This book presents a milestone in volunteering research, offering rare and authentic insights. As an edited collection of short memoirs, it tracks the development of knowledge and understanding about volunteering during the lifetime of the Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR). The memoirs written by those who were directly involved in IVR describe the growth of the body of knowledge on volunteering, the improvement of evidence to stimulate and underpin policy and practice, and theoretical and conceptual advances.

‘An insightful read reflecting the ebbs and flows of volunteering policy and practice. It also highlights the resilience of an organisation and those connected to it who believe in volunteering and the power of research to extend our understanding about a phenomenon that is timeless and yet ever changing.’

— Wendy Osborne BA OBE, Senior Consultant, International Association for Volunteer Effort (IAVE)

‘What a joy to read. This book acts as a reminder of some of the seminal pieces of research in volunteering, still used by practitioners today and carried out by the biggest names in the field, all through the much-loved Institute for Volunteering Research. There is a steely edge though especially where essays look towards potential areas of research; often reflecting that these essential questions haven’t changed even whilst policy positions have.’

— Ruth Leonard, Chair of the UK’s Association of Volunteer Managers (AVM)
“What seems ‘common sense’ today took years of power and knowledge to become so. If you want to understand what makes people give their time to others, you stand on the shoulders of giants. If you want to understand where giants come from, read on...”
— Michael Ashe, Chief Executive Officer, Volunteer Centre Kensington & Chelsea

“The volunteering community, policymakers, researchers and practitioners, across Europe in the CEV Network and beyond, has benefited hugely from the work of IVR. The contribution to the success of the European Year of Volunteering 2011 and its legacy through freely sharing its evidence-base for volunteering has contributed immeasurably to the development and understanding of quality volunteering across Europe.”
— Gabriella Civico, Director, Centre for European Volunteering (CEV)
Volunteering, research and the test of experience
Volunteering, research and the test of experience

A critical celebration for the 25th anniversary of the Institute for Volunteering Research

Edited by:
Michael Locke
Jurgen Grotz

INSTITUTE FOR VOLUNTEERING RESEARCH & UEA PUBLISHING PROJECT
Contents

List of Abbreviations 7

Dedication 11

Foreword 13
PROFESSOR FIONA LETTICE

Researching across 25 years 17
MICHAEL LOCKE

A brief history of the Institute for Volunteering Research 29
COLIN ROCHESTER AND JURGEN GROTZ

Memoirs

Beginnings, national and global, and the advance of understanding 43
JUSTIN DAVIS SMITH
Testing policies, building good practice, re-thinking relationships with the state
MICHAEL LOCKE

Beyond reason: Centring context in our understanding of volunteering
ANGELA ELLIS PAINE

Decolonising volunteering: Overdue recognition of origins outside the West
PRIYA LUKKA

Discovering and preserving the history of voluntary action
GEORGINA BREWIS

European contexts and priorities: Belonging to a larger community
NICK OCKENDEN

Learning points on NHS research ethics and healthy research culture
SIMON TEASDALE

Volunteering impact: Understanding and practice
JOANNA STUART

Reflections on Pathways through Participation
ELLIE BRODIE
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working for inclusive volunteering: Mapping and understanding the data</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIM DONAHUE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International perspectives on government support</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DANIEL STEVENS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worlds of difference in health and social care</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATTHEW HILL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteering in a time of austerity: Everything changes, everything remains the same</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDREW CURTIS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A transitory career: Variety, statistics and policy</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>META ZIMMECK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecting and disconnecting with the complex web of volunteering</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIONA POLAND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning at the beginning, and getting stuck there</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANDREA KELMANSON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A personal journey through the theory of volunteering</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLIN ROCHESTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reflections and Prospects

Making a difference: National policy-making 167
BARONESS SCOTT OF NEEDHAM MARKET

Making a difference: Addressing imbalances and inequalities in research on volunteering 171
CHRIS MILLORA

