering was also discussed by local NPOs (Support Center NPO Astana in 2010) and on youth forum (V Civil forum in 2011) previously but did not grab attention from governmental officials. Therefore, the question of legal support of volunteering remained open until recently.

On the governmental level, Majilis deputy Meiram Begentayev raised these issues for the first time proposing the draft Law on Volunteering for local NPOs, volunteers and experts on June 16, 2015. The Law faced controversial reactions from the audience that can be illustrated in the verbatim report of the meeting. The main point of disagreement was whether the Law on volunteering would increase the effectiveness of volunteering or, on the contrary, discourage volunteers and reduce people’s interest in volunteering.

Notes and critique provided by participants illustrated that volunteers, experts, and government in the representation of the deputy Begentayev have differing and conflicting visions of volunteering. According to the deputy, the main aim of the Draft Law is to increase the effectiveness of volunteering in Kazakhstan rather than to establish governmental control over volunteers. The Draft Law is aimed to develop social opportunities for volunteers through giving official status to volunteers that with the absence of legal status will not be available. The absence of this status may lead volunteers to lose benefits, privileges, and opportunities that volunteering may bring them. Volunteers can lose unemployment benefits being occupied in volunteering. The absence of legal recognition also leads to ignoring volunteering experience for the future employment of volunteers. Norms for the development of international volunteering are also absent. The rest of arguments of the deputy in support of the need for the law on volunteering resonates with the ones provided by the Volunteering House in the previous paragraph.

The arguments that the deputy brought recognized to be important by participants of the meeting, but non-state actors (experts and volunteers) criticized the Draft Law on different aspects (CIPS, 2015a; CIPS, 2015b) as it did not completely help to solve above-mentioned issues. Firstly, volunteers need the provision of support through governmental cooperation, but not control over volunteers that the Draft Law in its current shape provides. They think that as governmental control may imply reports and obligations to volunteers it can decrease volunteers' motivation. Secondly, volunteers need access to institutions where they volunteer such as orphanages, boarding schools, and other governmental institutions. The Draft Law does not cover mechanisms of cooperation of governmental institutions in gaining access to those institutions. Thirdly, the Draft Law does not illustrate mechanisms of cooperation between governmental institutions and volunteering organizations or volunteers rather putting more responsibility on volunteers and volunteering organizations. For example, in the Draft Law provision of medical insurance for volunteers is an obligation of a coordinator. The coordinator

can be assigned by the volunteering organization as well as in an initiative group of volunteers that volunteer independently of any organization. It might be easier for a volunteering organization to provide medical insurance for their volunteers, while for an initiative group it might be a great burden. Fourthly, the Draft Law makes it possible for volunteers to register in a certain governmental organization in order to provide volunteers with benefits (that are not listed in the Draft Law yet). In the opinion of participants, although registration is not obligatory, it is quite complex and requires much paperwork. Moreover, it might be another cause for corruption because of the benefits. Fifthly, participants debated whether they need governmental grant-awarding bodies for volunteering organizations written in the Draft Law. One group emphasized the importance of making grants for compensation and basic needs of volunteering organizations. The other group doubted the importance of grant support of a volunteering organization as charity organizations, for example, are more in need of financial support (CIPS, 2015b). The discussion of the Draft Law shows that each group of experts or volunteers judges the Draft Law from their own perspective that may reduce the practical importance of the law. However, it does not mean that the law is unnecessary at least to support the status of volunteers.

In relation to the text of the law on volunteering, I would like to draw attention to some additional issues. Firstly, there are no clear criteria for determining who is recognized as a volunteer, what is required to register, and who is allowed to register as a volunteer in the Draft Law. Secondly, an obligation to provide certain benefits for volunteers may not burden volunteering organizations already operating based on their own documentation. It also will not change anything for the volunteers remained unregistered. Thirdly, the Draft Law does not address key concerns raised by volunteers, as it leaves key decisions that affect volunteers' day-to-day work in the hands of external actors. For instance, the Draft Law does not explain how the right of volunteers to obtain free transport tickets is implemented. Instead, this right is related to the regulations of transport companies. Similarly, the Draft Law leaves access to institutions to volunteers up to the heads of institutions. Finally, the law does not cover taxation issues

(possibly, because the changes should be made to Taxation Code). Therefore, implementation of the Draft Law in its current shape may not discourage volunteers from doing their activities, but it will not provide them with additional motivations and may burden volunteering organizations as well. It is true that the Draft Law contains statements claiming that the government needs to provide support and control over the sphere of volunteering, but it does explain how this will be implemented.

Summary

Since Kazakhstan gained independence in 1991, volunteering has developed in the framework of the laws of the land and the laws on the non-governmental and non-profit sector but they did not address volunteering directly. While formal volunteers may work in the frame of the laws and charters of organizations they belong to, informal volunteers are self-regulated and work in the frame of the laws of the land. This situation shows that volunteering in Kazakhstan has been self-regulated until recently and did not receive much external support. Nevertheless, non-state actors (volunteers and experts) have argued for a long time for the need for a special law on volunteering to draw governmental and social support. On the governmental level, volunteering became an important topic recently, when the draft law on volunteering was proposed in 2015 and adopted in December 2016 as the first legislation specifically aimed at the volunteering sphere. While the government actors claimed that the law is aimed to provide social opportunities for volunteers, non-state actors argued that the law did not ultimately specify how its key goals would be reached. It can be seen that the Draft Law in a current shape has advantages as well as disadvantages for the future development of the volunteering sphere.

Chapter 4. Finding

Introduction

This chapter presents the data extracted from the interviews and organized into themes. These themes are grouped into the following categories: (1) the notion of volunteering and volunteers among Kazakhstani youth; (2) volunteering motivation and benefits for volunteers; (3) the relationship between volunteers and volunteering organization/beneficiaries; (4) the relationship between volunteers and the state/society (institutionalization). Each category consists of the particular number of themes. The first category draws on the notion of volunteering and characteristics of volunteering activity and of volunteers. In the second category, I discuss how volunteers describe their individual volunteering experiences that include their motivations, benefits of their activity, volunteers' attitude towards different processes, situations and difficulties they encounter during volunteering, etc. The third category describes the relationships between volunteers and volunteering organizations/beneficiaries from the perspective of volunteers and key informants/experts who represent volunteering organizations. The category cover difficulties of the relationship between volunteers and volunteering organization, conditions offered to volunteers, expectations, and requirements related to volunteers and the role of beneficiaries in the relations with volunteers. The last category describes the relationship of volunteers and the state/society showing the importance of institutionalization and representation of volunteers in the society.

The notion of volunteering and volunteers

One of the concerns of study participants related to volunteers is that volunteers are treated as a *free workforce* among the public and some volunteering organizations. "Volunteers are considered a free labor [...] it's not very good" (Interviewee F, Almaty, 2016), "a volunteer is not a resource, it's a source. This is the person who comes to realize his dream, and not your dreams" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). In their opinion, volunteers are the "people that voluntarily

implement their civil initiative” (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). Therefore, they are *driving force* that "leads to changes" in the society (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). In civil society, volunteers play a role of "initiators, enthusiasts who decide to unite their efforts to solve a problem" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). Some other participants also claim that volunteers are the people who want to make useful changes. "Volunteers are those people who do not have empty heads, but who think at least a little bit. They want to create a celebration, create emotions, and make useful things” (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016).

Other study participants suggested different types of volunteers. Saying that some people volunteer *informally, not being a member of volunteering organizations*, while some others volunteer *formally*. "A volunteer is a person who provides assistance [...], participating in the activities of a volunteer organization, a coordinated activity that adheres to the principles of the organization" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016). Therefore, volunteering cover activities through the cooperation of volunteers and registered organizations and volunteering of informal initiative groups or just individuals that want to help. "Even if it is just an initiative group [...] it is also volunteering because they [or their activity also] do not imply financial benefit for themselves, [it is also] voluntary [...]" (Interviewee R, Astana, 2016), “[...] you can even help a person to cross the road, to help carry a bag, it is also some kind of volunteering [...]" (Interviewee W, Astana, 2016).

Describing volunteering phenomenon, study participants focused on different characteristics of volunteering. Most of those characteristics are the same. For instance, many participants state that volunteering is an *unpaid activity*, because “[...] people do not receive money for it” (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016) or do it “[...] without financial gain” (Interviewee A, Kyzylorda, 2016). This characteristic distinguishes volunteering from mandatory activities because financial reward makes a person obliged to do certain actions, but volunteering “is not a duty, [because] people do not receive money for it” (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016).

Another characteristic similar to the one mentioned above is related to reward that volunteers gain. Whether volunteering is rewarding or not is controversial among respondents. Study participants imply different meanings in the reward that volunteers may gain from their activity. Some participants believe that “volunteering is when one person helps the other without any reward” (Interviewee C, Astana, 2016), it is “no reward activity” (Interviewee X, Astana, 2016). By claiming volunteering as a not rewarding activity, participants refer to the absence of financial benefits. Some respondents even think that “[volunteering] has to be [...] not only without reward, even demanding some investments from the volunteer” (Interviewee N, Astana, 2016). On the other hand, some participants do not agree that volunteering is not rewarding. They claim that payments for transportation or food are material benefits (i.e. rewards) that volunteers get. Others think that “[...] it is always rewarded, rendered because at the end you made something good to someone [even yourself]” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016) and volunteers get positive response. Therefore, according to some participants, volunteering is a reciprocal process.

Most of these definitions also describe volunteering as a *group or individual activities with good and positive effects* on society or its individual members. This means that volunteering is a “useful activity of own will” (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016). Some participants also stress that volunteering is useful not only for beneficiaries but for volunteers as well. “[In volunteering] someone surely receives some advantage”, “volunteering is... [when you] made everything for someone else’s and your own needs and everyone is happy from it” (Interview M, Astana, 2016). This resonates with the above-mentioned characteristic of volunteering as an unpaid, but rewarding activity.

The other common characteristic of volunteering in the given definitions is its *voluntary character*. In other words, volunteering is the initiatives of the people who undertake it. One of the participants describes these initiatives as self-organization “when people consciously self-organize for some good purpose” (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016). While such activity as

subbotniki (a cleaning activity inside the building or outdoors widespread in many educational institutions and organizations) is not volunteering as it implies coercion to some extent.

According to one participant, "[t]here [they] do not say let's help the nature, there [they] say it is necessary" (Interviewee W, Astana, 2016). Voluntary character of volunteering also can be underlined by the fact that volunteering "is when you help strangers" (Interviewee B, Almaty, 2016). For some participants volunteering is not help that is given to family, relatives or friends (which considered to be normal duty), rather to the people that are not in direct relation with volunteers, i.e. strangers.

Many respondents claim that volunteering became a trend in Kazakhstan, saying that people are trying to show off by participating in events and taking selfies at the events. Some of the respondents criticize this, as it is morally inappropriate for them. While others did not hesitate to make volunteering a trend and gain benefits from it as it helps to increase the number of volunteers: "I strongly use communication channels, promotion, even moving volunteering forward to fashion level for its advancement" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016), "I think that it is necessary to make volunteering as a trend. That is, make it fashionable. And first of all, to make it proceed from patriotism [viewpoint]" (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016).

Volunteering motivation and benefits for volunteers

Motivations and benefits are merged into one section, as motivation for one participant can be a benefit for others and vice versa. Moreover, as many study participants state that their motivation consists of both egoistic and altruistic elements, motivation and benefits are intertwined.

Egoistic elements in their opinion are expressed in gaining something from volunteering and these elements are important for the motivation of volunteers. "I started volunteering, teaching because I thought I'd better understand [the subject] myself" (Interviewee U, Astana, 2016), "[...] there is no such thing as pure altruism because all you do enriches your internal

state" (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016). Some participants even claim that to help others volunteers need to understand how to do it for themselves first. "I want to help, but you do not know how and how much you would not try, you still need to help yourself first" (Interviewee W, Astana, 2016). Moreover, some respondents think that volunteers "must be egoist[s] in fact", "because when you receive the money you do not particularly care about the spiritual components. And the volunteer does not work like this" (Interviewee M, Astana, 2016). As volunteers do not have monetary motivations, thus other types of non-cash motivations become more important for them. Another reason to be egoistic (for a certain amount) relates to overcoming difficulties during volunteering. Volunteers need to have egoistic elements in their motivation because it makes them stronger to persist through difficulties: "When you come to realize something for yourself, you are much more persistent [...]" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016).

Many study participants claim that usually people lack self-awareness and do not understand their motives from the first time, therefore it is quite difficult to distinguish the character of one's motivations. In the beginning of volunteering activity, volunteers were not able to state the exact reason for engaging in volunteering. Respondents claim that they "just liked to do it" (Interviewee M, Astana, 2016) or just wanted to help and realized their motives later. "[Volunteering] never was done for some specific purpose like that I'll go there and learn that then I use it" (Interviewee M, Astana, 2016), "He says I want to help, he does not even call himself a volunteer" (Interviewee P, Astana, 2016). "Not every person is so mature or knows himself emotionally, [then] how can he do everything consciously" (Interviewee P, Astana, 2016).

Moral satisfaction or values and norms as a motivation to volunteer

Moral satisfaction is connected to the values and principles that volunteers have and to which they want to adhere. It is not necessarily related to gain some approval or gratitude, which is meant to be something additional or as one of the respondents states, "a cherry on the cake" (Interviewee F, Almaty, 2016). Rather, it is inner rules that a person is inspired by, in which an

individual believes in. For some people, volunteering is about following these principles, which turn it into a source of moral satisfaction. One respondent explains her moral satisfaction as follows: "[...] if I contribute and my words support someone, [...] give greater confidence [...], then [it] is enough for me" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

Volunteering is an important part of the worldview of individuals, of how they see themselves as members of society and/or as good people. Some of them "have an ideal [personality] that [they] try to match", the one that is "possessing human qualities" (Interviewee F, Almaty, 2016). Participants believe that "if people are kind and help each other, then everything will be all right in the world" (Interviewee F, Almaty, 2016). They also believe that "people are born not to live for themselves, not for profit" (Interviewee O, Astana, 2016). They think that "it is very important to cultivate kindness, awareness, gratitude and helping others [...] even for oneself" (Interviewee T, Almaty, 2016).

For some participants, volunteering is a way to give back to the community as an act of reciprocity 'paying back' moral obligation. They want to share good things that they experienced or opportunities that they had. Giving back is not related to any material or monetary transaction; rather it is an act of social exchange that seeks to improve the wellbeing of others. For instance, an interviewee who had difficulties accessing information about HIV and AIDs says: "I was surprised how much I did not know [...] I thought how many people still do not know [...] And this inspired me to such an active work" (Interviewee X, Astana, 2016). Also, it can be related to the absence of opportunities for a particular population: "[...] in the dialogue with one guy from an orphanage, we touched on the topic of education. Where the guy said that '... you came [...] all so ambitious. Let's look real. You had opportunities. We did not have such opportunities' [...]. This conversation was very influential for me. And it pushed me to start some kind of educational project" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016). In some cases, volunteering was urged by a serious change in the life of a volunteer as "a moral payoff" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). For example, one of the respondents experienced a serious life-changing situation that she describes

as “an overturn of the world” after which she “promised [her]self that [she] also will always help people” (Interviewee V, Astana, 2016).

Social responsibility and self-reliance of volunteers as a step to civil society

Self-reliance is a type of moral principle that emerged from the responses of the interviewees. For them, one of the vital elements is *how they identify their place and their roles in society*. They believe that they should be responsible for their future by having an *active position in society*. An active position includes having their own opinion about issues and problems in society and doing something in order to solve these problems. They feel personal responsibility for those issues and believe that each person can contribute to the welfare of society. They also believe that being active, expressing their opinions, and taking actions lead to making their own future. In the words of interviewees it sounds as follows: "We ourselves create our society" (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016), "Everything begins with ourselves," "If everyone bears a bit of benefit in society, the world will change" (Interviewee O, Astana, 2016), "The starting point for everybody is themselves. It is impossible to change the world unless everyone does it personally" (Interviewee C, Astana, 2016).

According to an expert, this kind of moral principle (self-reliance) originates in social responsibility and in a developed civic position. "For [volunteers] it is more a desire to change something, [to] start with yourself or [to] do it by yourself. [It is] from the category of social responsibility [...] do not wait until someone does it for you. They are people with a formed civil position. But such people are still few" (Interviewee H, Astana, 2016).

To some extent, this is proved in the words of respondents. Few of them claim their self-relying position takes its roots in patriotic feelings and in seeing society or the country as a family. Therefore, feeling social responsibility before its members: "We are part of society and we need to be useful for this society, to understand why we should be useful from the angle of patriotism" (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016).

Study participants mention the concept of civil society emphasizing the importance of volunteering. Some participants claim that volunteering is an integral part of civil society and of the activities of public (civic) and non-governmental organizations. The other participant assures that volunteering is the first stage of civic growth. "First you are in a family, then at school, then at university, you are in a small community [...]. When you decide to become a volunteer, you encounter the [wider] community, because this is an idea of helping society. [...] you begin to realize that you are a member of society" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016).

Study volunteers also state that they are "fulfilling their civil duties" (Interviewee F, Almaty, 2016) or "ma[king] a civil contribution" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016) through volunteering. "And let's say when some events occur in Astana ... I get such a ring, I'm a volunteer, I'm a resident of this city, I was dedicated to volunteering in Astana so I have to serve here. [...] when something happens, I know my role, how I will behave" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

Although there are respondents that indicate their volunteering motivation originated in their social responsibility, some experts claim that people lack civil consciousness. "[I]n terms of age and professionalism, they are mature people, but from the point of view of volunteerism and civil society they are immature people. That is, there is no culture of volunteerism as such" (Interviewee H, Astana, 2016). Even an expert in the sphere explains her first encounter in volunteering as follows: "I did not get involved [...] I was an inhabitant, who has only leisure time" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016).

Emotional satisfaction through volunteering

Volunteering can be a source of emotional satisfaction - a state or a condition of volunteers when they feel warm emotions and feelings from their volunteering activity or through communication with people during volunteering. According to one respondent, volunteering "helps to balance one's emotional state" (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016). She claims that this

might be the reason she volunteers and the way she recharges emotionally. Another respondent also emphasizes the importance of emotional satisfaction for him as he has a very stressful job: "[...] positive emotions are my motivation ... it helps me to keep on going" (Interviewee N, Astana, 2016).

Recognition of the individual contribution of volunteers is an important theme that often occurred in the responses of the participants. Recognition may not necessarily be the main motive for volunteering, but it can encourage volunteers to do their activity with more effort and be an element that comes with other benefits of volunteering.

From the perspective of experts, recognition of volunteers' contribution and participation is important; otherwise, their motivation decreases. Recognition can be expressed from any people surrounding volunteers, whether they are from volunteering organization or they are parents or someone from wider society were they volunteer: "You are praised, you feel in your heart that you are a good man. And of course, you think why not to repeat it again" (Interviewee S, Astana, 2016), "Your status is growing, parents are praising. You are at some new level" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016). According to another expert, some people can volunteer in order to gain certain professional recognition: "He wants to be shown, to be seen, wants, roughly speaking, for his merits to be acknowledged, for the level of his professionalism to be recognized" (Interviewee H, Astana, 2016).

For volunteers, recognition may come in combination with other motivations or be a primary motive. For example, according to the observation of the leader of one volunteer group, group members were pleased with attention of an organization that offered them a place for their activities, so that they felt self-respect, and respect for their things, for their work, they felt that they are appreciated" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). This feeling made them put even more effort to their activity. Personal recognition and influence may become the main motive for volunteering as well. For instance, one volunteer claims that responses and reactions of people are of primary importance for him. He states, "The main thing is what people talk about [...]"

they recognize me that pleases [...] they take an example and try to imitate me" (Interviewee N, Astana, 2016).