The road ahead 177
JURGEN GROTZ

Obituaries 197
DUNCAN SCOTT
PAT GAY

Notes on Contributors 203

Index 211

References 215
List of Abbreviations

ARVAC  Association for Research in the Voluntary and Community Sector

AVM    Association of Volunteer Managers

CAF    Charities Aid Foundation

CIS    Centre for Institutional Studies

CSV    Community Service Volunteers

CVS    Council for Voluntary Service

HOCS  Home Office Citizenship Survey

IAG    Institute Advisory Group

IVCO   International Volunteer Cooperation Organisations’ Conference
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IVR</td>
<td>Institute for Volunteering Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSE</td>
<td>London School of Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAO</td>
<td>National Audit Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAVCA</td>
<td>National Association for Voluntary and Community Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCPE</td>
<td>National Co-ordinating Centre for Public Engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCSS</td>
<td>National Council of Social Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCV</td>
<td>National Centre for Volunteering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCVO</td>
<td>National Council for Voluntary Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPI</td>
<td>Patient and Public Involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDS</td>
<td>Research, Development and Statistics Directorate of the Home Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSA</td>
<td>Royal Society of Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSRG</td>
<td>Social Services Research Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSRC</td>
<td>Third Sector Research Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCL</td>
<td>University College London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEA</td>
<td>University of East Anglia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEL</td>
<td>University of East London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAHS</td>
<td>Voluntary Action History Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VE</td>
<td>Volunteering England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIAT</td>
<td>Volunteering Impact Assessment Toolkit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSSN</td>
<td>Voluntary Sector Studies Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>Voluntary Service Overseas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dedication

We dedicate this book to the pioneers of the Institute for Volunteering Research whom we lost and greatly miss, Duncan Scott and Pat Gay.
Making a difference: Addressing imbalances and inequalities in research on volunteering

CHRIS MILLORA

Dr Chris Millora is Senior Research Associate and Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellow based within the UNESCO Chair in Adult Literacy and Learning for Social Transformation at the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of East Anglia (UK).

I first heard that the Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR) made the University of East Anglia (UEA) its new home when I was just starting my doctoral research at UEA on local volunteering and learning in the Philippines. I thought this was perfect timing to be involved with a reputable institute that has been leading pathbreaking research in the area of volunteering. I was well aware of IVR’s work in generating research
on the theory and practice on volunteer involvement for many years. A particular piece that helped shaped my thinking was a working paper that challenged dominant definitions of volunteering entitled *A rose by any other name... revisiting the question ‘what exactly is volunteering?’* (Ellis Paine, 2010). Reflecting on this paper and reading through the memoirs in this volume, I was struck at how, over the years, IVR does not shy away from asking difficult questions about volunteering, questions such as “How does voluntary action facilitate wellbeing?”, “Does volunteering challenge or enhance inequalities?” or something as fundamental as “What exactly is volunteering?” as in the working paper cited above.

Asking difficult questions is a vital aspect in pushing forward research in volunteering. Knowledge production in this field has been attracting scholars and practitioners for many decades. Volunteering has been viewed from several perspectives, from management and civic participation to education and public service. In my view, this field has been bridging the chasms between ‘theory’ and ‘practice’ as much of this research is being used by policy makers and practitioners alike. It could also be argued that volunteering practices are embedded across many, if not all, communities around the globe. However, we know that volunteering is called by many different names, ensues different expectations and is framed by differing values. Therefore, putting strict parameters on what counts as volunteering, a highly complex and contextual social practice, tends to marginalise forms of volunteering that might not fit dominant ‘standards’. As others already pointed out, there are indeed
inequalities and imbalances in the way knowledge in volunteering is framed, produced and disseminated.

When tracing the inequalities in volunteering knowledge production, several have argued that much research in this area continues to be dominated by Global North frameworks. Lukka’s contribution in this volume on the need to interrogate and challenge the persistence of the colonial legacies of volunteer work is a powerful starting point in understanding these disparities in knowledge production. I agree with Lukka that there is a need to step out of the so-called dominant frameworks, which while regarded as ‘global’ or ‘international’, are often imbued with Northern conceptions of volunteering (see also Hazeldine and Baillie Smith, 2015). This skewed understanding of a ‘universal concept’ of volunteerism may mean that certain forms of volunteering are privileged over others. What is more, research and experience tell us that these frameworks do not remain at the level of discourse or abstraction, but they have very real life, practical implications. How we understand volunteering influences how we ‘do’, ‘design’ and ‘value’ volunteer involvement. Therefore, imbalances in knowledge production in volunteering could translate to enhancing inequalities in real life.

To level this imbalance, the task seems to be beyond simply conducting more research in Global South contexts. Indeed, scholars have noted how even studies of volunteering in these communities tended to use frameworks developed elsewhere, often those from Northern scholarship. Perhaps a useful starting point is in understanding how diverse communities themselves understand and practise
‘volunteering’, or whatever term they use to describe these helping activities. In-depth accounts of local volunteering, for instance, reveal how in certain contexts, volunteering is less about providing services for free in or through volunteer organisations, but more about helping their local church, sharing resources, reaching out to neighbours or responding collectively to shared issues. In the Philippines, where I do most of my research, volunteering is associated with the pre-colonial concept of ‘pakikipagkapwa’ where a person helps another because he/she is an extension of one’s self, rather than being a different, less-privileged other needing help (see also memoir of Lukka).