Although volunteers do not expect gratitude from the beneficiaries of their activity, some of them still think that it is important. "It really influences volunteers", when "[p]eople come and say thank you, you are here doing the right thing here, you are on the right track, you are doing something good" (Interviewee H, Astana, 2016), "...many people want to see gratitude in their children, but do not see it. Then comes a big disappointment" (Interviewee X, Astana, 2016). From the answers of the respondents, it is seen that expression of gratitude may be important not only from beneficiaries but also from the organizations. "We were invited to a diplomas award ceremony... then I realized that in fact, I had done quite a big job" (Interviewee C, Astana, 2016), "I go out and they tell me that I helped as a doctor and in fact I was delighted" (Interviewee N, Astana, 2016).

Volunteers' contribution to the development of the country, city, society, community and/or a group of people gives volunteers a feeling of involvement and, as a result, a feeling of their own significance. Volunteers in the study feel that they are not alone as they are members of a community and members of an organization that implements important changes in society. As one participant states, «you are as one whole» with people surrounding you (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016). Being involved in an important project, it can be a source of pride and happiness for volunteers. Involvement and significance are interconnected in volunteering, as one respondent states: "Any contribution that they make, they will know that they are part of something more. They will feel the higher goal of their existence" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016).

The more responsibility volunteers take on, the greater is their sense of involvement and significance. As one respondent states, "The more people feel they could contribute, the more ready for something [actions] they are" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016). According to another participant, volunteering also widens the area of involvement and responsibilities of the person: "My borders have become - my country, the boundaries of my responsibility, the boundaries of

my connections, my network, my contacts, my friends" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016).

Moreover, volunteers feel responsible for the volunteer organization and do their best in order to contribute to its development and reputation: "the pride for the organization [...] appears. Because we have a very cool reputation" (Interviewee G, Almaty, 2016).

Some volunteers are interested in emotional involvement as they feel certain empathy to the beneficiaries and it drives them to engage in the activity and help them. "I perceive this as a personal problem, the challenges that I need to solve. This is also called high empathy. This is one of the reasons why I volunteer and why it is hard for me to volunteer" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

Life events as a motivation of volunteers

Some participants claim that people engage in volunteering because of the events that happen during their different life stages. Those events include transformation, crises and certain life events like the birth of children or having a family. Some participants claim that they started volunteering when they were going through difficult time in their lives. Some others refer to the well-being of their family members, particularly, children. "When the eldest son was born, I began to think that I want to be useful not only to my child" or "I want my children to live here [and] to have conditions here" (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016).

The need to help might also come from personal unique life experiences: "I had some kind of very personal involvement with the children of the orphanage" (Interviewee P, Astana, 2016) and "in the end I stopped at children in orphanages. [...] probably, more close for personal reasons, for family reasons" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

Interest in volunteering may be also related to the interests of certain periods of time. The younger generation, for example, is more interested in having fun and making friends. They "do not have enough communication ... bright moments, [so they] want to create bright moments" (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016).

Socialization and communication as a motivation

Through communication and socialization that occurs during volunteering, volunteers expand their social connections. Some participants “started volunteering just to make the circle of communication bigger” (Interviewee U, Astana, 2016). Some others were interested in meeting particular people during their volunteering experience. According to the respondent who used to be a volunteer translator during different events, she claims, "I love being where foreigners are because we operate on the same wave" (Interviewee V, Astana, 2016). Another participant states that she is a member of the volunteering organization where the members can find partners to implement their ideas and work on particular projects together with other members: "It creates an opportunity for some sort of communication [...] to build some of your projects" (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016). In addition, the same participant claims that volunteering helped her expand her professional social networks, so she “never looked for a job” (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016). Some of the participants call expansion of social connections with the term “networking” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016; Interviewee M, Astana, 2016; Interviewee H, Astana, 2016).

Sometimes volunteers already had quite large social networks prior to engaging in volunteering. In this case, volunteering experience makes social networks more diversified. Through their activity, volunteers have the opportunity to meet many different people whose background may differ from their own. Volunteers’ social networks are not limited to the common circle of people in life, such as groupmates, classmates, colleagues with whom they usually have a similar background and/or common life experiences. From the perspectives of interviewees, volunteering helps to diminish the hierarchy and division among people and different social groups. Volunteers can socialize with a range of individuals, such as intellectuals, people in power positions, professionals and experts in diverse spheres, people from vulnerable groups, etc. Volunteering provides a special platform to meet “many foreign

guests, and many of our political scientists, sociologists, journalists, who are, in principle, the intelligent elite” (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016).

Furthermore, volunteers meet and connect with people of different age and people with diverse beliefs and understanding of the world. The following quote serves as a good illustration:

"The experience of communicating with different people, children and adults and different people in social context and different people in some sort of cultural, spiritual context as well" (Interviewee R, Astana, 2016).

Moreover, volunteers are a diverse community as well. This also makes their volunteering experience diverse in relation to the people they work with every time they volunteer. This can be seen from the following answer: "We have different volunteers, from different backgrounds, education level, nationality, gender, demographically [...] If you are somewhere in the city, they will not even look at you, but here you are all together" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

Some people come searching for communication that probably they lack in their lives trying to build social ties. Following examples illustrate that some volunteers come to find a company to talk, while others might come to find close people. "I probably do not have someone who I could care for. Who would be looking for me too" (Interviewee X, Astana, 2016), "[...] you can knit at home and bring it somewhere, but it's anyway more interesting to get together somewhere to drink coffee to communicate and knit" (Interviewee O, Astana, 2016), "How many lonely people come to whom simply there is nobody to talk to" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016).

Leisure activity as motivation

Many people who engage in volunteering also have simple motivations to have fun, relax, and/or to practice their skills. The fun element includes many different activities and opportunities that volunteers are interested in. For instance, an interviewee who worked in the organization for the preservation of biodiversity mentions that some volunteers like to go out to nature to change their habitual routine. Some others want to practice their language skills "[...]

[a person who invited] said it's going to be interesting, fun, I will practice English" (Interviewee M, Astana, 2016), to have "free food [and to meet] new people" (Interviewee U, Astana, 2016).

Exploration of new

Interest in exploring new things is another incentive for study participants to become engaged in volunteering. Study participants want "to try [themselves] in something new", "[...] to see something from a new point of view" (Interviewee F, Almaty, 2016), "to experience something new" and "[...] to be in new places" (Interviewee U, Astana, 2016).

Apart from offering an opportunity to explore new things, volunteering enables people to experience something otherwise unreachable or difficult to reach. According to the director of a volunteer organization, volunteers engage in the spheres that "they never would try if they were not volunteers" (Interviewee A, Kyzylorda, 2016).

Volunteering also opens up the ways to explore a new sphere of activity "without such responsibility" and without diving into it (Interviewee P, Astana, 2016). For instance, to evaluate one's abilities "[...] to take a child into a family [...] that's how you can look inside on all this, what kind of children, how to help these children, etc." (Interviewee X, Astana, 2016).

Therefore, volunteering sphere is different from the other spheres of life of people such as work, study, family, etc. One participant describes the special atmosphere that he experienced at volunteering as follows: "I have been happy for several days after such events, despite work, it's like an outlet, work as a factory, and [volunteering organization] as a garden. You come, you close your eyes, and you are in a greenhouse" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016). Comparing his volunteering to greenhouse or garden this respondent describes the effect of volunteering as positive and relaxing.

Personal development and self-exploration

Through volunteering, volunteers encounter new challenges in their lives. By overcoming those challenges and seeing themselves in a new situation, volunteers can discover new, other

sides of themselves and develop personally. As one participant mentions it, volunteering is “a way to see new facets of yourself” (Interviewee B, Almaty, 2016). Before encountering new situations and events, volunteers might “[...] not think that they can do that [any action they needed to do]” (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

Some respondents also state that they were interested in testing their abilities in managerial or other types of work. Whether they are able to be a leader or they were proving to others or even to themselves that there are things that can be changed and they are the ones who can do it. For instance, as one of the respondents states "Prove yourself and others that all this is possible. To show the children that they can achieve something, to prove myself that I can project and promote it, to prove [the organization] that I can be relied upon” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016).

Volunteers find themselves more powerful and explore their strengths, that they are people “who can do much more”, who are “[...] capable of much” (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016), who can “really influence someone and [do] something useful” (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016). Finding themselves strong and self-confident, volunteers can take more responsibility and conquer new challenges in their own lives. For example, one volunteer mentions, "I decided to travel because of volunteering" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

Along with the feeling of own strength and power, volunteers started to believe in their own abilities to make changes in life and in the possibility of positive social changes in bigger scale such as country and the world. In other words, volunteering raises their self-reliance and expands their vision on their ability to make a difference in society. One volunteer claims that, after his volunteering experience, he started to believe that “we need to act on our own” (Interviewee W, Astana, 2016). Another participant states that he “felt that Kazakhstan is not a closed country. That the world is really interested in our problems. We are no worse than others and can help ourselves” (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

Therefore, through volunteering, volunteers develop various skills, including soft skills, life skills, communication skills, as well as specific skills related to the volunteering sphere. Firstly, by communicating with a lot of people or doing certain tasks for the organization, volunteers develop their soft skills, such as working as a team and communicating with diverse people. For example, according to the director of youth volunteering organization, some young people are even afraid of talking to strangers on the phone or in person. She states, "Even breathing is delayed because they are afraid to call" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016). Therefore, they learn to communicate with people outside their limited community including other volunteers, beneficiaries, mass media, and governmental institutions. A similar situation was described by volunteers from Astana, who claims that they "learned the intricacies of communicating with people [and] [...] psychological approach to leadership" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016). The other skill that was mentioned by many interviewees is the skill of managing their time as volunteering demands much time.

Along with communication and time management skills, volunteers learn leadership skills such as a "habit of trying to keep the situation in check" (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016), "the ability to prevent conflict situations or to solve them even more diplomatically" (Interviewee B, Almaty, 2016), to "properly manage the project" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016). Some people come to volunteering in order to develop their skills to higher levels: "Motivation was to develop my qualities, the development of creative potential, leadership qualities through the project" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

The last common skill for many participants of the study was learning to be tolerant of people. According to the director of a volunteer organization, they teach volunteers to be patient and tolerant to people as volunteers play a crucial role in creating the atmosphere at their events, thus it is vital for them to be friendly and open to people. "We explained to them [volunteers] that [...] we must be tolerant, we must always be benevolent" (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016).

Personal growth and maturity of volunteers

Volunteers, as well as experts, mention the theme of maturity that “tempered them for life” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016). Maturity is not necessarily related to young volunteers becoming adults, rather it refers to the mental maturity that comes with experience, knowledge, and responsibility. "Volunteers become more mature internally, more responsible" (Interviewee A, Kyzylorda, 2016)," I've become more mature. I do not think superficially about people, about actions" (Interviewee U, Astana, 2016), "I felt responsible, because all the other volunteers, they looked at me and waited for my leadership [...] Thirty children and you go to another territory, I was very scared for them, and worried that they not get scratched or crippled. And this really tempered me [...]" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

Gaining new worldview/outlook through volunteering

According to one of the respondents, people change throughout their life course continuously, «while the changes that happen in us depend on what kind of environment we are in and what we do» (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016). From this perspective, volunteering creates an environment where people can see different things than they used to see and do things that are different from their everyday life duties. The environment they engage in may be better and/or worse than the habitual one. It also can be similar to theirs. Nevertheless, the experience of doing different activities than usual makes volunteers change their outlook and worldviews.

These changes can occur under the impact of observation of people and environment or communication with people during volunteering activity. Many volunteers claim that volunteering helped them to see “the other side of life” (Interviewee F, Almaty, 2017) or that “there are many empty spaces [problems] in our society that need to be solved” (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016). One of the volunteers even states, “Before, I did not think that there are different situations in life [...] I reconsidered my life” (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016). As the head of the volunteering project that supports children’s social adaptation says, “Any life difficulties that a

person encounters [...] and when you compare with the life difficulties of others, you [...] come to comprehension” (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

Volunteers also claim that they started “to value life and many such small things [such as help, politeness, and easier attitude to life]” (Interviewee V, Astana, 2016), they “look [at surrounding] more realistically” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016), they “understand people more [...]”, they “look at everything differently, with different eyes, probably from a wider perspective” (Interviewee X, Astana, 2016). One respondent even claims that “[...] in the orphanage [she] realized that it's so good that [she] ha[s] a family” (Interviewee U, Astana, 2016).

Volunteering also widens volunteers’ worldviews as they see a broader picture of social processes and issues. For instance, the head of an organization working with vulnerable groups claims that “[...] [people in the organization] are already socially adapted to volunteering...They have a broader view. But people from outside they are a little bit different” (Interviewee O, Astana, 2016). The outlook of volunteers also changes because of the knowledge and experience that volunteers gain. Following two quotes illustrate it very well: “Now I understand what can be done differently, you can make it easier and more interesting for others,” “The way of thinking develops in this respect” (Interviewee W, Astana, 2016), “Because I had such a prejudiced attitude that all who became them [gunmen from the story of the volunteer] are bad. Very stereotyped... I thought the older the people, the more they are conservative, clumsy. We are young, that we can bring something, and then I felt what an experience is” (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

Professional development

Volunteering can serve different purposes for professional development. First, it is a way to find a professional path. Many respondents stated that through volunteering they found their career path and the sphere they are interested in to build a career. Volunteers think “volunteering

has a clear and tangible value” as a factor influencing career choice (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016). Second, volunteering also encourages the professional development of people by giving them an opportunity to practice and polish their professional skills. For example, the head of a youth organization claims that "one-third of Almaty's best journalists at the moment were our volunteers" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016). Third, volunteering experience might be a valuable addition to the resume of the volunteer as well. Even if it may not be counted as working experience, still it indicates that volunteer has certain skills, knowledge, experience and/or is an active member of society. For example, as a volunteer states: "It gave me something to put on my resumé, I can say that I did not just study, all three years, I studied and also engaged in active work" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016).

There are people who engage in volunteering in a specific area because it is the area of their particular professional interest. In other words, the sphere of volunteering or the sphere of the organization is closely related to their professional activities or interest. For example, the organization in the field of biodiversity conservation has many volunteers who include "biology and geography teachers, ornithologists" (Interviewee S, Astana, 2016). Also, people are trying to get unique professional experience and skills: "Many of these people who are now working have come this way to us [through volunteering] [...] It is very difficult for us in Kazakhstan to find a specialist in our sphere" (Interviewee S, Astana, 2016). Another respondent claim that one of her interests in doing her project is an implementation of her creative ideas into life. "I am a designer who comes up with a product, a project [...]" (Interviewee O, Astana, 2016).

Gaining significance and agency through volunteering

Volunteering can be a source of an agency that volunteers acquire through their engagement. Volunteers communicate not only with individuals but also with different organizations being representative of the organization where they volunteer. Volunteers have a right to participate in different projects, national and international competitions as a representative of the volunteering organization. Therefore, they gain the authority within the

organization. A feeling of involvement with an organization gives them self-confidence in their work: "when there is a scheme, there is an organization, its brand, which also helps you, then the work goes on and he [a volunteer] believes in his own strength" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016).

Along with acquiring the agency, volunteers can acquire significance of their actions. For example, some people get involved in volunteering activity in order to be part of a specific community or a larger community of volunteers with a long-term reliable reputation: "I thought that if the organization could survive for so many years, [...] why not become a part of it?" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

The relationship between volunteer, volunteering organizations, and beneficiaries

Difficulty in the relationship of organizations and volunteers

Complications that appear between organization and volunteer characterize them as an unstable relationship that depends on interests of volunteers. According to the interviews with the staff of volunteering organizations, one of the most widespread difficulty is to structure volunteers work and to make sure that the work was done. The main reason for that is "the difficulty is to catch interest of [volunteers] from the first time" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016), "[Volunteers' interest] arises, grows, it is at its peak, and then it falls down" (Interviewee K, Almaty, 2016). This is also proved in the interview with an expert from Almaty, according to interviewee J, volunteers are an important source of help for non-governmental organizations and there are two important questions that influence the relationship between volunteers and volunteering organizations that need to be addressed. "How to make people active? [...] It is the question of motivation" and "What needs to be done to make it on permanent basis" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016).

Nevertheless, the main idea is that for the good and continuous work of volunteering organization and of volunteers, interests of both sides need to coincide or intersect. Study participants claim that volunteer organizations provide an opportunity to volunteers to pursue

their interests as they recruit volunteers based on their interests or offer them options to choose: "[...] let the new member [...] to choose what he wants to do" (Interviewee M, Astana, 2016). Some participants also emphasize that it is important for volunteers how much volunteering fits into their plans. "Participation in the program depends on how much he is interested in this topic and... how he plans his future activities" (Interviewee R, Astana, 2016).

However, sometimes expectations of the organization and interests of volunteers do not meet. While some organizations expect volunteers to be dedicated and serious, not all of volunteers are able to sacrifice time and efforts to meet expectations of volunteering organizations. Thus, they do not stay further in the sphere when they need to engage in volunteering more seriously. After some time "[...] [volunteers] find out important things for themselves and completely abandon [volunteering], or indeed they are engaged in this for a long time [...]" (Interviewee P, Astana, 2016).

The expectations and requirements related to volunteers

Many interviewees believe that "[any person can be] the most excellent volunteer [...]" (Interviewee N, Astana, 2016). "A person does not have to [...] morally correspond to some [requirements or expectations] [...]" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). Although most of the participants state that any person can be a volunteer, there are certain expectations and/or requirements that *organizations and volunteers themselves* believe a volunteer should have.

Interestingly, one study participant state that although "a volunteer can be any person, and we should encourage that absolutely everyone can be a volunteer. But the point is that not everyone gets in [volunteering], because [volunteer] must have the qualities that should lead to this. Because an evil or greedy person a priori will not be a volunteer" (Interviewee G, Almaty, 2016). Similar to that, some respondents expect "[...] [volunteers to] come at the call of the heart [...]" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016) requiring qualities "based on humanness" (Interviewee R,

Astana, 2016). Some other participants claim that "a volunteer should be open, find a common language with people and give oneself to the activity" (Interviewee N, Astana, 2016).

As volunteering is an action made "[...] voluntarily, [volunteering organization] cannot take any responsibilities from [volunteers] to do something. [Therefore] [t]here must be a personal responsibility [...]" (Interviewee R, Astana, 2016). Even those participants who deny requirement of a suitability of moral image of a volunteer to one of the organizations do not devalue the importance of individual responsibility. "The one who takes the initiative also takes responsibility for its [of an idea or of an initiative] implementation" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). Moreover, one of the participants claims that being an irresponsible volunteer is the same as to betray yourself, because, thus, you do not value your own time and efforts.

Apart from some general expectations and requirements, there are qualities that are specific to the area of volunteer work. For example, working with children in orphanages may require a particular attitude and qualities, while a volunteer working for an organization that does not require direct contact with people, might need different characteristics. A good example of volunteering in the social sphere with a vulnerable population, where a volunteer needs to be emotionally conscious can be seen from the following answer:

"The ability to switch [is important], that is, you live, go to the cinema [...] [then] you come and work with children from disadvantaged families. You come and you must behave yourself with the right attitude towards them [...] When you leave, you leave [something from yourself], but you must move [...] if you are too much worried about it [...] Then you will burnout" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

Conditions offered to volunteers by volunteering organizations

Many participants believe that conditions of work offered by volunteering organization to volunteers are vital for good volunteering work. "[W]e need to create [...] volunteering environment and people [should] know where to come, what they will get, what useful [things]

they can do" (Interviewee, K, Almaty, 2016). The other respondent emphasizes that it is also important as "volunteer[s] work for thanks", thus "there must be a reason to be thankful for [...]" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016). Unfortunately, according to an expert from Almaty, many non-governmental organizations do not provide volunteers with necessary conditions for work, «there are no rules, there are no orientations, there are not even any technical assignments», - she claims (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016). Instead, there should be a complex system of volunteering work, which consists of "recruiting, selection [procedures], [...] agreement with the volunteer, [...] the rules of work for a volunteer" etc. (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016).