In understanding volunteering in context, it might also be worth looking at the sorts of methods that we use to study volunteering. Cross-country comparisons, global surveys and measurements only tell us part of the story. Community-based research approaches such as ethnographies of volunteering (Chadwick et al, 2021) have the potential to generate valuable understanding on how volunteering is practised as part of everyday life of diverse communities. Such an in-depth approach could reveal the ways volunteering might be embedded in and shaped by relations of power. We also see the value of participatory and volunteer-led approaches to research where volunteers themselves take on the role of researchers not only to produce ‘new’ knowledge but also changing and improving their practices.

For many of us who are conducting research in this field, there are examples within IVR’s research portfolio that show the potential of intercultural, cross-country dialogue and
collaboration in addressing these knowledge imbalances. For instance, I was involved with the IVR more recently when we worked together on answering yet another difficult question: how can volunteer-state relationships facilitate equal and inclusive societies? This was the central enquiry addressed in the 2022 State of the World’s Volunteerism (SWVR) of the UN Volunteers entitled *Building Equal and Inclusive Societies* (United Nations Volunteers Programme, 2021). IVR was part of an international consortium led by the UNESCO Chair in Adult Literacy and Learning for Social Transformation, also at UEA, alongside partners at the Center for Social Research at the University of Malawi and the Kathmandu University School of Education. With 15 case studies of volunteer organisations, mutual aid groups and local NGOs spanning Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Arab States and the Latin America and the Caribbean, the report investigated how volunteers worked with, or sometimes despite of, government institutions to bring about social change in their communities.

However, much can also be said about how we set out to conduct this research as a team working from various fields, such as education, international development, gender, youth studies and in various contexts in the UK, Philippines, Lebanon, Nepal, Malawi and Brazil. Despite the challenge of quick turnarounds and managing a cross-country research project, we were able to engage in meaningful dialogue, analysing data as collaboratively as possible and bringing in insights from our own fields and contexts to enhance the research. As the pieces in this collection demonstrate,
collaborative enquiry is indeed an important ethos that underlines IVR’s work, a commitment that I was privileged to witness and experience.

During the pandemic, as cities locked down, IVR managed to cross boundaries and bring people together through convening online seminars and dialogues. For instance, the IVR website hosts a number of videos of volunteers and organisations talking about volunteer responses to the pandemic, from Mongolia, Hong Kong and India to Kenya, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago. These videos became the springboard for an online conversation on this topic, drawing experiences from such diverse contexts and sharing best practice solutions to then an extremely disorienting issue.

Working collaboratively across context and engaging in intercultural discussions further emphasises that volunteering looks differently in different places. Often, I came out of these sessions with more questions than answers. However, it is in talking to and thinking with each other that we were able to see connections, patterns and, at times, shared solutions. Over the years, IVR has built a truly global network, and it is vital that the Institute taps into such a network to answer difficult questions on volunteering together, and perhaps come up with more. IVR is also well-positioned to ‘test out’ new approaches to volunteering research methods which could perhaps generate new insights to old problems. As IVR turns 25 years, I am confident that their commitment to intercultural dialogue, collaboration and innovation will continue for the next 25 years and many more years to come.
Notes on Contributors

GEORGINA BREWIS PhD is Professor of Social History based at IOE, UCL’s Faculty of Education and Society. She was Research Officer with IVR (2003-2005) and Head of Research (2009-2011).

ELLIE BRODIE was Research Officer (2009-2011) and Research Consultant (2011-2012) with NCVO and is an advisor on environment and civil society policy, campaigns and strategy.

ANDREW CURTIS PhD was Senior Research Officer with IVR (2012–2017), subsequently Senior Researcher with the Local Trust and (from 2019) Research and Evaluation Manager with Paul Hamlyn Foundation and is currently their Head of Evidence and Learning.

JUSTIN DAVIS SMITH PhD was founder and Director of IVR (1997-2007) and subsequently Chief Executive, Volunteering England (2007-2013), Executive Director, NCVO (2013-2016) and (from 2016) senior lecturer and course
director of the charity master’s programme, Bayes Business School.

**KIM DONAHUE** is a research and organisation consultant who has worked for more than 30 years with issues facing the voluntary sector.

**ANGELA ELLIS PAINE** PhD joined IVR as Research Officer in 2000, becoming Assistant Director in 2005 and Director in 2008. She left in 2011 to become Research Fellow with the Third Sector Research Centre, University of Birmingham, and in 2022 moved to the Centre for Charity Effectiveness at Bayes, City, University of London as Lecturer in voluntary sector management.