The benefit of the systematization is not only related to volunteers, on the other hand, volunteering organizations, especially those working with a specific population or in specific fields may have an opportunity to request volunteers to keep basic rules written in the documentation of the organization. Thus, fewer difficulties may appear in the work of the organization as one of the respondents says: "It is absolutely impossible to filter those who participate in such activities" (Interviewee P, Astana, 2016).

One study expert has particular vision on the conditions offered to volunteer. She claims that volunteering organizations need to offer volunteering conditions that satisfy needs of volunteers on all levels of Maslow's 'pyramid of needs' in order to motivate them to volunteer. In her opinion, each volunteer comes with its own needs and their needs are situated on different levels of Maslow's 'pyramid of needs', therefore it is important to address all its levels. Volunteers will choose what they need themselves, while organization needs just to provide conditions. The participant explains each level in relation to volunteers as follows:

"First [level] is a physical need [...] [Volunteers should] have a territory where to exist [have accommodations as toilet, place to eat, etc.]. The second level is security... It's not only physical security, it's also psychological, emotional security [...] [Volunteers should be] respect[ed] [and] [...] feel safe. Therefore, it is comfortable. The third level is involvement. [which means] we will do it for you, join us [volunteering organization or community] [...]. The

fourth level is significance. [...] ask [volunteers'] opinion. That is, [they] matter. Only then, there is the fifth level, when [volunteers] want to create [...]" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016).

From the analysis, it can be seen that participants emphasize certain components of conditions offered by volunteering organizations. The first important component frequently discussed in the interviews is *the role of coordinator in encouraging relations with volunteers*. A volunteer organization appoints a coordinator who plays a key role in building relationships with volunteers and creating a supportive environment for them within the organization. The function of coordinator is not to decide what volunteers should do, but rather to help, advice, and support volunteers in making decisions by themselves and choose the work they want to do.

Coordinator provides volunteers with information and knowledge in particular volunteering sphere. Therefore, the work of a coordinator can be viewed as the process of transferring the knowledge to other volunteers and guiding them in their volunteering experience. The coordinator should know "different experiences, knowledge, and other characteristics [of volunteers] and distribute various duties [on voluntary basis] between them [...]" (Interviewee P, Astana, 2016). Also, the coordinator's work is important because some people decide to volunteer in cooperation with particular organizations as these organizations have more knowledge in particular sphere and can arrange work correctly. According to an interviewee, "I can be proactive, but because I do not have information about the volunteer sphere, I completely rely on coordination" (Interviewee Q, 2016).

By sharing the knowledge and experience with novice volunteers, the coordinator can inspire people to volunteer and can even lead to the changes in their worldviews and think about life. "[Coordinator] made me look [at this city] [...], on its movement, on problems from a different point of view [...] and [the coordinator] inspired me, encouraged me and I began to enjoy the activity" (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016).

Being an expert (knowing more than a new person) in the field it is vital to not to suppress the enthusiasm of volunteers right from the beginning of their volunteering experience. As one participant claims “I will never say no. Of course, let it be done a hundred times, let's do it again [...]. Because it's terrible when you are a leader of charity and you say no to people. Because that's not my goal” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016). Volunteers may not know the whole picture of what is going on in the sphere and one of the aims of the organization is to educate them and give them the opportunity to contribute.

Another common characteristic of the relationship between a volunteer organization and volunteers is their *flexibility towards volunteers, their needs, and interests*. Flexibility demonstrates that volunteering organization is open for changing nature of volunteers' needs and interest, thus creating a positive condition for volunteering activity.

Some participants of the study mention that volunteering is not a stable phenomenon, as it is driven by the will of individuals. Volunteers come and go, and not all of them are reliable and consistent in their work. The organizations in the study recognize this instability as a natural feature of volunteering, thus they do not criticize volunteers for the lack of commitment. If volunteers have questions or doubts about their work, they are welcome to ask questions and learn from more experienced members of the organization, coordinator or staff.

Volunteer organizations are open to volunteers, regardless of their experience and knowledge. According to the key informants of the study, volunteer organizations do not set strict requirements or high standards of knowledge and skills in the particular sphere for volunteers. As one of the key informants in Almaty explains her attitude towards volunteers that leave their projects: "If he left us, it's not bad, it's good. If only he began to grow [mentally, personally]" (Interviewee K, 2016).

In addition, some organizations keep their connections with former volunteers further even though they cannot fully participate in the activity of organization or do not participate in it at

all. "The organization creates a network in which each of its former and current members feels part of a particular society" (Interviewee M, Astana, 2016).

Even though many organizations in the study had a particular structure and some members were occupied in higher positions in relation to the responsibility of volunteer or were a staff of the organization, they all tried to preserve *an atmosphere of informal relations based on trust and friendship* between members of the community. This does not take away the responsibility of the people involved in the process of volunteering work, rather made an environment different from official job and office and brought people into a creative, positive and friendly place where they could implement their ideas into reality.

From the perspective of volunteers and staff managing the work of volunteers, a friendly environment is an important factor as it motivates volunteers in their activity and helps them to feel comfortable to ask and to learn. According to experts in the field, volunteers should be "treated the same way, as you want to be treated yourself" (Interviewee A, Kyzylorda, 2016). Moreover, many organizations got rid of hierarchy giving freedom to volunteers "We managed to create not a hierarchical system, but a team one. [...] everyone carries out activities within the established rules" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016), while some others preserved particularly muted hierarchy and developed strong team spirit "Hierarchy is not strong at all ... we try to communicate on an equal footing. [...] we are friends [...] Network-based connection in practice" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016).

Another feature of the friendly environment created or maintained in a volunteer organization is that volunteers can find support and help when they encounter difficulties in their work. Such support is provided to volunteers who experience emotional difficulties when dealing with representatives of vulnerable groups. This can be seen from the following quote from the interview with staff: "We always ask how you feel after the event", "- [such] elementary [things as] hug, ask, support, to say that we work together [...]" (Interviewee R, Astana, 2016). The friendly atmosphere helps volunteers to feel that they are members of a

particular community and that they can find support from other members. Moreover, some participants viewed this relationship as a foundation of human relationships that are important to have with any human being.

Another important factor that contributes to young people's motivation to volunteer is *shared values among volunteers in the organization*. Firstly, common values motivate people to work together: "Because if I meet an organization that is better in the level of organization (structure), volunteering [structure], but they will have other principles, I will not volunteer there, because the principles do not fit mine..." (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016), "[...] in [organization name] I met people who are similar to my ideology [...] it attracted me (Interviewee G, Almaty, 2016), "I realized that this person is mine [mentally similar], that I want to work with this person" (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016). It also might be the reason why a person is trying to engage in volunteering "I wanted to go talk to them, [to people] like me, in my [relative] environment" (Interviewee M, Astana, 2016). Secondly, if volunteers look in the same direction and their values are similar, it helps them to fight difficulties that they meet during their work. "We need to find cool, like-minded people, who, no matter what will fight" (Interviewee D, Astana, 2016). According to the opinion of the respondent, the results of their work depends on how much they believe the main idea of the work they are performing. Finally, having similar values can be a source of inspiration for volunteers: "And when I communicate with people who understand what it is, I consider it an oasis for me" (Interviewee V, Astana, 2016). It is important to note that having shared values does not always imply having the same aims and/or motives. It is more related to having a similar approach to work that they are making in the organization or with the organization. For instance, as one respondent says, "[i]t is important to have a unified vision of the goal" (Interviewee B, Almaty, 2016).

Beneficiaries' responses and volunteers' expectations in results of volunteering activity

It is important that volunteers see or feel the results of their volunteering activity as they put their time, energy and effort into this work. The results of volunteers' work show that their

activity was not meaningless and brought some kind of change in the life of beneficiaries. The main indicator of results of their work is feedback from the beneficiaries of volunteering activity. One respondent claim “when you read reviews that [particular event] helped me to find motivation, I was depressed, it pulled me out, [...] it's so cool" (Interviewee G, Almaty, 2016). According to an expert in the field of volunteering, "A person wants to see the product of his activities immediately to see that he has benefits. What is the problem of social workers and officials? A person works, but there is no result. And psychologically it is very difficult when you do not see the products, the fruits of your activity" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016).

However, there are spheres of volunteering where volunteers cannot get clear feedback from beneficiaries. As one respondent says, "This is a sphere where we can only hope that we are doing right things" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016). If the result cannot be evaluated in an easy way, it is crucial to help volunteers put realistic expectations and aims in their volunteering activity. According to one participant sometimes "[...] initially the [expectations] [are] wrong, I'm going to rescue, almost a superhero. No, you are an ordinary person, you help the same ordinary children" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016). Thus, wrong expectations may lead to burnout.

Institutionalization of volunteering: the relationship between the state, the society, and the volunteers

Institutionalization of volunteering refers to the developed system, mechanism or pattern of work between actors involved in volunteering sphere. This theme appeared to be one of the major issues that concern volunteers and experts in the field. While volunteering has been developing outside of state regulations, the lack of clear legal and institutional frameworks have created a number of obstacles to volunteer work of organizations and individual volunteers.

Lack of public representation of volunteers

Although volunteers are not viewed in negative terms, their activity is not always recognized as valuable due to *stereotypes* developed among the general public. Study

participants claim that there is a widespread stereotypical opinion that people volunteer because they have much spare time and/or they “have nothing better to do” (Interviewee G, Almaty, 2016). Moreover, some volunteers themselves had this opinion before they got involved in the sphere: “I thought that volunteers, frankly speaking, are people who do not know what to do [...] In fact, it is the same organization, with its own structure, with its legal responsibilities delegated to other serious organizations” (Interviewee Q, Astana, 2016). Unless a person does volunteering himself and gains some experience, people may not understand the impact of volunteering and its importance.

In addition, volunteering is being viewed as *young people’s occupation* that they do during university or school studies. Therefore, volunteering is not considered to be a serious thing to do when a person grows up and finds a job. These quotes illustrate this perception: “Many people think that this is silly and think that this is a matter for young people. It can be pensioners who have free time as well” (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016), “they [family members] expect me to be serious in my family. They thought it [volunteering] was my student's entertainment” (Interviewee G, Almaty, 2016).

The other theme concerning general public misconceptions of volunteering was related to *the negative connotations* that volunteering and charity activities have. One respondent says that sometimes she encounters negative reactions of people outside their organization saying that people with bad life experiences in the past cannot transfer good energy in charitable activities. Similarly, another participant had to deal with fears of her close people who believed that she exposed herself to “negative energy”: “I explained to them that there is no negative energy, I want it, the main thing is that I'm positive” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016).

From the perspectives of the interviewees, this kind of reactions comes from misleading information and limited worldviews of people. Therefore, «[we] need to work with society» (Interviewee O, Astana, 2016) and expand their worldviews. In addition, widespread knowledge and information. It is illustrated in the following quote “I think we need to talk more about that

to help is not only good, but also useful, and right. Because there is an opinion that all this goes to one gate [is] completely wrong. It is always a two-way process" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016).

The last concern of respondents is related to *the absence of information* where potential volunteers and organizations can find each other. There is a need for an intermediary for these groups to find each other: "Because a lot of people who want to volunteer, a lot of projects where you can volunteer. But it's hard to connect them" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016).

Lack of legal representation of volunteers

Some participants expressed their concern about being *recognized in governmental legislations* so that they can be seen as equal participants in the social development. Some participants stated that having the legal status of volunteers could also help in gaining certain benefits and appreciation. "It would be cool if it were possible to indicate in the resumé that you were a volunteer [...] and people would appreciate it [...]", " [but] it is not recorded in the work record book (*trudovaya knizhka*). If there was a record, it would probably be great" (Interviewee G, Almaty, 2016).

Some participants also mentioned the issue of having *troubles with access to the information* about their beneficiaries from governmental institutions that probably may be solved with the emergence of legislation on volunteering. "[These institutions] do not want to give lists of beneficiaries [...] [making up] silly reasons [such as] they do not have department" working with a particular group of people. Participants also mention the problem of access to the governmental institutions where beneficiaries live, get medical help or/and study. For example, the leader of one organization claim "We had a terrible problem in Almaty, we were not allowed to enter the maternity hospitals" (Interviewee J, Almaty, 2016).

Moreover, some participants mentioned that they had *troubles communicating with particular governmental organizations* that they expected to be helpful and cooperate with them

for implementing their ideas and projects. "In the end, I went to [some state institution] ... They sent me to [the other state institution]. When I came to [the latter one], [...] [t]hey made it clear to me that you are an upstart [...] they laughed at me frankly [...] And I was very disappointed" (Interviewee V, Astana, 2016).

It was not always the case, as a participant from Almaty says that the local state institution was quite helpful and cooperative towards volunteers when they offered to start an environmental project. Probably the problem of access varies depending on the sphere of volunteering and a state agency volunteers have to deal with.

Institutionalization of rewards for volunteers

One aspect mentioned by participants related to conditions for volunteers is on whether volunteers should be *rewarded* and whether this makes their work mercenary. A few participants agree that giving benefits (rewards) to volunteers might be useful to engage more people in volunteering and possibly this might help people to understand the value of volunteering and to believe in their abilities to make social changes. For example, as an expert volunteer in the field states: "First, to make such a thing [...] that can help you to build a career later, and then it will be a habit and everywhere a critical mass of people will volunteer, [...] people will believe in it" (Interviewee E, Almaty, 2016).

Resources that are needed for volunteers to volunteer

In order to understand the place of rewards for volunteers, it is important to consider *resources* that volunteers spend for their activity. According to study participants, volunteering activity requires certain resources from volunteers. Firstly, participants claim the most important resource is *time* as "volunteer is the one who sacrifices his free time" (Interviewee C, Astana, 2016). Therefore, many participants concerned with learning how to balance volunteering and other spheres of life such as studying, work, hobbies, etc. "It is often difficult to balance, because of the work, if I go to work, I'm constantly pulled out" (Interviewee T, Astana, 2016). Therefore,

they have to prioritize and sometimes leave or stop volunteering. Also, for example, if volunteering and hobbies of volunteers do not coincide, volunteers “[will] not have time for personal development” (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016).

Volunteering is considered an activity of young people as it requires *material (or financial) resources*. For instance, expert states following about resources "only because they have free time and their parents' support [...] the situation allows them to volunteer" (Interviewee I, Almaty, 2016). Being materially or financially independent is important for participants as "[v]olunteering does not bring you financial income, but it [financial income] is necessary to live" (Interviewee L, Astana, 2016). Those participants who have family indicate that being financially independent is important for them to support their families, thus they cannot afford to volunteer as younger people do: "I must have some sort of [financial] protection. [...] I have a son I have a family. I need to think about it" (Interviewee O, Astana, 2016)

Lastly, some participants also mention the importance of *emotional resources or "inner fullness"* (Interviewee B, Almaty, 2016). The lack of emotional resources may lead to an emotional burnout as illustrated in the following quote: "There was a time when I was already engaged in very many other than the main 3-4 areas [...] I told myself to stop, I will burn out emotionally" (Interviewee N, Astana, 2016).

Chapter 5. Discussion and conclusion

Volunteering is a new unexplored social phenomenon for Kazakhstan. The benefits of the development of volunteering in the country are yet to be explored. Nevertheless, the population of the country express their interest in volunteering and contribute to its development. In order to understand how volunteering sphere works in Kazakhstan, this study is aimed to explore the vision of young people involved in the sphere. The main research question of the study is “How young volunteers in Kazakhstan perceive their volunteering experience?” More specifically the study aimed to address following questions:

- (a) How volunteers of Kazakhstan define volunteering?
- (b) What motivates people to volunteer in Kazakhstan?
- (c) What are the benefits of volunteering for volunteers?
- (d) What is the meaning of volunteering activity for volunteers?
- (e) How volunteers experience volunteering?
- (f) What are the relationships between volunteering organizations and volunteers?
- (g) What is a relationship between volunteers and the state?

In the following sections, I discuss responses to these sub-questions.

The notion of volunteering and volunteers

As literature review shows volunteering can be defined in different ways. Therefore, the first (a) sub-question of the study is aimed to understand how volunteers define volunteering in Kazakhstan. In comparison to the characteristic of volunteering in the literature, volunteering described by Kazakhstani young population has no specific distinctions. Moreover, there are no generally shared definition for volunteering in Kazakhstan.

Participants describe the same characteristics of volunteering with the slight differences in the definitions. Firstly, volunteering recognized to be *purely voluntary* (Cnaan et al., 1996; Snyder & Omoto, 2008). Participants criticize *subbotniki* that are practiced in many educational

and other institutions usually on a non-voluntary basis. Also, volunteering described as *unpaid*, but a presence of reward is arguable among respondents. Many respondents claim that volunteering is not rewarding implying that volunteering is not rewarded materially; however, some of them miss non-monetary rewards in their definitions. Similar to the role of volunteers as a free or unpaid labor in non-profit paradigm and driving force for changes in civil society paradigm, study participants describe the role of volunteers, but they emphasize that it should not be understood literally. In their opinion, volunteers should be perceived as enthusiasts and initiators who implement their own ideas and dreams through volunteering. Similar to Rochester (2006), volunteering proved to be not just free labor, activism (driving force) or leisure activity. Moreover, participants go further claiming that volunteering even not a combination of three or two of roles as Rochester claims. According to the findings, the key element for volunteering is a benefit (good social changes and personal benefits) that volunteers bring to society and/or gain for themselves. Lastly, resonating with characteristic by Snyder & Omoto (2008), some participants claim that volunteering is the *help to unknown people*. Although few participants emphasize it, many of them implied that volunteering is the help directed to unknown people.

Many participants also state that volunteering is a wide concept, thus any help on a voluntary basis can be considered as volunteering in a sense. I think this tendency of making volunteering as everyday common activity says that volunteers do not perceive their activity in a strict form of social phenomenon related only to significant actions and issues, rather, as their contribution to the wellbeing of society in any forms and scale. In addition, respondents claim that there are volunteers working in cooperation with volunteering organization and those who volunteer forming an unregistered initiative group. Resonating with characteristics of Rochester (2006) on informal and formal volunteering, it proves that volunteering can take various forms.

In a combination of the above-mentioned vision of volunteering as a help in any form and scale, volunteering in Kazakhstan seems to be predominantly a moral action rather than social responsibility or duty of a citizen of the country. The moral value of volunteering for participants

can be seen from their critique of the idea of promotion of volunteering as a trend as it does not fit their moral principles. In my understanding, it shows that volunteering has mainly (but not only) moral value for the participants of the study.

Contribution of the study: The model of volunteers’ relationships

Answering study research questions, I developed a model (Chart 1) that illustrates the relationship of volunteers with other actors of volunteering sector. This model illustrates how different actors such as beneficiaries, volunteering organizations, the state, and society can influence volunteers’ perception through communication with volunteers and other actors. These relationships also influence motivations of volunteers as it shapes motivations through conditions offered by the state, society and volunteering organizations and responses of beneficiaries to volunteers’ activities.

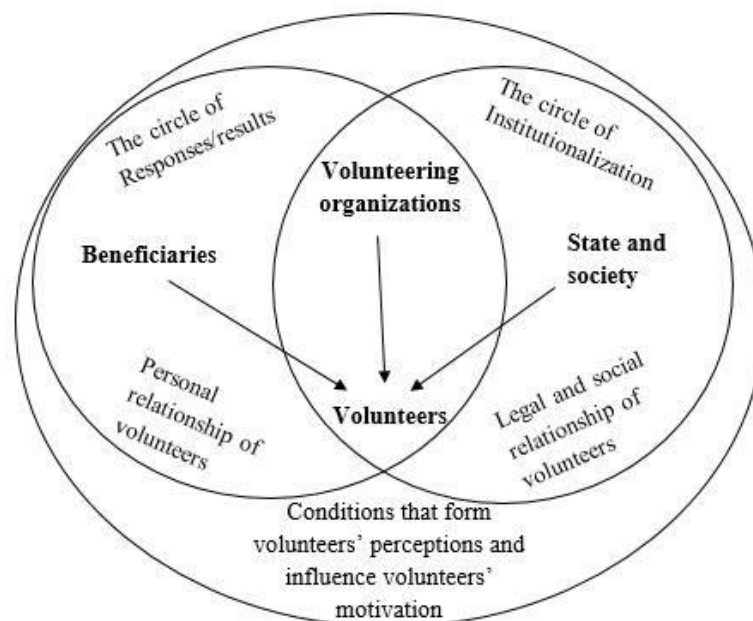


Chart 1. The model of relationships of volunteers with other actors of volunteering sphere

The model consists of three circles. Two small circles represent two different types of the relationships that volunteers have. The first one is personal relationships of volunteers with beneficiaries and volunteering organizations. I call them personal as study participants involve in these relationships emotionally. In addition, study participants get particular responses/results

from beneficiaries and volunteering organizations that influence their personality and/or vision and reflect in their motivations and in benefits of these relationships for volunteers.