**JURGEN GROTZ** PhD is the Director of the Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR) at the University of East Anglia (UEA). With three decades of experience in applied research across the academic, public, private and voluntary sectors, his mainly interdisciplinary work on volunteering and volunteer involvement focuses on participative approaches and public involvement. He co-edited the *Palgrave Handbook of Volunteering, Civic Participation, and Nonprofit Associations* (Smith et al, 2016) and co-authored *Patient and Public Involvement in Health and Social Care* (Grotz et al, 2020), co-edited *Mobilising Voluntary Action in the UK: Learning from the Pandemic* (Hardill et al, 2022) and is co-authoring *Volunteer Involvement: An Introduction to Theory and Practice* (Grotz and Leonard, 2022).
MATTHEW HILL PhD was Research Officer (2008-2011) and Senior Research Officer (2011-2017) with IVR and is now Head of Insight, Evaluation and Research at the Health Foundation.

ANDREA KELMANSON is a charity organisation development consultant, working particularly on strategic review and planning, volunteering policy and board development, as well as in roles as interim CEO. She managed volunteer programmes for Community Service Volunteers (CSV) (now Volunteering Matters) (1971-1988), and was Deputy Director of the National AIDS Trust (1988-1992) and CEO of the National Centre for Volunteering (later Volunteering England) (1992-1997).

FIONA LETTICE PhD is Professor of Innovation Management in the Norwich Business School and Pro Vice Chancellor for Research and Innovation at the University of East Anglia.

MICHAEL LOCKE was joint founder of IVR in 1997, as Reader in the Centre for Institutional Studies, University of East London, and with IVR as Associate Director (1997-2001), Senior Research Fellow (2001-2007) and Assistant Director (2007-2008), joining Volunteering England as Director of Public Affairs (2008-2011) and subsequently leading on volunteering policy for Volunteering England and NCVO (2011-2014).
PRIYA LUKKA was a Research Officer with IVR (1999-2003); she is a macroeconomist in international development working with government policy-makers to improve outcomes for groups of people most marginalised by economic systems, through understanding the impact of policies on debt, trade and tax. She writes on a range of issues, including on global economic governance and climate colonialism; she is also a Board Advisor for a number of organisations working for social justice.

CHRIS MILLORA PhD, is Senior Research Associate and Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellow based within the UNESCO Chair in Adult Literacy and Learning for Social Transformation at the School of Education and Lifelong Learning, University of East Anglia (UK). Chris’ 3-year project ‘Literacies of Dissent: youth activism, learning and social change explores the learning and literacy dimensions of youth social movements in the Philippines and Chile’. His first book, Volunteering, Learning and Social Change: an ethnography of local volunteering in the Philippines, will be published by Bloomsbury Academic in 2024.

NICK OCKENDEN worked at IVR from 2005 as a Research Officer and Research Manager before becoming its Director in 2010. Following the merger of Volunteering England and NCVO, he was Head of IVR and Head of Research at NCVO (2014-2017). He subsequently joined ActionAid Denmark (2018-2021) and currently works as a freelance research and evaluation consultant. He was Honorary Research Fellow,

**FIONA POLAND** is Professor of Social Research Methodology, leading the Inclusion Research Theme in the School of Health Sciences at the University of East Anglia (UEA), is UEA Lead for Volunteering Research, and co-leads the NIHR ARC East of England Inclusive Involvement in Research for Practice-Led Health and Social Care Theme. She is journal editor of Quality in Ageing and Older Adults.

**COLIN ROCHESTER** is an author and researcher, formerly lecturer with the Centre for Voluntary Organisation, LSE (1987-2000) and Roehampton University (1999-2007). Since 2018 he has been an Honorary Research Fellow with the Centre for Philanthropy, University of Kent.

**DANIEL STEVENS** PhD was Head of Research with IVR (2010-2011), subsequently with World Vision (2011-2022) and currently Global Strategic Outcomes Manager with Open Doors International (2022+).

**BARONESS SCOTT OF NEEDHAM MARKET** is a member of the IVR Advisory Panel, has been a member of the House of Lords since May 2000 and has held a variety of front bench positions including Communities and Local Government, building on her membership of Suffolk County Council between 1993 and 2005. Her interest in the community and voluntary sector was born out of this
this work, and she has worked with Volunteering England and NCVO, as well as being a Trustee of Community Action Suffolk, the infrastructure body for the county.

**JOANNA STUART** was Research Officer (2005–2008) and Senior Research Officer (2008–2017) with IVR. She is currently a freelance researcher and Visiting Fellow with Nottingham Trent University and Research Associate for NCVO and IVR.