The second circle represents legal and social relationships (with wider society) of volunteers and volunteering organization, the state and society. The state builds a relationship with volunteers through legislations and policies. Society and volunteers as well as volunteering organization and volunteers build their relationships (fully or partially) based on policies and legislations that the state provides. Thus, legal and social relationships of volunteers depend on institutionalization (or in other words systematization) of the relationships by the state. These relationships also can be beneficial and motivating. Legal and policy environment created by the state can provide volunteers with particular rights and support volunteers work making favorable legal support. Volunteering organizations participate in both types of relationships through personal communication of the organizations' staff with volunteers and institutionalization of their work through legal and policy environment. Thus, it is situated at the intersection of two small circles. The bigger circle covers the area of both small circles. Its function is to show that both types of relationships are important for volunteers to form their perceptions and to understand their motivations to volunteer. The following sections are constructed around the sub-questions of the study and aimed to explain above-mentioned relationships' model.

Volunteering motivation and benefits for volunteers

In this section, I discuss three research sub-questions that are (b) "What motivates people to volunteer in Kazakhstan?", (c) "What are the benefits of volunteering for volunteers?" and (d) "What is the meaning of volunteering activity for volunteers?" All three questions are intertwined, thus I discuss them all together. From egoistic/altruistic dichotomy that suggests that volunteers' motivation cannot be purely altruistic or egoistic (Clary and Snyder, 1999), motivations can have elements of benefits for volunteers. The study participants responses also prove it. Similarly, meaning that volunteers put in their actions reflected in their motivations.

Therefore, there is no need to separate these categories from each other to answer above-mentioned questions.

From analyses of motivations and benefits of study respondents, I came to a conclusion that there are many motivations to volunteer and benefits to gain from volunteering. Moreover, volunteers may have several motivations. Some of these motivations are more desirable than the others, thus there are primary motivations and secondary motivations that are less important for volunteers. Motivations can change with time and transform to complicated motivations. In addition, people are different and it is almost impossible to trace and name each motivation that they have.

Nevertheless, I tried to trace certain general patterns that I described in this section. The first motivation mentioned by many participants is *moral satisfaction*. Moral satisfaction is related to satisfaction of moral principles or life principles of the people that they want to fit in or they believe should be realized. Many respondents believe that by volunteering they are improving the world or/and themselves. They believe that people are connected and their actions can make a difference in people's lives and in society. For some people volunteering even can take a form of moral payoff for benefits they got previously.

In a sense moral motivation of participants to improve society fits into the civil society paradigm, but there is a distinction in their motivation to do so. Some study participants indicate that Kazakhstani society lacks civil stance and civil consciousness, while on practice many participants volunteer based on their moral principles that they do not call civil stance or civic position, but a moral value. It indicates that volunteering among Kazakhstani young people mainly based on moral values of the people rather than patriotic feelings or civic stance as a citizen of the country.

Except for moral satisfaction, volunteering also can be a source of *emotional satisfaction* for volunteers. In comparison to moral satisfaction, it is more difficult to understand how

emotional satisfaction appears. Moral satisfaction appears in relation to moral principles of a person, while emotional satisfaction may come not only from receiving positive emotions but also from any reason that a person feels emotionally good with, thus it is difficult to predict. Nevertheless, there are some specific themes as well. Some respondents feel a *sense of belonging and involvement* in volunteering through responsibilities that they take during volunteering. Some participants feel high empathy for beneficiaries, therefore they feel not only sense of belonging to volunteering community in a social context, but also emotionally connected to beneficiaries. In addition, emotional satisfaction appears with gratitude and *recognition of their individual work* as a valuable contribution.

Socialization and communication are the second most popular answer among respondents. Through volunteering some participants expand their social connections, some other diversify them, while some others lack socialization and thus came to volunteer to find friends. Many participants engage in volunteering simply to spend their leisure time (Rochester, 2006). It is important to mention that even though some people claim that volunteering is a leisure activity for them, it does not affect the value or quality of the results of their volunteering work, even though in some literature volunteering as a leisure activity recognized to be not serious (Rochester, 2006).

Although study participants are from the category of young people, the study covered people with different background and occupation (students, employees, family people, single people, etc.) Thus, I came to the conclusion that particular stages of life encourage people to volunteer rather than their age. Study participants claim that they experienced certain periods of life when they needed to volunteer. The same was described in the studies based on *life course* theory (Gray, Khoo & Reimondos, 2012; Lancee and Radl, 2014) when people volunteered during particular life events or life stages such as creating a family or having a baby. Therefore, age differences did not play a great factor in this study.

Similarly, independently from the age, many participants develop personally and professionally through volunteering. Volunteering activity helps volunteers to *explore their personality* and enrich it including *professional advancements*, which is also proven in the works by Wilson (2000, 2012), Omoto & Snyder (2008); Hustinx et al. (2010). In addition, volunteering to *influence the outlook* of volunteers and help them to form a *mature* view on the world, its issues, and problems, people, etc. Volunteering experience changes volunteers' understanding of the world and of themselves (Haski-Leventhal, 2008, Snyder & Omoto, 2008, Wilson, 2012). Lastly, volunteering experience gives *agency and significance to volunteers*.

The relationship of volunteers and volunteering organizations

The relationships of volunteers with volunteering organizations, beneficiaries, the state, and society influence volunteers' perception about volunteering and motivation to volunteer. In the following sections, I discuss (e) "How volunteers experience volunteering?", (f) "What are the relationships between volunteering organizations and volunteers?" and (g) "What is a relationship between volunteers and the state?" Following sections are aimed to understand the role of the above-mentioned actors for respondents' volunteering experience.

The main source of *difficulties* of volunteers and volunteering organizations relationship is maintaining the interest of volunteers. All organization in the sphere encounter *unstable interest of volunteers* and the issue of how to stimulate their interest in volunteering on the relatively same level for a long period. The solution suggested by study participants is that interests of volunteers should coincide or at least intersect with aims of the organization. The more volunteering organization support the interest of volunteers and guide them to realize their goals, the more engaged volunteer will be in the activity.

Many participants state that it is crucial to make *good volunteering conditions* for people to volunteer because volunteers have different motives than an employee that may work for salary only. Volunteering organization should make such conditions when volunteers feel comfortable

and even feel thankfulness for the organization for having an opportunity to volunteer. Study participants emphasize a few themes that in their opinion make volunteering activity a valuable experience. The first one is the work of coordinator who builds a trustful and friendly relationship with volunteers, provide them with all necessary information and even inspire volunteers for their activity. The second one is the flexibility of organization towards unstable interests and towards the absence of skills and/or particular knowledge of volunteers, organizations' open and welcome attention to the needs of volunteers. The third one is friendly atmosphere and support by other members of volunteering organization. Finally, the last one has shared values among members of particular volunteering community that implies a similar approach to volunteering work. Altogether, these themes illustrate how personal relationships of volunteers with volunteering organizations operate.

Explaining importance of conditions, one participant of the study even suggested her own theory on conditions that volunteering organization should offer its volunteers. She claims that needs of volunteers should be addressed in relation to the needs listed in Maslow's Pyramid of needs that include physical, emotional, social and psychological needs of volunteers. I believe that this theory works well judging from the responses of the participants.

Making conditions for volunteers also include providing volunteers with information about their rights and responsibilities before volunteering organization. In other words, to systematize volunteers' work (institutionalization). This means that conditions that volunteering organization offer volunteers should cover many aspects of their relationship and even form a systematic pattern of their work together. An advantage of such system may be the development of particular filter for volunteers that was one of the concerns of respondents. In this theme, systematization of volunteers' work illustrates how volunteering organization builds legal relationships with volunteers.

Lastly, it is important to remember that any relationship is not one sided, thus reliance on volunteering organizations' for good volunteering conditions does not cancel some responsibilities that volunteers take expressing enthusiasm to do some volunteering work. Generally, a volunteer can be any person who wants to become one. However, being volunteer continuously require a development of particular qualities such as personal responsibility and tolerance.

The relationships of volunteers and beneficiaries

The relationship of beneficiaries and volunteers are no less important for the motivation of volunteers. Beneficiaries can influence volunteers through reactions, responses, and feedback for volunteering activity that they get from volunteers. Beneficiaries are those who in a sense evaluate the work of volunteers. Therefore, their textual, emotional or any other responses influence volunteers' motivation and perceptions significantly.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that volunteers cannot be dependent only on responses of beneficiaries as there are spheres where beneficiaries are not able to give any feedback, thus volunteers should have their own ways to evaluate their work or/and have realistic expectations towards the actions they do. In this case, volunteering organization also can interfere and help their volunteers to form realistic expectations and avoid burnout.

The relationship of volunteers and the state/society

The relationships between the state, society, and volunteers are important for volunteers' legal and social relationships. As the legal relationship of volunteers and the state provide institutionalization of volunteering and as a result, social relationship of volunteers with society, legal support of volunteering by the state grab much attention from the study participants as well as in the textual analysis of the documents of the meeting concerning the Draft Law on volunteering (June 16, 2016).

The concerns expressed by volunteers and experts during the discussion of the Draft Law on volunteering intersect in a few points with concerns of the study participants. The first concern of interviewees is about the misconceptions of the volunteering sphere in a society that resonates with points made by a governmental representative in the discussion of the Draft Law. Many different stereotypes developed in society reduce the value of volunteering activity and of volunteers. This indicates the lack of public representation of volunteering sector in society. Similarly, some respondents claim that lack of legal representation leads to the devaluation of their volunteering experience that would help in professional development. The second concern is the problem of access. Many participants state that they had troubles accessing governmental institutions where their beneficiaries expect to get help from volunteers. The third one is poor communication between volunteers and governmental institutions. Some participant state that they had no adequate response from governmental institutions asking for support of their volunteering initiatives.

The last concern common for the participants of the meeting and respondents is the institutionalization of rewards for volunteers. Both groups question whether reward for volunteers should be implemented to the conditions provided to volunteers or remain something that comes naturally and without obligations to organizations, the state, and society. Some interviewees believe that rewards can be used to make volunteering attractive for more people and after they will understand its usefulness, they will volunteer for different purposes later. Thus, it will not be mercenary. It is important to mention that rewards offered by interviewees do not imply support from the government in the form of payments for volunteers' needs as it was discussed at the meeting on the discussion of the Draft Law on volunteering. Rather creating some opportunities such as making volunteering experience valuable. This is important, as volunteers, especially those who have a family, for example, have to spend many resources (time, finance, energy, etc) on volunteering.

Strengths of the study

This study is one of the first studies on volunteering in Kazakhstan that is focused on volunteers and their relationship with other actors in society. The study uses data from three sources that consist of personal opinions of volunteers, expert opinions of key informants and viewpoint of the government on volunteering in Kazakhstan. Therefore, the model developed on these sources describe relationships of the actors based on their own vision of these relationships. The model can be applied for other similar studies and it can easily demonstrate which relationship among different actors does not work well in the context of other countries because of its visual simplicity.

Limitations of the study

The research findings are limited to the volunteer organizations based in Almaty and Astana. The opportunities for volunteers and their motivation might be different here than in other cities of Kazakhstan. Although I took one paper interview from the participant in Kyzylorda, this person worked in volunteering sphere in Astana and started his work recently in Kyzylorda, thus his voice cannot be counted for the voice of the volunteers of Kyzylorda. For the same reason, the study findings might not be applicable to volunteers in rural areas. Although some participant could live in the rural areas in their childhood or lived in rural areas recently, all participant still was actively involved in urban life. The cultural and historical context of the country was not within the scope of this study. Finally, the study primarily focused on formal types of volunteering in formal organizations and did not include some categories of volunteering such as informal individual volunteering because of the difficulties involved in reaching out to informal volunteers.

Questions for further research

As there is a lack of literature on volunteering in Kazakhstan, this study had to be the one that explores a new unknown area. Therefore, I believe that there are many questions and gaps

that can be further investigated. I will list some of them that I derived from my own research.

The first topic might be the characteristic of a personality of volunteers in Kazakhstan. From my own investigation, I assumed that volunteers usually are the people who are socially active and curious. However, after interviews, I found out that some participants think that any person can become a volunteer. While some other participants claim that to become interested in volunteering, a volunteer should have certain characteristics. The second topic for research can be related to the link of a cultural and historical context of the region to volunteering in Kazakhstan. Historically, Kazakhs had such practice as *asar* that implies help of the whole community to its individual members. This practice experienced changes with the emergence of Tsarist and Soviet rule. It would be interesting to study whether this practice survived and whether *asar* and modern time volunteering have any relations. The third question can be on the relationship between civil society and volunteering. According to civil society paradigm, volunteers are driving force for social changes, but the question is should volunteers believe in a civil society in order to be a driving force for the changes in it. The last topic I suggest is how stereotypes about volunteering developed in society can characterize Kazakhstani population.

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Appendix A

#	Code	Gender	Age	Status	Volunteering experience	Organization	City
1.	A	M	~30	Key informant	around 7 years	many volunteering projects in charity and social volunteering and was a head of few of them	Kyzylorda
2.	B	F	24	Volunteer	4 years	A volunteer of the organization on adaptation of children from orphanages	Almaty
3.	C	F	25	Volunteer	around a year	a national movement of civil initiatives	Astana
4.	D	F	21	Volunteer	4 years	volunteering experience in a few organizations in the sphere of charity	Astana
5.	E	F	29~31	Volunteer /Key informant	More than 10 years	Was a volunteer in more than 10 projects and organizations	Almaty
6.	F	F	25	Volunteer	More than year	Youth development organization	Almaty
7.	G	F	~23	Volunteer	More than year	Youth development organization	Almaty
8.	H	M	~30	Key informant	n/a	a national movement of civil initiatives	Astana
9.	I	F	~30	Key informant	n/a	Youth development organization	Almaty
10.	J	F	~30	Key informant	n/a	She studies the sphere from 1997, for the period of this research was a member of the club on help to early born infants	Almaty
11.	K	M	~30	Key informant	n/a	The head of the environmental organization that actively attracts volunteers to their work	Almaty
12.	L	F	23	Volunteer /Project	More than 5	A volunteer of international humanitarian	Astana

				Manager	years	movement	
13.	M	F	21~22	Volunteer /Project Manager	Around 4 years	International volunteering organization and other projects	Astana
14.	N	M	28	Volunteer	Around 3 years	Volunteer of the club on help to early born infants, the organization on adaptation of children from orphanages and other initiative groups	Astana
15.	O	F	37	Volunteer /Project Manager	Around 4 years	Head of the club on help to early born infants	Astana
16.	P	F	32	Key informant	n/a	The organization working with vulnerable groups of children	Astana
17.	Q	M	28	Volunteer	Around 6 years	A volunteer of international humanitarian movement	Astana
18.	R	F	25	Key informant	n/a	Coordinator in the international humanitarian movement	Astana
19.	S	M		Staff	n/a	The manager of the organization on preservation of biodiversity	Astana
20.	T	F	~30	Volunteer /expert	Around 4 years	The head of the organization on adaptation of children from orphanages	Astana
21.	U	F	~20	Volunteer	Around 5 years	A volunteer of the organization on adaptation of children from orphanages and other projects	Astana+
22.	V	F	~20	Volunteer	Around 5 years	A volunteer in the organization on adaptation of children from orphanages, youth development organization, and many others	Astana+
23.	W	M	~20	Volunteer	Around a year	A volunteer of youth development organization	Astana+

						and many others	
24.	X	F	~30	Volunteer	More than 5 years	A volunteer of the project on adaptation of children from orphanages	Astana

Appendix B

Interview guides

Interview guide for volunteers

Could you tell me about yourself?

- age, education, interests, hobbies, work

- what kind of person are you? What kind of volunteer are you?

- what did you do before you became a volunteer? (before you created your volunteer organization)

- What social, political, economic views do you have?

Why did you become a volunteer?

- How did you come to volunteering?

- what (who) caused you to volunteer?

- what circumstances (events) influenced/caused you to volunteer?

How did your relatives and friends react to your initiative in volunteering?

How interesting is volunteering for you? Why volunteering? Why not other types of active or passive recreation?

What role does volunteering play in your life?

- What resources do you need to volunteer?
- How do you allocate time to volunteer?
- What skills were useful in your volunteer activity? How important are these skills?

Were there any difficulties in your volunteer activities? If so, what kind of?

What motivated you to continue your activities? (Or was the reason to stop)

Describe your personal experience of volunteering.

- In which projects (events, movements) do/did you participate?
- In what spheres? Why in these areas?

What did you get from volunteering?

- What did you feel as part of this project?
- What is important for you in volunteering to be satisfied with your activities?
- What are your expectations of your activity?
- What did you like/dislike about your volunteering experience?
- What did you learn from volunteering?
- How did volunteering affect you? Has anything changed?
- Did this affect your social circle? If so, how?
- What long-term influence (abstract or concrete) did volunteering have on you?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of volunteering for you? Why do you think this is an advantage/disadvantage?

What are your relationships with other participants? (Volunteers, employees, beneficiaries)

- what is their reaction to your actions?
- how do you feel after understanding their reactions?
- that you liked/did not like in their reaction?

In general terms, what is the purpose of volunteering for you?

Do you think that you will benefit from the experience of volunteering in the future?

- Do you want to continue to volunteer? If so, what do you expect from it?

- Are there any specific activities (projects) in which you would like to participate? If so, which ones?

General questions

In your opinion, what qualities/skills should a volunteer have?

How would you describe your volunteer activity if you do not have such skills? Will this change something?

Would you recommend volunteering to other young people?

How would you describe volunteering for someone unfamiliar with this term?

Do you know of any other activities that can be confused with/similar to volunteering?

Based on your own experience, what do you think about the future of volunteering in Kazakhstan?

What should be done to ensure that young people are interested in volunteering?

Interview guide for staff

Could you tell me about your organization?

- characteristics, goals, principles
- projects, directions, interests
- describe your volunteers

What role do volunteers play?

- the purpose of working with volunteers
- in which projects they participate

What is important for your volunteers? Why?

How do you work with volunteers?

- how do you attract volunteers to your projects?
- Are there any specific ways of working?
- Are there any selection criteria (skills, qualities) - if so, how important is it (What interests you in volunteers when they are involved in your organization?)/What skills are you looking for in your volunteers? How important are these skills?)
- What do you expect from volunteers?

How long have volunteers been involved in your projects?

- why they left your project(s)/remain?

What difficulties arose in working with volunteers?

How would you describe an experienced volunteer?

Why do people become volunteers/volunteers? (causes)

- What projects are your volunteers interested in?

- Why do they choose these spheres?

What do they get from volunteering?

- What benefits do volunteers receive?

- Why is this useful?

Are the volunteers receiving any training?

What factors influence the work of volunteers?

How does volunteering affect your volunteers? (In the long term)

Do volunteers change under the influence of their activities?

What is important in working with volunteers?

What future projects do you plan with volunteers, if any?

Additional questions

What does volunteering mean to your organization?

How would you describe volunteering for someone unfamiliar with this term?

Do you know of any other activities that can be confused with/similar to volunteering?

Based on your own experience, what do you think about the future of volunteering in Kazakhstan?

What should be done to ensure that young people are interested in volunteering?