**SIMON TEASDALE** PhD is Professor in Management at Queen’s University Belfast. He was Impact Assessment Officer with IVR (2006-2008).

**META ZIMMECK**, after training as a social historian and carrying out research on the employment of women in clerical and professional occupations, including in the Civil Service, then specialised in research on volunteering, government-voluntary sector relations and organisational management and development. She has carried out quantitative, qualitative and policy-based research for a portfolio of clients in local and central government, academic institutions, voluntary organisations and businesses. She worked for both IVR and VE on a number of different research projects and for VE as policy strategist and head of secretariat on the Commission on the Future of Volunteering. Currently she and her partner, Colin Rochester, are working on a study of the production of Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) by voluntary action during the pandemic.
Index

A
Association for Research in the Voluntary and Community Sector (ARVAC) 7, 30, 144, 146
Association of Volunteer Managers (AVM) 7, 186
austerity 24, 26, 50, 118, 122, 127
Aves 43, 79, 80, 215

B
Beveridge 122, 215
big society 237
Billis 223, 236
Bourdillon 78, 215

C
capital 17, 47, 55, 56, 113, 124, 125, 128, 153, 170, 186
Centre for Institutional Studies 7, 31, 53, 54, 205, 224, 232
Charities Aid Foundation (CAF) 7, 44, 45, 119, 215, 218
civic core 232
Commission on the Future of the Voluntary Sector 30, 218
Commission on the Future of Volunteering 135, 140, 159, 208, 219, 236, 239
Community Service Volunteers (CSV) 7, 53, 144, 151, 152, 205
Council for Voluntary Service (CVS) 7, 111
COVID-19 27, 51, 61, 96, 99, 100, 123, 154, 168, 184, 185, 189, 221

D
David Cameron 24, 104, 117
diversity 36, 65, 113, 129, 216, 221, 222
Duncan Scott 11, 33, 89, 162, 197

E
exclusion 64, 65, 71, 221

F
faith 36, 57, 74, 232
food bank 119

G
Giddens 55, 224
Gordon Brown 23, 103
government 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24,
R
Research, Development and Statistics Directorate of the Home Office (RDS) 8, 138, 139
resilience 221
Royal Society of Arts (RSA) 8, 136, 137, 239

S
Social Services Research Group (SSRG) 8, 146
Spirit of 2012 21, 98, 109, 220, 237
sports 160, 161
Stronger Communities 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132

T
Theory 204
Third Sector Research Centre (TSRC) 8, 61, 67, 68, 198, 204, 222, 233, 237
Titmuss 25, 48, 49, 238
Tony Blair 17, 23, 29, 55, 153

U
United Nations 18, 27, 35, 179, 184, 186, 187, 220, 238
University College London (UCL) 9, 77, 81, 203
University of East Anglia (UEA) 9, 13, 14, 15, 26, 27, 81, 126, 143, 144, 149, 163, 177, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 204, 205, 207
University of East London (UEL) 9, 31, 32, 44, 45, 53, 54, 57, 79, 152, 153, 205, 224, 232, 233, 236

V
Voluntary Action History Society (VAHS) 9, 29, 30, 45, 79, 80, 158
Voluntary Sector Studies Network (VSSN) 9, 30, 197, 198, 225, 230
Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) 9, 152
Volunteering England (VE) 9, 17, 22, 23, 26, 30, 33, 34, 35, 43, 44, 49, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 78, 80, 83, 84, 90, 91, 117, 121, 125, 128, 129, 130, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 151, 153, 158, 162, 167, 179, 181, 203, 205, 206, 208, 216, 217, 219, 238, 239
Volunteering Impact Assessment Toolkit (VIAT) 9, 20, 64, 96, 98, 229

W
wellbeing 14, 65, 93, 98, 120, 226, 237
Wolfenden 51, 239

Y
youth 63, 122, 129
References


Grotz, J. (2008a) On whose authority? How is authority defined in the Compact and how is it demonstrated,


Harris, M (2016) Where did we come from? The emergence and early development of voluntary sector studies in the UK. *Voluntary Sector Review*, 7(1), 5-25.


Locke, M. (2022) Yes, we should! Volunteering and the State: partnership, independence, transformation. *IVR blog 22 June*. Available from https://www.uea.ac.uk/web/groups-and-centres/institute-for-volunteering-research/blog [Accessed 01.11.2022]


Mohan, J. and Bulloch, S (2012) The idea of a ‘civic core’: what are the overlaps between charitable giving, volunteering, and


